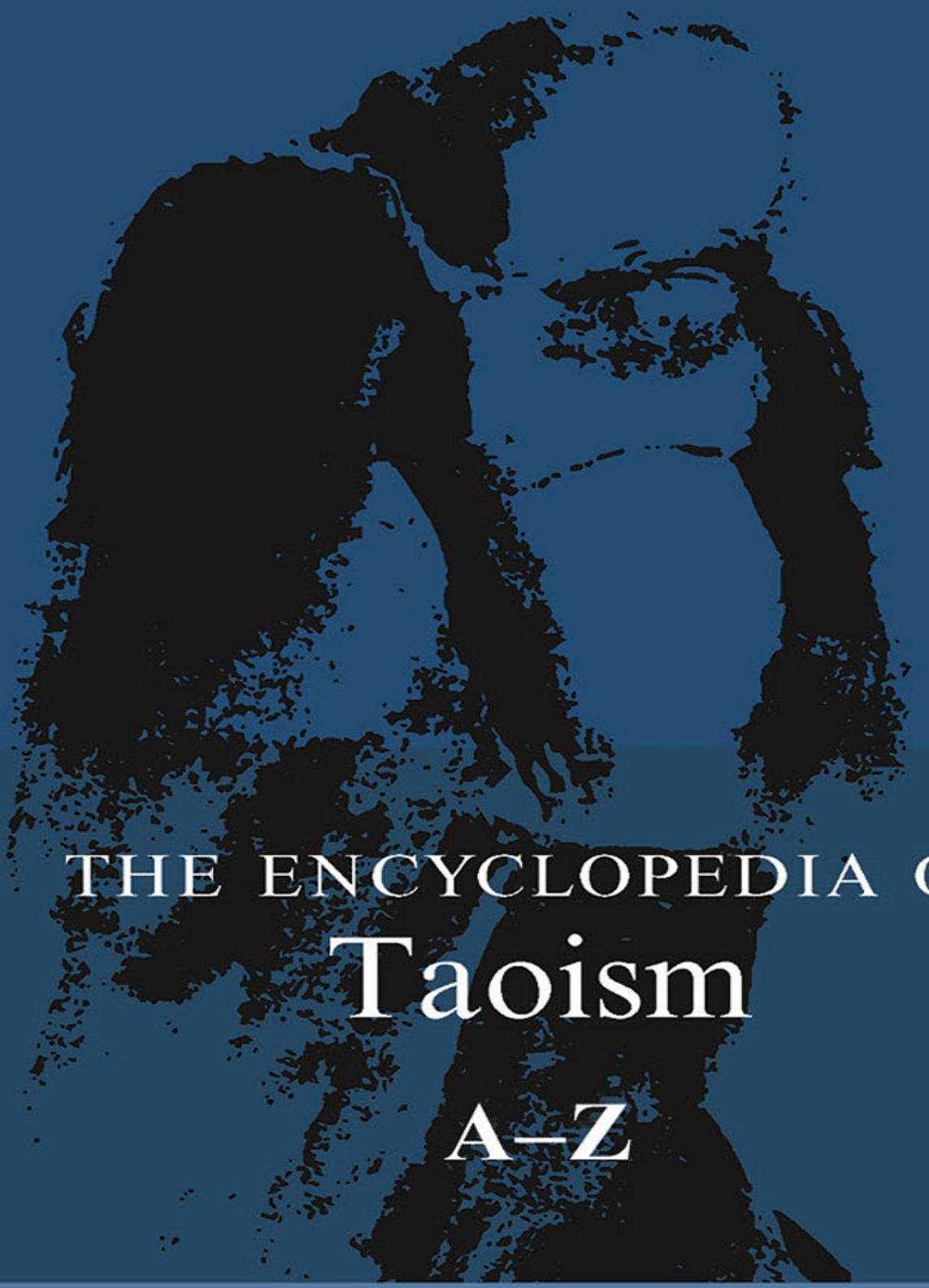


Volume 1 & 2



THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
**Taoism**  
A-Z

EDITED BY FABRIZIO PREGADIO

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# THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TAOISM

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I – II

Edited by

Fabrizio Pregadio

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# Foreword

by

*T. H. Barrett*

Taoism has been for over half a millennium the East Asian religious tradition most consistently despised and rejected in the West, esteemed if at all for the wrong reasons, and seldom enough at that. As early as 1569 the pioneering missionary Friar Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., while at one point conceding the great respect shown by the Chinese to Taoist priests, avers at another that they live “wickedly and filthily.” This was perhaps due to a simple misunderstanding that caused him to assume that all Taoist priests were supposed to be celibate. But to the Counter-Reformation sensibilities of later Jesuits like Matteo Ricci and his many successors the very idea of a non-celibate priesthood must have been quite disturbing in any case, so that we subsequently find very little dissent from this first damning indictment. Even in the nineteenth century the Protestant missionaries, who often arrived as married couples, continued to heap scorn upon the Taoists, though now as part of a generally negative assessment of Chinese culture that contrasted with the positive evaluation of some aspects of China espoused by those who followed Ricci's missionary strategy.

It is true that one or two ancient texts associated with the Taoist tradition were in the late nineteenth century clasped firmly to the bosom of Western theosophy, a cultural movement that manifested a great generosity of spirit towards Asian wisdom whilst usually denying any validity to the views of contemporary Asians themselves—the lofty mysticism of a Laozi was held to be something quite beyond the grasp of his latter day heirs, intelligible only to illuminati on the theosophists' own spiritual plane. Whether missionaries or mystics, then, the received opinion in the West would have been that



republished as recently as 1990 in *A Confucian Notebook* by Edward Herbert, which first appeared in 1950. In this work we are summarily informed that “Taoism” beyond those favoured early texts is simply “a synonym for superstition and imposture.” In such a hostile climate accurate knowledge concerning Taoism was until the very end of the twentieth century remarkably hard to come by. Matters of tone and judgment apart, a handbook such as Samuel Couling's *Encyclopaedia Sinica* of 1917, for example, demonstrates a completely insouciant vagueness on such basic questions as the size of the Taoist canon or the number of texts it contains.

This is all the more regrettable since by the time that Couling's handbook appeared a certain amount of progress had been made in investigating the canon by scholars writing in French. The gradual emergence of the field of Taoist Studies during the twentieth century in fact affected the English-speaking world at a remarkably late point: amongst pioneers we may find Chinese (though not that many, given the anti-religious spirit abroad in the Republican and early Communist eras), Japanese, French, Germans and other Europeans, but with the exception of researchers in the History of Science scarcely a soul from Great Britain, the English-speaking Commonwealth, or the United States. Nor has the rectification of this anomaly seen anything like a smooth progress. Too many engaged in the task of building up and spreading the knowledge originally available only in French were lost to us before their time, from Henri Maspero, who died in Buchenwald in 1945, to Anna Seidel, Michel Strickmann and Isabelle Robinet, whose more recent deaths have dealt successive blows to the field. The first named had scarcely any students, and was only able to exert a posthumous but utterly crucial inspiration through his writings, but we owe a particular debt to the others, whose teaching activities in the late twentieth century (together with those of one or two less unfortunate scholars, such as K. M. Schipper) finally established the small corps of researchers without whom the production of this encyclopedia would not have been remotely possible.

Even so the unprecedented large-scale collaborative effort required, calling on expertise right across the globe, would probably have been expended in vain were it not for the Herculean labours of the editor. When I was first approached to suggest the name of someone who could undertake this task, I realized that only a scholar with broad international contacts and the highest academic standards would be capable of bringing such a project to completion. Little did I realise that persistence, too, would be a quality that

Fabrizio Pregadio would have to call upon in full measure, and that an undertaking conceived on one continent and based on the religious traditions of another would after a more than elephantine period of gestation eventually see the light of day in the New World of an entirely different hemisphere. For all the minor shortcomings that may be discovered in this compilation, and for all the scholarship it may contain that may one day appear outdated and in need of revision, he at least should be absolved from any blame and indeed allowed a full measure of self-congratulation, for he has worked as hard and as meticulously as anyone possibly could.

The publishers, too, should surely allow themselves a measure of self-congratulation, and especially those individuals who have helped sustain the project throughout the institutional changes on their side that have been almost as dramatic as those witnessed by the editor in his academic travels. Given that with the notable exception of the work of Joseph Needham and his associates the British academic contribution to the study of Taoism has been more or less nugatory, I am particularly glad that the British publishing industry at least has played its part in rectifying the wrongs of the centuries. But now is no time for us in these small islands to rest upon our laurels. As China once more takes up the leading role amongst nations commensurate with the size of its population and the richness of its cultural heritage, the very insularity that once allowed our forefathers in a fit of imperial absent-mindedness to treat China with an insolence that was not even perceived as such at the time still needs to be broken down and replaced with a more fraternal respect and, crucially, understanding. I sincerely hope that the small contribution to international cultural awareness we have helped—with so many others—to make in uncovering one of the more neglected aspects of China's heritage through this encyclopedia will be by no means the last.

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# INTRODUCTION

Many readers will view *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* as one of the countless tools that provide, according to the stereotyped formulation, “fast and easy access” to an assortment of facts and data. Undoubtedly, those readers will be correct in reckoning the present book among the growing collection of reference works—encyclopedias, dictionaries, catalogues, indexes, bibliographies, and so forth—that some might view as one of the “signs of the times.” Beyond its purpose as a convenient source of information, however, this book intends to illustrate the central principles and historical forms of Taoism, which is among the most misconceived traditions of antiquity that have survived to the present day. Neither the incessant feed of commercial publications on Taoism, nor the attempts to define Taoism in relation to science, medicine, psychology, ethics, and other branches of modern Western learning, have done much to eliminate those misconceptions, and often such efforts have contributed to their formation and dissemination. Readers will have different views on the qualitative aspects of the book, but in this regard *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* should help to dispel at least the most flagrant misinterpretations that surround a form of doctrine and practice whose features often contrast sharply—and sometimes radically—with the modern Western worldview.

*The Encyclopedia of Taoism* provides an overview of the Taoist tradition through a wide selection of themes, reflects the current state of Taoist scholarship, and aims to contribute to a better understanding of this and related fields of study. It also endeavors to acquaint a wider public with the viewpoints of researchers working in this area, a task made difficult by some of the assumptions predominant within broad sectors of academia and of the

so-called general public. On the one hand, scholars working in the field of Taoist studies—an area that has grown beyond all expectations, perhaps even too rapidly, in the last three or four decades, as the present book also attests—are well aware of the richness and complexity of the Taoist tradition. Academic study, however, is not always capable of explicating the nature of Taoist teachings and the reasons for their plurality of forms to a wider audience. Not only are scholars accustomed to writing for other scholars, but the adoption of different standpoints and methodologies within the field results in an elaborate landscape of views and opinions that often contradict one another. Being typically relativist, moreover, scholarship cannot have—and in fact normally does not claim to have—the final word on many of the most important notions associated with a tradition like Taoism: the continued search for the “new” (new theories, perspectives, and interpretations periodically replacing each other) that is vital for scholarship lies at the opposite end of the spectrum from the pursuit of the “old” (the primordial, original, or unchangeable) that characterizes premodern teachings like Taoism. On the other hand, many people outside the field of Taoist studies who are attracted by the cryptic sayings of the *Daode jing* and fascinated by the enigmatic stories of the *Zhuangzi* find it difficult or even unimportant to consider that Taoism has a proper history. Recent translations of other texts, addressed to the lay public, do not provide much help, as even the best among them consist of literal renditions that offer little or no support to the reader, or contain cursory and superficial “historical introductions.” It is not surprising, therefore, that many people outside the field of Taoist studies are surprised or confused as they learn that the history of Taoism does not end with those two major books but is also populated by gods, demons, saints, immortals, rituals, exorcism, talismans, and elixirs, to mention just a handful of the main components. Yet, for its masters, priests, and adepts, this is what Taoism has been for about two and a half millennia.

According to one of several ways to understand it, the bewildering variety of forms that one observes in Taoism originates in the continuous reformulation of certain basic principles (in which belief, let it be said once, plays no part), and in the creation or modification of forms of individual and collective practice. This process of ongoing renewal, initiated by Taoist masters, priests, adepts, codifiers, commentators, and others, has responded to varying external circumstances and settings—historical events, social milieux, intellectual trends, and religious cults—and aims to ensure that their tradition

(a word that is etymologically synonymous with “transmission”) survives without major breaks.

With regard to the principles, this perspective presupposes that change occurs in the realm of spoken, written, and visual representations of essential notions that by their own nature are not tied to particular places, times, cultures, or languages. The many expressions of Taoist practice are ways of framing and periodically recodifying ritual practices and self-cultivation methods, adapting them to particular settings according to the characteristics and needs of different individuals or groups, and to the changing circumstances mentioned above. One of the unifying features that underlies this variety of forms is the ideal, but fundamental, view that Taoist doctrines and practices—where “practices” again refers to both self-cultivation and ritual—ultimately derive from the Dao itself, usually through the intermediation of deities (seen as “transformations” of the Dao) or realized beings (anonymous or identified, historical or legendary, but always described as having “attained to the Dao”) who have revealed them to humanity as a whole or to particular circles or groups. Teachings and methods aim to make it possible for various individuals and communities to “return” to the Dao, and at the same time to discourage them from beliefs and practices deemed to be unproductive or even harmful.

This historical process of continuous renovation is strongly influenced by the incorporation of external elements (Buddhism is the most conspicuous example), paralleled by the less frequent but likewise significant reverse phenomenon of “disconnection” of certain components from their doctrinal sources, especially in the domain of practice. Even more widespread and elaborate are the exchanges between Taoism and the Chinese folk religion, which lead not only to the assimilation of religious elements such as local deities and cults into the domain of Taoism, but also to instances of Taoist priests performing, besides Taoist rituals, a variety of additional religious functions, such as exorcism and ritual healing—functions that are also fulfilled by other religious specialists who, on the contrary, are not entitled to officiate the properly Taoist liturgy. Scholars often claim that such phenomena of exchange and reformulation result from competition among different religious groups, and label the incorporation of external elements into Taoism—from Buddhism, the folk religion, or elsewhere—as appropriation. These views may or may not be accurate, but in any case the phenomena under discussion are far from being arbitrary or unjustified: they

may occur because of analogy of contents, the intent to connect (or bring back) “loose” forms of practice to doctrinal principles, the ambition to elevate life for individuals and communities, or simply the need to comply with local customs.

As a result, like all major traditions in which the preservation of the inner doctrinal core primarily relies on transmission from master to disciple (or rather on “initiatory chains” that may not even be historical in nature), Taoism also plays a comprehensive social role that involves two overlapping processes: the integration of features of the folk religion that do not intrinsically conflict with that core, and the creation of forms of practice meant to address the needs of wider groups beyond the circles of adepts. These two aspects of Taoism, which in a very general sense pertain to the distinction between “esoteric” and “exoteric,” highlight the crucial function of transmission—in both its forms, initiation and ordination—not only as an essential feature of the Taoist tradition, but also as one of the key elements that differentiate it from the native varieties of folk religion in China.

While several scholars would certainly dispute or at least qualify this understanding of Taoism, consideration of these and related points might help to solve the dilemma of whether Taoism is philosophy or religion. These two notions did not exist in premodern China in the sense with which they are meant in the modern Western world, and their use in Taoist scholarship has raised questions that have not yet been answered in a satisfying way. Whereas in earlier times Taoism was deemed by Western scholars to be nothing but philosophy, and any involvement in the domain of religion was either denied or classified as “superstition,” in the last few decades Taoist scholarship has shifted to the opposite extreme, sometimes even going so far as to deny any foundational role to a work like the *Daode jing* (the latter opinion has been held only by a few scholars working primarily in the broader field of Chinese religion rather than Taoism). The same quandary surrounds the related issue of *dao**jia* versus *dao**jiao*, the two terms to which the first entries in this book are devoted. Even though the origins of these terms may lie in mere bibliographic categories, Taoists have sometimes used them interchangeably to denote what we call “Taoism,” and sometimes separately to distinguish the teachings of the *Daode jing* (and a few other works including the *Zhuangzi*) from “all the rest.” While these terms do not seem to have raised major issues at any time in the history of Taoism, the



questions that they have generated in the scholarly realm are largely products of their early flawed translation, or rather interpretation, as “philosophical Taoism” and “religious Taoism,” respectively. Based on the way of seeing outlined above, Taoism is not exactly either a philosophy or a religion, but rather a set of consistent doctrinal notions that have taken many forms and given rise to a large variety of individual and collective practices throughout the history of the tradition. Taoist ideas and practices have always been in touch with various philosophical and religious trends, generating an intricate net of intellectual and religious phenomena that on the surface may appear to be unrelated to each other.

Scholars who face this range of phenomena take different approaches according to their individual interests and inclinations. Some emphasize doctrinal content while others stress religious features, some focus on ritual practices and others on self-cultivation methods, and so forth. This variety of approaches, as noted above, has sometimes occasioned the neglect, marginalization, or even rejection of certain components in favor of others. Taoism itself, however, does not lack examples of comprehensive models of teachings and practices coordinated in a hierarchical arrangement, the most important being the Three Caverns (*sandong*). Whether these models can be reproduced in scholarship is not the point. What is crucial is rather the fact that attention to the central principles allows one to identify the position that individual forms and phenomena associated with Taoism occupy within the tradition as a whole, and to eschew reductive interpretations, including those that view Taoism exclusively as a religion, or as a philosophy.

*The Encyclopedia of Taoism* aims to provide its readers with a tool to appreciate the complexity of this tradition and its multiple historical sources, representatives, and manifestations. It does so by offering a large number of entries—most of which would better be characterized as short essays—on those manifold facets, concerned not only with their specific nature but also with the links or differences that exist among them. An initial list of about 1,800 potential topics drawn up in the earliest stage of this project was later reduced to a more manageable and efficient number. Contributors have played a role in shaping the final table of contents by suggesting that entries be added, deleted, or merged. This lengthy but indispensable process has resulted in the approximately 800 entries that compose the present book.

These entries are divided into two main sections. Although the first section

is entitled “Taoism: An Overview,” it does not consist of a systematic description of Taoism, which is an impossible task given the lack of “system” that is characteristic of this and all other traditional teachings. Rather, these essays aim to provide a short but fairly comprehensive exposition of themes and issues that cross over the boundaries of individual traditions, texts, or authors. The seventy or so relevant entries appear under the following categories: Definitions; Lineages and Traditions; Scriptures and Texts; Cosmology; Deities and Spirits; Sacred Sites; Views of the Human Being; Views of Society; Religious Organization; Aspects of Religious Practice and Experience; Taoism and Chinese Thought and Religion; Taoism and Chinese Society; Taoism and Chinese Culture; and Taoism outside China.

The second section of the book contains entries arranged in alphabetical order. The essays here are concerned with schools, lineages, and traditions (ca. 30 entries); persons (ca. 150 entries); texts (ca. 200 entries); terms (including ritual and self-cultivation practices, ca. 225 entries); divinities and immortals (ca. 80 entries); temples (ca. 20 entries); and mountains (ca. 20 entries). Needless to say, there is no difference of status between the entries in the first and second sections of the book, but only one of focus, which is broader in the first part and sharper in the second. The alphabetical arrangement makes it easy to locate entries in the second part, but this system will not be helpful to readers who wish to identify all entries related to a comprehensive topic, such as a particular Taoist lineage. For this reason, the Synoptic Table of Contents provides a “reading guide” that users of this book may find convenient to consult.

As should be clear from the earlier part of this introduction, the most difficult task in editing this work, but also the most absorbing one, has been the attempt to mediate between the scholarly outlook of the forty-six contributors and the perspectives of the intended readership. No one, myself included, will be entirely satisfied with the results. Scholars will likely find many features incorporated for the benefit of non-specialist readers to be superfluous, and non-specialist readers will surely deem many details provided for the sake of consistent scholarly style to be redundant.

In principle, the readership of *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* consists of scholars, students, and the elusive “learned public.” In addition to Taoist studies, the main fields relevant to its subject matter are Chinese studies, religious studies, and, broadly speaking, the humanistic disciplines. Beyond

this convenient formulation, the precise identity of one's readership is the most significant question for those who write a work like this one. The artificial landscapes created by marketing do not help much in drawing an accurate mental map of the actual readers of a book and their different expectations, especially if that book, as does the present one, attempts to cover a vast and largely unfamiliar territory. Nevertheless, I would like to try to clarify briefly what various readers may expect to find in this encyclopedia.

Originally planned as a collection of short essays on a large number of subjects, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* has preserved this format, without attempting to simplify a subject that is by nature complex. Readers who wish to become acquainted with topics and issues related to Taoism—as well as those who wish to know how Taoism has dealt with topics and issues shared with other traditions—may find here reliable accounts written by specialists in the academic field of Taoist studies (in almost all cases, contributors have written on topics relevant to their own specialization within the field). Throughout the lengthy editorial process, however, the book has also taken on many of the features of a specialized reference work. I deem this to be a positive development and would be pleased if students and scholars find *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* helpful for study, research, and possibly also for teaching. Cross-references, bibliographies, lists of related entries, and other features of the book should enable all readers to use *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* as a starting point for further investigation.

From the beginning of the editorial process, the expectations and requirements of the non-specialist reader have been kept in mind. In particular, care has been taken to provide, whenever possible, consistent translations of Chinese terms, in order to make the continuity among entries dealing with related topics clearer to readers who must depend on the English translations to find their way through the book. I am indebted to all contributors for assenting to this general principle, even though this has often meant they have had to cast aside their preferred translations and replace them with others. Nevertheless, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* still reflects the current lack of consensus among scholars on how several major terms found in Taoist texts should be rendered into English. Those terms that have retained multiple translations in this work include, for instance, *xin*, variously translated as “mind,” “heart,” “mind-heart,” or “heart-mind”; *wuxing*, translated as “five agents” or “five phases”; *xianren*, translated as “immortal”

or “transcendent”; and *zhenren*, translated as “true man,” “real man,” “authentic man,” or “perfected.”

*The Encyclopedia of Taoism* has been in preparation for much longer than most people involved would have wished or imagined when the project began. I apologize for this delay, for which I am ultimately responsible. I have been honored by the trust that so many colleagues have accorded to me, and I hope that they will be among the first to benefit from this book. Beyond this, I am grateful to all contributors for their support and encouragement, and for the patience they have displayed at all stages. All of them have taught me many important things.

I am certain that all the authors of this book join me in remembering two of us who have not seen their contributions published. Julian Pas passed away on June 12, 2000, and Isabelle Robinet on June 23 of the same year. Julian contributed many of the illustrations that appear in this book. Having published his *Historical Dictionary of Taoism* in 1998 (in cooperation with Mam Kam Leung; Lanham, Md., and London: The Scarecrow Press), he responded to my invitation by sending about five dozen original black-and-white photographs, from which I have selected those that match the content of the entries most closely. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* would have been not only much less attractive but also much less valuable without his help. Isabelle wrote about sixty entries, all of which reflect her profound understanding of the multiple levels of the Taoist discourse. “And with these, it makes almost a book,” she wrote to me when she sent her last batch of entries; indeed, her essays might be read as one of several books that an attentive reader can find contained within *the Encyclopedia of Taoism*.

I am grateful to the three production editors who helped begin the project and bring it to completion. Jonathan Price of Curzon Press contacted me in late 1996 with an invitation to take care of this book; his enthusiasm and the genuine interest that he showed in the subject of the encyclopedia are among the factors that persuaded me to accept this task. Since the project moved under Routledge's aegis, Dominic Shryane has displayed an almost unimaginable patience in helping to solve all kinds of major and minor issues. And in the final but decisive stages of the project, Gerard Greenway has made sure that everything moved in the right direction so that the book would, at long last, see the light of day.

George Clonos and Ben Brose, graduate students of the Department of

Religious Studies, Stanford University, have closely collaborated with me at various stages; I have enjoyed their help and friendship. Carl Bielefeldt, Bernard Faure, Michael Zimmermann, Michael Loewe, Ed Shaughnessy, Nicola di Cosmo, and Bent Nielsen have offered their advice and contributed to improve certain details of the book. Poul Andersen, Kim Daeyeol, Monica Esposito, and Vincent Goossaert, in addition to writing their own essays, have helped in areas beyond my expertise. Gaynor Sekimori, Joachim Kurtz, Jason Josephson, and Dominic Steavu have drafted translations of entries originally submitted in Chinese and Japanese. Su Xiaoqin, Yang Zhaohua, Kenneth Koo, and Noreen Khawaja have provided much-needed assistance. I am also grateful to Mitamura Keiko, Tanaka Fumio, and Tsuchiya Masaaki who have coauthored some entries with Yamada Toshiaki.

A special, heartfelt thank goes to Sarah Fremerman Apton, who copyedited the book with exceptional dedication and care for detail; her task included making entries that are written by contributors who speak about ten different native languages readable in English. David Goodrich of Birdtrack Press has given a splendid shape to the book, with his expertise in several East Asian writing systems and his readiness to improve even the most minute of details. Kitamura Yoshiko has offered constant support and has helped in more ways than I could ever say. Finally—and everyone will understand that here I am simply reverting the actual order of things—I wish to thank Tim Barrett, and not only for agreeing to write his foreword in addition to several essays. What exactly he did for this book is still somehow unclear to me; he may even have done nothing, of course in the Taoist sense.

Fabrizio Pregadio

# CONVENTIONS, FORMAT OF THE ENTRIES, ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

## *Conventions*

*Systems of transcription.* The *pinyin* system of alphabetic transliteration from Chinese is used throughout the book, except in quotations of passages from works that adopt the Wade-Giles system. Conversion tables from and to the *pinyin* and the Wade-Giles systems are found at the end of the book. For the Japanese and the Korean languages, the book adopts the Hepburn and the McCune-Reischauer systems of transcription, respectively.

*Personal names.* Chinese, Japanese, and Korean personal names are cited following the native convention, with the surname preceding the first name. Persons are typically referred to with their *ming* 名 (given name). The headings of entries devoted to persons indicate, when they are known and when this information is significant, the person's *zi* 字 (variously referred to in English as cognomen, courtesy name, or style) and *hao* 號 (appellation or sobriquet).

*Official titles.* Official titles are translated according to Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Hucker 1985), except where contributors have indicated that they prefer different translations.

*Place names.* As a rule, place names are followed by the corresponding

Chinese characters and the indication of the present-day province. Chinese characters are omitted, however, for the following place names that occur repeatedly throughout the book: Beijing (Peking) 北京, Chengdu 成都, Chang'an 長安, Guangzhou (Canton) 廣州, Fuzhou 福州, Hangzhou 杭州, Kaifeng 開封, Luoyang 洛陽, Nanchang 南昌, Nanjing 南京, Shanghai 上海, Suzhou 蘇州, and Xi'an 西安.

*Titles of texts.* Titles of texts are typically followed by the corresponding Chinese characters and an English translation. Chinese characters are omitted for texts that have independent entries in the book, for titles of the Standard Histories, and in parenthetical bibliographic references. Titles of works found in the Taoist Canon (*Daozang* 道藏) are often given in abbreviated form; the full titles are found in the bibliography of sources in the Taoist Canon (pp. 1335–60).

*Editions.* Most of the texts cited in this book are found in the Taoist Canon. References to these texts typically include, at the first occurrence in an entry, the abbreviation CT followed by the number assigned to the text in the catalogue by Kristofer Schipper, *Concordance du Tao-tsang: Titres des ouvrages* (Schipper 1975b). The bibliography of sources in the Taoist Canon (pp. 1335–60) provides the corresponding numbers in two other catalogues, namely *Daozang zimu yinde* 道藏子目引得 (Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature; Weng Dujian 1935) and *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 (A Conspectus of the Taoist Canon; Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng 1991).

Citations of the *Taiping jing* 太平經 and the *Baopu zi neipian* 抱朴子內篇 refer to the editions published by Wang Ming 王明 (Wang Ming 1960 and Wang Ming 1985, respectively). All references of the Standard Histories refer to the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 editions. The editions used for other texts are indicated within the entries.

*Dynasties, rulers, and reign periods.* The dates of dynasties, rulers, and reign periods, as well as the corresponding Chinese characters, are found in the tables on pp. 1465–66 (“Periodization of Chinese History”) and pp. 1467–70 (“Rulers and Reign Periods”).

#### *Format of the entries*

The *Encyclopedia of Taoism* has been conceived from the beginning to function as a starting point for further study and research. Cross-references, lists of related entries, and bibliographies—in addition to the Synoptic Table of Contents and the final indexes—serve this purpose.

*Cross-references.* Through the broad use of cross-references, marked by an asterisk (\*) at the first relevant occurrence of a term within an entry, virtually all the entries in the book lead the reader to other entries. Cross-references are not supplied, however, for four entries whose subjects are repeatedly mentioned in the book, namely “Dao,” “Laozi,” “*Daode jing*,” and “Yin and Yang.” Cross-references to entries found in the first part of the book (“Taoism: An Overview”) are indicated in small capitals; the page numbers of the individual entries in this part of the book are found on pp. 3–4.

*Related entries.* Most entries conclude with a list of related entries. While the cross-references within the main body of an entry refer to any item that has its own independent entry in the book, the final list of related entries is more focused and indicates other entries closely associated with the main subject of that particular entry—for instance, the author of a text, or the tradition with which a technical term is predominantly associated.


*Bibliographies.* With few exceptions, all entries include a selected bibliography. Priority has been given to books and articles in Western languages (especially English and French), but the bibliographies also include important studies in Chinese and Japanese. References to the author and year are keyed to the bibliography of secondary literature found on pp. 1362–1464. Reproductions of manuscripts, critical editions, translations, indexes, and concordances are identified as such in parentheses. Studies cited within the main body of an entry, on the other hand, concern specific topics and are not necessarily duplicated in the final list of bibliographic references.

While several standard works in Western languages, Chinese, and Japanese are routinely cited in most relevant entries, other general reference works on Taoism do not appear in the bibliographies. These works, which readers are invited to consult whenever possible, include in particular *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 (A Conspectus of the Taoist Canon; Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng 1991), *Daoism Handbook* (Kohn 2000b), the recently published *Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Schipper



and Verellen 2004), as well as Chinese and Japanese dictionaries and encyclopedias, among which one might mention *Zhonghua daojiao da cidian* 中华道教大辞典 (Great Dictionary of Chinese Taoism; Hu Fuchen 1995), *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辞典 (Great Dictionary of Taoism; Zhongguo daojiao xiehui and Suzhou daojjiao xiehui 1994), *Dōkyō no dai jiten* 道教の大事典 (Great Encyclopedia of Taoism; Sakade Yoshinobu 1994a), and *Dōkyō jiten* 道教事典 (Encyclopedia of Taoism; Noguchi Tetsurō et al. 1994).

### *Abbreviations and symbols*

BCE	Before Common Era
CE	Common Era
comm.	commentary
crit. ed.	critical edition
CT	<i>Concordance du Tao-tsang: Titres des ouvrages</i> (Schipper 1975b)
DMB	<i>Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644</i> (Goodrich and Fang 1976)
ECCP	<i>Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period</i> (Hummell 1943–44)
IC	<i>The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature</i> (Nienhauser 1986)
<i>j.</i>	<i>juan</i> 卷 (chapter or other subdivision of a text)
ms., mss.	manuscript, manuscripts
P.	Pelliot collection of Dunhuang manuscripts
part.	partial
S.	Stein collection of Dunhuang manuscripts
SB	<i>Sung Biographies</i> (Franke H. 1976)
sec.	section(s)
T.	Taishō Buddhist Canon
trans.	translation; translated by
YJQQ	<i>Yunji qiqian</i> 雲笈七籤 (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds)
※	Closely related entries
	Suggestions for further reading

For abbreviations of titles of serials, see p. 1361.

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*daojiao* 道教

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*fu* 符

*lu* 籙

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### *1. Doctrinal Notions*

*bianhua* 變化

*Dao* 道

*de* 德

*dong* and *jing* 動·靜

*fan* 反 (返)

*gushen* 谷神

*hundun* 混沌

*ji* 機

*jing, qi, shen* 精·氣·神

*qingjing* 清靜

*sanyi* 三一

*sanyuan* 三元

*ti* and *yong* 體·用

*tianxin* 天心

*wu* and *you* 無·有

*wuji* and *taiji* 無極·太極

*wuwei* 無為

*xiang* 象

*xiantian* and *houtian* 先天·後天

*xin* 心

*xing* 形

*xing* and *ming* 性·命

*xinzhai* 心齋

*xuan* 玄

*xuanpin* 玄牝

*yi* [intention] 意

*yi* [oneness] 一

*Yin* and *Yang* 陰陽

*yuanqi* 元氣

[zaohua](#) 造化

[ziran](#) 自然

## 2. *Transcendence and Immortality*

[lianxing](#) 鍊形

[shengren](#) 聖人

[shenren](#) 神人

[shijie](#) 尸解

[xianren](#) 仙人

[zhenren](#) 真人

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[Daode jing](#) 道德經

[Laozi Heshang gong zhangju](#) 老子河上公章句

[Laozi Xiang'er zhu](#) 老子想爾注

[Wang Bi](#) 王弼

[Yan Zun](#) 嚴遵

[Huainan zi](#) 淮南子

[Liezi](#) 列子

[Neiye](#) 內業

[Zhuangzi](#) 莊子

[Cheng Xuanying](#) 成玄英

[Guo Xiang](#) 郭象

### COMMENTARIES TO EARLY TEXTS

[Cheng Xuanying](#) 成玄英

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[Laozi Heshang gong zhangju](#) 老子河上公章句

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[Yan Zun](#) 嚴遵

### LATER TRADITIONS

[Chongxuan](#) 重玄

[qingtan](#) 清談

[Xuanxue](#) 玄學

#### LATER AUTHORS

[Chen Tuan](#) 陳搏

[Li Rong](#) 李榮

[Shao Yong](#) 邵雍

[Xi Kang](#) 嵇康

### *Later Texts*

(see also *Taoism and Chinese Buddhism: Texts*)

[Huashu](#) 化書

[Wenzi](#) 文子

[Wuneng zi](#) 無能子

[Xisheng jing](#) 西昇經

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[bagua](#) 八卦

[beidou](#) 北斗

[ganzhi](#) 干支

[jiugong](#) 九宮

[sanwu](#) 三五

[siling](#) 四靈

[tianmen and dihu](#) 天門·地戶

[wuxing](#) 五行

[xiu](#) 宿

[zi](#) 子

#### TEXTS AND CHARTS

[Hetu and Luoshu](#) 河圖·洛書

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[sanshiliu tian](#) 三十六天

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[dongtian and fudi](#) 洞天·福地

[Fengdu](#) 豐都

[Kunlun](#) 崑崙山

[Penglai](#) 蓬萊

[wuyue](#) 五嶽

### TEXTS

[Dongming ji](#) 洞冥記

[Shizhou ji](#) 十洲記

[Wuyue zhenxing tu](#) 五嶽真形圖

## 6. Deities

### MAJOR TAOIST DEITIES

[Beidi](#) 北帝

[Beidou xingjun](#) 北斗星君

[Changsheng dadi](#) 長生大帝

[Dongyue dadi](#) 東嶽大帝

[Doumu](#) 斗姆

[Heisha](#) 黑煞

[Jinque dijun](#) 金闕帝君

[Jiuku tianzun](#) 救苦天尊

[Laozi and Laojun](#) 老子·老君

[Hunyuan shengji](#) 混元聖紀

[Kaitian jing](#) 開天經

[Laojun bashiyi hua tu](#) 老君八十一化圖

[Laozi bianhua jing](#) 老子變化經

[Laozi ming](#) 老子銘



[Youlong zhuan](#) 猶龍傳  
[Puhua tianzun](#) 普化天尊  
[sanguan](#) 三官  
[sanhuang](#) 三皇  
[sanqing](#) 三清  
[Taiyi](#) 太一  
[Yuhuang](#) 玉皇  
[Zhenwu](#) 真武

#### OTHER DIVINE BEINGS

[Baosheng dadi](#) 保生大帝  
[Bixia yuanjun](#) 碧霞元君  
[Fengbo](#) 風伯  
[Hebo](#) 河伯  
[Hong'en zhenjun](#) 洪恩真君  
[Huangdi](#) 黃帝  
[Leishen](#) 雷神  
[Linshui furen](#) 臨水夫人  
[Mazu](#) 媽祖  
[Qingtong](#) 青童  
[Siming](#) 司命  
[Wang lingguan](#) 王靈官  
[Wen Qiong](#) 溫瓊  
[Wenchang](#) 文昌  
[Xiwang mu](#) 西王母  
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[Ceshen](#) 廁神  
[Chenghuang](#) 城隍  
[Guan Yu](#) 關羽  
[menshen](#) 門神  
[Tudi gong](#) 土地公  
[wangye](#) 王爺  
[wenshen](#) 瘟神  
[yaowang](#) 藥王

[Zaoshen](#) 灶神

## TEXTS

[Han Wudi neizhuan](#) 漢武帝內傳

[Wenchang huashu](#) 文昌化書

## 7. Immortals and Hagiography

### IMMORTALS

[Anqi sheng](#) 安期生

[baxian](#) 八仙

[Chisong zi](#) 赤松子

[Dongfang Shuo](#) 東方朔

[Fei Changfang](#) 費長房

[Gan Ji](#) 干吉

[Gengsang zi](#) 庚桑子

[Guangcheng zi](#) 廣成子

[Guigu zi](#) 鬼谷子

[Liu Haichan](#) 劉海蟾

[Lü Dongbin](#) 呂洞賓

[Qinyuan chun](#) 沁園春

[Taiyi jinhua zongzhi](#) 太一金華宗旨

[Lüzü quanshu](#) 呂祖全書

[Magu](#) 麻姑

[Maming sheng](#) 馬鳴生

[Maojun](#) 茅君

[Pengzu](#) 彭祖

[Rong Cheng](#) 容成

[Su Lin](#) 素林

[Su Yuanming](#) 蘇元明

[Wang Xuanfu](#) 王玄甫

[Wang Yuan](#) 王遠

[Wangzi Qiao](#) 王子喬

[Wei Huacun](#) 魏華存

[Xu Fu](#) 徐福

[Xu Jia](#) 徐甲

[Xu Xun](#) 許遜

[Yin Changsheng](#) 陰長生

[Yin Xi 尹喜](#)  
[Yue Zichang 樂子長](#)  
[Zhang Guolao 張果老](#)  
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[Kaitian jing 開天經](#)  
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[Laozi ming 老子銘](#)  
[Youlong zhuan 猶龍傳](#)

#### OTHER HAGIOGRAPHIC TEXTS AND COMPILATIONS

[Chunyang Lü zhenren wenji 純陽呂真人文集](#)  
[Daoxue zhuan 道學傳](#)  
[Dongxian zhuan 洞仙傳](#)  
[Liexian zhuan 列仙傳](#)  
[Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian 歷世真仙體道通鑑](#)  
[Lüzu quanshu 呂祖全書](#)  
[Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan 南嶽九真人傳](#)  
[Sandong qunxian lu 三洞群仙錄](#)  
[Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳](#)  
[Soushen ji 搜神記](#)  
[Xianyuan bianzhu 仙苑編珠](#)  
[Xu xianzhuan 續仙傳](#)  
[Xuanpin lu 玄品錄](#)  
[Yongcheng jixian lu 壩城集仙錄](#)

## 8. *The Human Being*

#### INNER LOCI AND COMPONENTS OF THE HUMAN BEING

[bajing 八景](#)  
[dantian 丹田](#)  
[dumai and renmai 督脈·任脈](#)  
[hun and po 魂·魄](#)

[jingluo](#) 經絡  
[mingmen](#) 命門  
[mingtang](#) 明堂  
[niwan](#) 泥丸  
[qixue](#) 氣血  
[sanguan](#) 三關  
[wuzang](#) 五臟  
[xuanguan](#) 玄關

#### CHARTS OF THE INNER BODY

[Neijing tu and Xiuzhen tu](#) 內景圖·修真圖

## 9. Ethics and Morals

#### NOTIONS AND TERMS

[chengfu](#) 承負  
[jie](#) [precepts] 戒

#### TEXTS

[Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie](#) 老君說一百八十戒  
[Taishang ganying pian](#) 太上感應篇  
[Xiang'er jie](#) 想爾戒

## 10. Temples, Abbeys, Shrines

[Baiyun guan](#) [Beijing] 白雲觀  
[Chaotian gong](#) [Beijing] 朝天宮  
[Dongxiao gong](#) [Dadi shan] 洞霄宮  
[Dongyue miao](#) [Beijing] 東嶽廟  
[Louguan](#) [Zhouzhi, Shaanxi] 樓觀  
[Pantao gong](#) [Beijing] 蟠桃宮  
[Qingyang gong](#) [Chengdu] 青羊宮  
[Shangqing gong](#) [Longhu shan] 上清宮  
[Taiqing gong](#) [Bozhou, Henan] 太清宮  
[Tongbo guan](#) [Tiantai shan] 桐柏觀  
[Tongdao guan](#) [1. Chang'an; 2. Zhongnan shan] 通道觀  
[Xuandu guan](#) [Chang'an] 玄都觀  
[Xuanmiao guan](#) [Suzhou] 玄妙宮

[Yongle gong \[Ruicheng, Shanxi\]](#) 永樂宮

[Yulong wanshou gong \[Xishan\]](#) 玉隆萬壽宮

## RELATED NOTIONS AND TERMS

[daoyuan](#) 道院

# 11. Mountains and Mountain Monographs

## MOUNTAINS

[Emei shan](#) 峨嵋山

[Gezao shan](#) 閣皂山

[Heming shan](#) 鶴鳴山

[Hengshan \[Hunan\]](#) 衡山

[Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan](#) 南嶽九真人傳

[Nanyue xiaolu](#) 南嶽小錄

[Nanyue zongsheng ji](#) 南嶽總勝集

[Hengshan \[Shanxi\]](#) 恆山

[Huashan](#) 華山

[Huoshan](#) 霍山

[Laoshan](#) 嶗山

[Longhu shan](#) 龍虎山

[Luofu shan](#) 羅浮山

[Lushan](#) 廬山

[Maoshan](#) 茅山

[Maoshan zhi](#) 茅山志

[Nanyue](#) 南嶽

[Qingcheng shan](#) 青城山

[Songshan](#) 嵩山

[Taishan](#) 泰山

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[Wudang shan](#) 武當山

[Wuyi shan](#) 武夷山

[Xishan](#) 西山

## MOUNTAIN MONOGRAPHS

[Maoshan zhi](#) 茅山志

[Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan](#) 南嶽九真人傳

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[Nanyue zongsheng ji](#) 南嶽總勝集

## 12. Textual Corpora and Literary Genres

### TAOIST CANON

[Da Jin Xuandu baozang](#) 大金玄都寶藏

[Da Song Tiangong baozang](#) 大宋天宮寶藏

[Sandong qionggang](#) 三洞瓊綱

[Wanli xu daozaang](#) 萬曆續道藏

[Xuandu baozang](#) 玄都寶藏

[Zhenghe Wanshou daozaang](#) 政和萬壽道藏

[Zhengtong daozaang](#) 正統道藏

### OTHER COLLECTANEA

[Daozaang jinghua](#) 道藏精華

[Daozaang jinghua lu](#) 道藏精華錄

[Daozaang jiyao](#) 道藏輯要

[Daozaang xubian](#) 道藏續編

[Zangwai daoshu](#) 藏外道書

[Zhuang-Lin xu daozaang](#) 莊林續道藏

### CATALOGUES

[Daozaang mulu xiangzhu](#) 道藏目錄詳注

[Daozaang quejing mulu](#) 道藏闕經目錄

[Lingbao jingmu](#) 靈寶經目

[Sandong jingshu mulu](#) 三洞經書目錄

### MANUSCRIPTS

[Dunhuang manuscripts](#)

[Guodian manuscripts](#)

[Mawangdui manuscripts](#)

[Yinqueshan manuscripts](#)

### LITERARY GENRES

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[shanshu](#) 善書

[yulu](#) 語錄

### III. History

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[fangji](#) 方技

[fangshi](#) 方士

[Huang-Lao](#) 黃老

[Li Hong](#) 李弘

[taiping](#) 太平

[Taiping jing](#) 太平經

[Yellow Turbans](#)

[Zhang Liang](#) 張良

[zhongmin](#) 種民

#### 2. Tianshi dao

[Tianshi dao](#) 天師道

[Wudoumi dao](#) 五斗米道

#### HAN-DYNASTY CELESTIAL MASTERS

[Zhang Daoling](#) 張道陵

[Zhang Heng](#) 張衡

[Zhang Lu](#) 張魯

#### TEXTS

[Chisong zi zhangli](#) 赤松子章曆

[Han tianshi shijia](#) 漢天師世家

[Laozi Xiang'er zhu](#) 老子想爾注

[Nüqing guilü](#) 女青鬼律

[Santian nejie jing](#) 三天內解經

[Shangqing huangshu guodu yi](#) 上清黃書過度儀

[Xuandu lüwen](#) 玄都律文

[Zhengyi fawen jing](#) 正一法文經

[Zhengyi weiyi jing](#) 正一威儀經

#### RELATED NOTIONS AND TERMS

[chu](#) 廚  
[heqi](#) 合氣  
[jiju](#) 祭酒  
[sanhui](#) 三會  
[tianshi](#) 天師 979  
[zhi](#) [parishes] 治

### 3. Six Dynasties Communities and Cults

#### COMMUNITIES AND CULTS

[Bojia dao](#) 帛家道  
[Dacheng](#) 大成  
[Lijia dao](#) 李家道  
[Louguan pai](#) 樓觀派

#### PERSONS

[Bao Jing](#) 鮑靚  
[Fan Changsheng](#) 范長生  
[Ge Hong](#) 葛洪  
[Baopu zi](#) 抱朴子  
[Shenxian zhuan](#) 神仙傳  
[Ge Xuan](#) 葛玄  
[Kou Qianzhi](#) 寇謙之  
[Laojun yinsong jiejing](#) 老君音誦誡經  
[Li Xiong](#) 李雄  
[Sun En](#) 孫恩  
[Zheng Yin](#) 鄭隱

#### TEXTS

[Baopu zi](#) 抱朴子  
[Dongyuan shenzhou jing](#) 洞淵神咒經  
[Laojun yinsong jiejing](#) 老君音誦誡經  
[Sanhuang wen](#) 三皇文  
[Wushang biyao](#) 無上祕要  
[Wuyue zhenxing tu](#) 五嶽真形圖

### 4. Shangqing



[Shangqing](#) 上清

#### SAINTS AND IMMORTALS

[Maojun](#) 茅君

[Su Lin](#) 素林

[Wang Yuan](#) 王遠

[Wei Huacun](#) 魏華存

[Ziyang zhenren](#) 紫陽真人

#### PERSONS

[Sun Youyue](#) 孫游嶽

[Tao Hongjing](#) 陶弘景

[Zhengao](#) 真誥

[Dengzhen yinjue](#) 登真隱訣

[Zhenling weiye tu](#) 真靈位業圖

[Yang Xi](#) 楊羲

#### TEXTS

[Basu jing](#) 八素經

[Ciyi jing](#) 雌一經

[Dadong zhenjing](#) 大洞真經

[Dengzhen yinjue](#) 登真隱訣

[Housheng daojun lieji](#) 後聖道君列紀

[Jiuzhen zhongjing](#) 九真中經

[Lingshu ziwen](#) 靈書紫文

[Shangqing dao leishi xiang](#) 上清道類事相

[Siji mingke jing](#) 四極明科經

[Suling jing](#) 素靈經

[Taidan yinshu](#) 太丹隱書

[Taixiao langshu](#) 太霄琅書

[Zhengao](#) 真誥

[Zhenling weiye tu](#) 真靈位業圖

#### RELATED NOTIONS AND TERMS

[housheng](#) 後聖

## 5. Lingbao

[Lingbao 靈寶](#)

#### PERSONS

[Ge Chaofu 葛巢甫](#)

[Lu Xiujing 陸修靜](#)

[Daomen kelüe 道門科略](#)

[Lingbao jingmu 靈寶經目](#)

[Lingbao shoudu yi 靈寶授度儀](#)

[Sandong jingshu mulu 三洞經書目錄](#)

#### TEXTS

[Buxu ci 步虛詞](#)

[Daomen kelüe 道門科略](#)

[Duren jing 度人經](#)

[Ershisi sheng tu 二十四生圖](#)

[Lingbao shoudu yi 靈寶授度儀](#)

[Lingbao wufu xu 靈寶五符序](#)

[Shengshen jing 生神經](#)

[Wupian zhenwen 五篇真文](#)

#### RELATED NOTIONS AND TERMS

[lingbao 靈寶](#)

[dafan yinyu 大梵隱語](#)

[pudu 普度](#)

## 6. Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties

#### PERSONS

[Du Guangting 杜光庭](#)

[Daojiao lingyan ji 道教靈驗記](#)

[Lidai chongdao ji 歷代崇道記](#)

[Yongcheng jixian lu 壙城集仙錄](#)

[He Zhizhang 賀知章](#)

[Huang Lingwei 黃靈微](#)

[Huanzhen xiansheng 幻真先生](#)

[Li Ao 李翱](#)

[Li Chunfeng 李淳風](#)

[Li Hanguang 李含光](#)

[Li Quan 李筌](#)

[Luo Gongyuan 羅公遠](#)

[Lüqiu Fangyuan 閻丘方遠](#)

[Nie Shidao 聶師道](#)

[Pan Shizheng 潘師正](#)

[Shi Jianwu 施肩吾](#)

[Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎](#)

[Fuqi jingyi lun 服氣精義論](#)

[Zuowang lun 坐忘論](#)

[Sun Simiao 孫思邈](#)

[Cunshen lianqi ming 存神鍊氣銘](#)

[Sheyang zhenzhong fang 攝養枕中方](#)

[Taiqing danjing yaojue 太清丹經要訣](#)

[Wang Bing 王冰](#)

[Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知](#)

[Wu Yun 吳筠](#)

[Shenxian kexue lun 神仙可學論](#)

[Ye Fashan 葉法善](#)

[Yin Wencao 尹文操](#)

[Zhang Wanfu 張萬福](#)

[Zhang Zixiang 張子祥](#)

[Zhao Guizhen 趙歸真](#)

## TEXTS

[Daodian lun 道典論](#)

[Daojiao lingyan ji 道教靈驗記](#)

[Daojiao yishu 道教義樞](#)

[Fengdao kejie 奉道科戒](#)

[Lidai chongdao ji 歷代崇道記](#)

[Sandong zhunang 三洞珠囊](#)

[Shenxian kexue lun 神仙可學論](#)

[Wudou jing 五斗經](#)

[Xuanmen dayi 玄門大義](#)

[Yiqie daoqing yinyi 一切道經音義](#)

## 7. Song, Jin, and Yuan Movements, Cults, and Codifications

### [JINGMING DAO](#)

[Jingming dao](#) 淨明道

[Jingming zhongxiao quanshu](#) 淨明忠孝全書

[Liu Yu](#) 劉玉

#### LEIFA

[Lei Shizhong](#) 雷時中

[leifa](#) 雷法

[Mo Qiyao](#) 莫起炎

[Sa Shoujian](#) 薩守堅

[Wang Weiyi](#) 王惟一

#### LINGBAO DAFA

[Lingbao dafa](#) 靈寶大法

[Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu](#) 靈寶領教濟度金書

[Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa](#) 靈寶無量度人上經大法

[Ning Benli](#) 寧本立

[Shangqing lingbao dafa](#) [CT 219 and 1222–23] 上清靈寶大法

#### QINGWEI

[Huang Shunshen](#) 黃舜申

[Qingwei](#) 清微

[Qingwei xianpu](#) 清微仙譜

#### SHANGQING

[Liu Hunkang](#) 劉混康

[Zhu Ziyang](#) 朱自英

#### SHENXIAO

[Gaoshang Shexiao zongshi shoujing shi](#) 高上神霄宗師受經式

[Lin Lingsu](#) 林靈素

[Shexiao](#) 神霄

[Wang Wenqing](#) 王文卿

#### TAIYI JIAO

[Taiyi jiao](#) 太一教

[Xiao Fudao](#) 蕭輔道

#### TIANXIN ZHENGFA

[Deng Yougong](#) 鄒有功

[Rao Dongtian](#) 饒洞天

[Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao](#) 太上助國救民總真祕要

[Tan Zixiao](#) 譚紫霄

[Tianxin zhengfa](#) 天心正法

#### TONGCHU

[Tongchu](#) 童初

#### YUTANG DAFA

[Lu Shizhong](#) 路時中

#### XUANJIAO

[Xuanjiao](#) 玄教

#### ZHEN DADAO

[Liu Deren](#) 劉德仁

[Zhen dadao](#) 真大道

#### ZHENGYI

[Wu Quanjie](#) 吳全節

[Zhang Jixian](#) 張繼先

[Zhang Keda](#) 張可大

[Zhang Liusun](#) 張留孫

[Zhang Sicheng](#) 張嗣成

[Zhang Zongyan](#) 張宗演

[Zhengyi](#) 正一

#### OTHER PERSONS

[Chen Jingyuan](#) 陳景元

[Dong Sijing](#) 董思靖

[Du Daojian](#) 杜道堅

[Guo Gangfeng](#) 郭罔鳳

[Lei Siqi](#) 雷思齊

[Wang Qinruo](#) 王欽若

[Yisheng baode zhuan](#) 翊聖保德傳

[Xiao Yingsou](#) 蕭應搜

[Xue Jizhao](#) 薛季昭

## OTHER TEXTS

[Daofa huiyuan](#) 道法會元

[Jinsuo liuzhu yin](#) 金鎖流珠引

[Yisheng baode zhuan](#) 翊聖保德傳

[Yunji qiqian](#) 雲笈七籤

[Yushu jing](#) 玉樞經

## 8. Quanzhen

[Quanzhen](#) 全真

### PERSONS

[Hao Datong](#) 郝大通

[Ji Zhizhen](#) 姬志真

[Li Daoqian](#) 李道謙

[Qizhen nianpu](#) 七真年譜

[Ganshui xianyuan lu](#) 甘水仙源錄

[Liu Chuxuan](#) 劉處玄

[Ma Yu](#) 馬鈺

[Qiu Chuji](#) 邱處機

[Changchun zhenren xiyou ji](#) 長春真人西游記

[Song Defang](#) 宋德方

[Sun Bu'er](#) 孫不二

[Tan Chuduan](#) 譚處端

[Wang Chuyi](#) 王處一

[Wang Zhe](#) 王嘉

[Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun](#) 重陽立教十五論

[Chongyang Quanzhen ji](#) 重陽全真集

[Wang Zhijin](#) 王志瑾

[Yin Zhiping](#) 尹志平 1171

[Yu Daoxian](#) 于道顯

### TEXTS

[Changchun zhenren xiyou ji](#) 長春真人西游記

[Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun](#) 重陽立教十五論

[Chongyang Quanzhen ji](#) 重陽全真集

[Ganshui xianyuan lu](#) 甘水仙源錄

[Jinlian zhengzong ji](#) 金蓮正宗記

[Minghe yuyin](#) 鳴鶴餘音

[Qizhen nianpu](#) 七真年譜

[Zhenxian beiji](#) 真仙碑記

#### RELATED NOTIONS AND TERMS

[huandu](#) 環堵

[zuobo](#) 坐鉢

## 9. Ming and Qing

#### [ZHENGYI](#)

[Zhang Guoxiang](#) 張國祥

[Zhang Yuanxu](#) 張元旭

[Zhang Yuchu](#) 張宇初

[Daomen shigui](#) 道門十規

[Zhang Zhengchang](#) 張正常

#### QUANZHEN

[Chen Mingui](#) 陳銘珪

[He Daoquan](#) 何道全

#### JINGMING DAO

[Liu Yuanran](#) 劉淵然

[Shao Yizheng](#) 邵以正

[Zhu Quan](#) 朱權

[Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce](#) 天皇至道太清玉冊

#### OTHER PERSONS

[Leng Qian](#) 冷謙

[Lin Zhao'en](#) 林兆恩

[Lou Jinyuan](#) 婁近垣

[Shao Yuanjie](#) 邵元節

[Tao Zhongwen](#) 陶仲文

[Zhao Yizhen](#) 趙宜真

#### TEXTS

[Chuzhen jielü](#) 初真戒律

[Daomen shigui](#) 道門十規

[Kaixin fayao](#) 開心法要

[Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce](#) 天皇至道太清玉冊

## 10. Contemporary Taoism

[Chen Yingning](#) 陳櫻寧

[Yi Xinying](#) 易心瑩

[Zhang Enpu](#) 張恩溥

### IV. Forms of Religious Practice and Experience

#### 1. Yangsheng (*Nourishing Life*)

[yangsheng](#) 養生

##### PRACTICES

[bigu](#) 辟穀

[biqi](#) 閉氣

[buqi](#) 布氣

[daoyin](#) 導引

[fangzhong shu](#) 房中術

[fuqi](#) 服氣

[huanjing bunao](#) 還精補腦

[lianqi](#) 鍊氣

[liuzi jue](#) 六字訣

[qigong](#) 氣功

[taiji quan](#) 太極拳

[taixi](#) 胎息

[tiaoqi](#) 調氣

[tuna](#) 吐納

[xingqi](#) 行氣

[zhongxi](#) 踵息

##### TEXTS

[Chifeng sui](#) 赤鳳髓

[Taixi jing](#) 胎息經

[Xinyin jing](#) 心印經

[Yangsheng yaoji](#) 養生要集



[Yangxing yanming lu](#) 養性延命錄

#### RELATED MEDICAL WORKS

[Huangdi neijing](#) 黃帝內經

[Ishinpō](#) 醫心方

[Zhubing yuanhou lun](#) 諸病源候論

## 2. Meditation

#### PRACTICES

[bugang](#) 步綱

[cun](#) 存

[ding](#) 定

[guan](#) 觀

[jingzuo](#) 靜坐

[neiguan](#) 內觀

[shouyi](#) 守一

[yuanyou](#) 遠遊

[zuowang](#) 坐忘

#### TEXTS

[Cunshen lianqi ming](#) 存神鍊氣銘

[Dingguan jing](#) 定觀經

[Fuqi jingyi lun](#) 服氣精義論

[Huangting jing](#) 黃庭經

[Laozi zhongjing](#) 老子中經

[Qingjing jing](#) 清靜經

[Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao](#) 上乘修真三要

[Sheyang zhenzhong fang](#) 攝養枕中方

[Tianyin zi](#) 天隱子

[Wuchu jing](#) 五廚經

[Zuowang lun](#) 坐忘論

## 3. Alchemy

[jindan](#) 金丹

[neidan](#) 內丹

[nüdan](#) 女丹

[waidan](#) 外丹

## ZHOUYI CANTONG QI AND RELATED TEXTS

[Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi](#) 古文周易參同契

[Longhu jing](#) 龍虎經

[Zhouyi cantong qi](#) 周易參同契

[Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi](#) 周易參同契考異

## [TAIQING](#)

[Jinye jing](#) 金液經

[Jiudan jing](#) 九丹經

[Taiqing](#) 太清

[Taiqing danjing yaojue](#) 太清丹經要訣

[Taiqing jing](#) 太清經

[Taiqing shibi ji](#) 太清石壁記

## PERSONS RELATED TO WAIDAN

[Chen Shaowei](#) 陳少微

[Hugang zi](#) 狐剛子

[Li Shaojun](#) 李少君

[Yuanyang zi](#) 元陽子

## OTHER WAIDAN TEXTS

[Danfang jianyuan](#) 丹方鑑源

[Danfang xuzhi](#) 丹房須知

[Sanshiliu shuifa](#) 三十六水法

[Shiyao erya](#) 石藥爾雅

## [ZHENYUAN](#)

[Zhenyuan](#) 真元

## ZHONG-LÜ

[Lingbao bifa](#) 靈寶畢法

[Qinyuan chun](#) 沁園春

[Xishan qunxian huizhen ji](#) 西山群仙會真記

[Zhong-Lü](#) 鍾離

[Zhongli Quan](#) 鍾離權

[Lü Dongbin](#) 呂洞賓

[Zhong-Lü chuandao ji](#) 種呂傳道集

NANZONG AND LATER RELATED AUTHORS AND TEXTS

[Bai Yuchan](#) 白玉蟾

[Chen Nan](#) 陳楠

[Chen Zhixu](#) 陳致虛

[Jindan dayao](#) 金丹大要

[Jindan sibai zi](#) 金丹四百字

[Li Daochun](#) 李道純

[Miao Shanshi](#) 苗善時

[Nanzong](#) 南宗

[Peng Si](#) 彭耜

[Shi Tai](#) 石泰

[Weng Baoguang](#) 翁葆光

[Wuzhen pian](#) 悟真篇

[Xiuzhen shishu](#) 修真十書

[Xue Daoguang](#) 薛道光

[Yu Yan](#) 俞琰

[Zhang Boduan](#) 張伯端

[Zhonghe ji](#) 中和集

WU-LIU PAI

[Huiming jing](#) 慧明經

[Liu Huayang](#) 柳華陽

[Wu Shouyang](#) 伍守陽

[Wu-Liu pai](#) 伍柳派

LONGMEN

[Liu Yiming](#) 劉一明

[Daoshu shi'er zhong](#) 道書十二種

[Longmen](#) 龍門

[Min Yide](#) 閔一得

[Wang Changyue](#) 王常月

[Chuzhen jielü](#) 初真戒律

OTHER PERSONS RELATED TO NEIDAN

[Chen Xianwei](#) 陳顯微

[Dong Dening](#) 董德寧

[Fu Jinquan](#) 傅金鈐

[Li Xiyue](#) 李西月

[Liu Zhigu](#) 劉知古

[Lu Xixing](#) 陸西星

[Fanghu waishi](#) 方壺外史

[Peng Dingqiu](#) 彭定求

[Peng Haogu](#) 彭好古

[Peng Xiao](#) 彭曉

[Qiu Zhao'ao](#) 仇兆鰲

[Wang Jie](#) 王玠

[Zhao Bichen](#) 趙避塵

#### OTHER NEIDAN TEXTS

[Chongbi danjing](#) 沖碧丹經

[Daoshu](#) 道樞

[Fanghu waishi](#) 方壺外史

[Guizhong zhinan](#) 規中指南

[Jindan dacheng ji](#) 金丹大成集

[Ruyao jing](#) 入藥經

[Taiyi jinhua zongzhi](#) 太一金華宗旨

[Xingming guizhi](#) 性命圭旨

[Yinfu jing](#) 陰符經

#### RELATED NOTIONS AND TERMS

[chushen](#) 出神

[dianhua](#) 點化

[dinglu](#) 鼎爐

[fu \[crucible\]](#) 釜

[huandan](#) 還丹

[huohou](#) 火候

[jinye](#) 金液

[langgan](#) 琅玕

[liuyi ni](#) 六一泥

[longhu](#) 龍虎

[muyu](#) 沐浴

[shengtai](#) 聖胎

[shuangxiu](#) 雙修

[zhan chilong](#) 斬赤龍

[zhoutian](#) 周天

## 4. Ritual

### OFFICIANTS

[daoshi](#) 道士

[daozhang](#) 道長

[dujiang](#) 都講

### RITUALS

[gongde](#) 功德

[huanglu zhai](#) 黃籙齋

[jiao](#) 醮

[jinlu zhai](#) 金籙齋

[luotian dajiao](#) 羅天大醮

[pudu](#) 普度

[tou longjian](#) 投龍簡

[tutan zhai](#) 塗炭齋

[wenjiao](#) 瘟醮

[yulu zhai](#) 玉籙齋

[zhai](#) 齋

### STAGES OF 'JIAO' AND 'GONGDE' RITUALS

[baibiao](#) 拜表

[daochang](#) 道場

[fabiao](#) 發表

[fang shema](#) 放赦馬

[fendeng](#) 分燈

[guoqiao](#) 過橋

[jintan](#) 禁壇

[kaitong minglu](#) 開通冥路

[myyu](#) 沐浴

[poyu](#) 破獄

[suqi](#) 宿啟

[tianku](#) 填庫

[wugong](#) 午供

[zhengjiao](#) 正醮

### TEXTS

[Chaotian baochan](#) 朝天寶懺

[Daomen kefan da quanji](#) 道門科範大全集

[Lingbao yujian](#) 靈寶玉鑑

[Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi](#) 無上黃籙大齋立成儀

[Zhaijie lu](#) 齋戒籙

## RELATED NOTIONS AND TERMS

[bianshen](#) 變身/變神

[chanhui](#) 懺悔

[chushen](#) 出神

[faq](#) 法器

[fal](#) 發爐

[fashi](#) 法師

[gongcao](#) 功曹

[guanfu](#) 冠服

[hongtou and wutou](#) 紅頭·烏頭

[huoju](#) 火居

[jiangshen](#) 降神

[kaiguang](#) 開光

[keyi](#) 科儀

[liandu](#) 鍊度

[mijue \(bijue\)](#) 祕訣

[ruyi](#) 入意

[sanchao](#) 三朝

[shoujue](#) 手訣

[shu](#) 疏

[tang-ki](#) 童乩

[wuying](#) 五營

[xianglu](#) 香爐

[xingdao](#) 行道

[zhiqian](#) 紙錢

## *V. Taoism and Chinese Buddhism*

### PERSONS

[Fu Yi](#) 傅奕

[Yixia lun](#) 夷夏論

[Gu Huan](#) 顧歡

[Tanluan](#) 曇鸞

## TEXTS

[Benji jing](#) 本際經

[Bianzheng lun](#) 辯正論

[Cantong qi](#) 參同契

[Dasheng miaolin jing](#) 大乘妙林經

[Haikong zhizang jing](#) 海空智藏經

[Hongming ji](#) 弘明記

[Huahu jing](#) 化胡經

[Xiaodao lun](#) 笑道論

[Xuanzhu lu](#) 玄珠錄

[Yebao yinyuan jing](#) 業報因緣經

[Yixia lun](#) 夷夏論

[Zhenzheng lun](#) 甄正論

## *VI. Miscellaneous Terms Related to Religious Ideas and Practices*

[benming](#) 本命

[fuji](#) 扶乩

[gengshen](#) 庚申

[gui](#) 鬼

[hanshi san](#) 寒食散

[huoling](#) 火鈴

[jie \[kalpa\]](#) 劫

[jiji ru lilong](#) 急急如律令

[jing and jian](#) 鏡·劍

[jingshi](#) 靜室

[jinji](#) 禁忌

[jinxiang](#) 進香

[liujia and liuding](#) 六甲·六丁

[sanshi and jiuchong](#) 三尸·九蟲

[santian and liutian](#) 三天·六天

[songjing](#) 誦經

[Tianpeng zhou](#) 天蓬咒

[yinsi](#) 淫祀

[zhi \[excrescences\]](#) 芝

[zuodao](#) 左道

## *VII. Associations*

[Nippon dōkyō gakkai](#) 日本道教學會  
[Zhongguo daojiao xiehui](#) 中國道教協會



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## DEFINITIONS

*daojia*

道家

Taoism; “Lineage(s) of the Way”

The term *daojia* is a topic of debate among scholars, mainly concerning whether early Taoism constituted a “school” or “lineage,” as the term *jia* seems to imply, and the distinction between *daojia* and \*DAOJIAO, which is often understood to mean the religious forms of Taoism. The term *daojia* itself originated with Han historiographers as a bibliographic label, but has also been applied to texts related to Taoist religion in such modern compilations as the *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 (Complete Essentials from the Four Sections of Literature) and the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Collectanea from the Four Sections of Literature).

According to many modern interpreters, *daojia* began with Laozi and Zhuangzi 莊子. Some scholars suggest that this classification is an *ex post facto* creation, arguing that Laozi and Zhuangzi were independent thinkers and that—at least as far as the first seven, authentic chapters of the \**Zhuangzi* are concerned—there is no evidence that they influenced each other. Similar circumstances, however, are common to several schools of philosophy and religion both in China and elsewhere. Confucius himself intended only to transmit and restore the lost order of the Zhou kingdom, with no awareness that he was beginning a school of thought. Moreover, the so-called *daojia* is only one of the roots of what came to be Taoism.

The main point, therefore, is not whether the *daojia* was a school—most specialists agree that it was not. Even though the features of *daojia* are found mainly in the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*, other texts and authors reflect these trends, each with its own emphasis. Some of the main Warring States

thinkers and texts belonging to this group are Shen Dao 慎到 (as reported in the *Zhuangzi*, j. 33), Yang Zhu 楊朱, Heguan zi 鶡冠子, the \**Neiye* (Inner Training) and *Xinshu* 心術 (Arts of the Heart) chapters of the *Guanzi* 管子, and the *Daoyuan* 道原 (Dao, the Origin; trans. Yates 1997, 171–77) scroll of the \*Mawangdui manuscripts. Later, Han syncretism, as expressed in the \**Huainan zi* and by the \*Huang-Lao school, tended to combine the thought of the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* with a philosophical exploitation of the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi) and certain features of the legalist school of thought. From the third century onward, the \*Xuanxue (Arcane Learning) thinkers and the \**Liezi* can be related to the *dao**jia*. In the Six Dynasties and the Tang periods, Taoist classics like the \**Qingjing jing*, the \**Xisheng jing*, the \**Yinfu jing*, the texts on \**neiguan* (inner observation) and \**zuowang* (sitting in oblivion), and the \*Chongxuan (Twofold Mystery) trend of thought are much indebted to it. The main points that unite these thinkers and texts are outlined below.

*The notion of dao.* First, the term *dao**jia* and its translation as “Taoism” derive from a new significance given to the word *dao* 道 in the *Daode jing*, the *Zhuangzi*, and other texts. The basic meanings of *dao* are “way” and “to say,” hence “the way one should walk and that is taught,” “guideline,” and “method.” In these texts the term took on a new meaning of Ultimate Truth, in the sense of the unique way that subsumes all the multiple human ways, and that is primal because nothing was before it and it is the source of everything. According to the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*, the Dao cannot actually be named and is beyond anything that can be grasped or delimited, but is open to personal experience. Both texts favor an apophatic approach that was entirely absent in the other teachings of their time. Having no form, because it exists before anything has taken form, the Dao can take all forms: it is both formless and multiform, and changes according to circumstances. No one can claim to possess or know it. As the source of everything, it is inexhaustible and endless; its Virtue or Efficacy (\**de*) is strength and light, and encompasses all life. Both the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* stress the necessity of following the natural order of the Dao and of Nourishing Life (\**yangsheng*), maintaining that this is sufficient for one's own well-being.

*Return to the Origin.* The *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* share the same concern for the origin of things. Unlike any other trend of thought in the Warring States period, these texts emphasize the necessity of “returning”

(\**fan* or *fu* 復) to the Dao, i.e., turning within oneself toward the Origin. This is essential to know and experience the Dao, and to fully understand the particular with regard to the two polar aspects of the Dao: indeterminate totality and receptive unity, on one side, and existence as organic diversity, on the other. Turning within oneself affords the quiescence required to experience the Dao. It consists in concentrating and unifying one's spirit (\**shen*) and will (*zhi* 志) on this experience, and in being receptive and compliant in order to receive this Dao. Hence the practice of concentration on the One (\**yi*), seen throughout the history of Taoism. This concentration means freeing oneself from desires, emotions, and prejudices, renouncing the conceptual self, and not getting entangled in knowledge and social concerns. The goal is to return to one's original nature and to pristine simplicity of the authentic state of things, which Taoists sometimes call the “great clod” (*dakuai* 大塊). It is related to an intuitive vision of the world as a unified whole, and a perception of the value and the natural strength (\**qi*) of life. This is not merely a reflection of the limitations of language, as some have claimed, but an intuitive, personal and sometimes mystical awareness that goes beyond language, conceptual thought, and social or moral practices and doctrines.

Based on this vision, the *Daode jing* and especially the *Zhuangzi* offer an ideal of the human being that has deeply influenced Chinese thought. The Taoist saint (\**shengren*) is before and beyond appellation and individual existence, and possesses cosmic and nearly divine stature and powers. He is an incarnation of the Dao and its Virtue, and dwells on the border between humanity and the Dao.

*Is Taoism philosophical?* Another issue in the debate among scholars is whether or not *daoia* is “philosophical.” Indeed, *Zhuangzi* and the Taoist saint are neither pro- nor antiphilosophical. They dwell in a open space where one thinks without being caught up in thought, and sees in a multifaceted “perspectivist” way. In addition, there is a fantastic vein in the *Zhuangzi* that is not philosophical and that was later developed in Taoism, particularly by the \*Shangqing school.

*Daoia* has also been labelled “non-purposive,” “non-instrumental,” and “contemplative” (e.g., by Creel 1970, 37–48), but these definitions are inadequate for three reasons. First, some trends of *daoiao*, or so-called “religious Taoism,” are also non-purposive and contemplative. Second,

concentration on the Dao or Oneness, and renunciation of social and personal values and activities, necessarily imply some “purposive” techniques of self-cultivation that the *daojia* texts often allude to. Third, various early *daojia* texts refer to political applications. The main difference between *daojia* and *daojiao* is perhaps that *daojiao* primarily aims at establishing a connection with the sacred, either as a relationship with deities and spirits or as the attainment of personal transcendence. The question of immortality is related to this point.

The *daojia* dimension of Taoism is absent in several Taoist trends and texts, and others appropriated the *Daode jing* without much regard for its many possible meanings. The *\*Xiang'er* commentary exemplifies this attitude. Nevertheless, the philosophical spirit and features embraced by the term *daojia* are apparent throughout most of the history of Taoism, beginning with the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), which may be the earliest extant *daojiao* text. With Yin-Yang and *\*wuxing* cosmology, the *daojia* has given Taoism one of its most basic conceptual frameworks, without which no religion can have a structured and coherent worldview.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Barrett 2000; Graham 1989, 170–234; Izutsu Toshihiko 1983, 287–486; Kirkland 2000; Li Shen 1995; Robinet 1997b, 1–23; Schwartz 1985, 186–255; Seidel 1997; Tang Junyi 1986, 1: 262–436; Thompson 1993

※ DAOJIAO

*daojiao*

道教

Taoism; Taoist teaching; “Teaching(s) of the Way”

This term, now denoting the religion which is the topic of this encyclopedia, originally meant no more than “Teaching of the Way”—though even this is misleading, in that inculcation rather than education is implied by “teaching.” All early instances of the term, therefore, have a rather vague application: in preimperial times Mohists use it with reference to the classical traditions of the sages, more or less equivalent to Confucianism; from the late Han onward

Buddhists use it also as an elegant synonym for *fojiao* 佛教, “The Teachings of the Buddha.” Only in the fifth century do we find it used in the sense that it has now acquired; only then did such a term become necessary.

Up to that point various religious groups whose adherents rallied together under the new label had already come into existence, from the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) onward. But although they shared a common belief in the values of empire—authority and order—they remained distinct from one another, as did those individuals who adhered to traditions of ancient occult learning going back to the Han, if not earlier, which had remained outside the Han state's synthesis of learning under the banner of Confucianism. These individuals tended to use the word \*daoia, a term first attested in the early second century BCE (*Shiji*, 56.2062), and used thereafter both by doxographers retrospectively describing presumed groups of texts of the preimperial period and as a term for masters of self-cultivation and the pursuit of immortality—we must suppose there was some link between early texts and contemporary masters in the Han mind.

But by the fifth century the implicit unity of all these individuals and groups over against the disparate, “uncontrolled” cults of local religion could now be replaced by a conscious unity across diversity on the model of Buddhism, where many different doctrines were accorded the same status as Buddha's word. Dynasties of the early fifth century in both the north and the south came to the conclusion that organized religion on the Buddhist model was more of a help than a threat, especially after the rebellion of \*Sun En and similar incidents underlined just what the results of the corruption of “higher” religion by less agreeable elements might result in. The establishment of an externally verifiable canonical literature; the codification of rituals and priestly standards in general; the beginnings of monastic foundations of the Buddhist type—all these represent the creation of a “religion” out of a much looser assemblage of religious elements, and obviously some sort of unifying name was necessary. The \**Yixia lun* (Essay on the Barbarians and the Chinese) of \*Gu Huan (420/428–483/491) is usually taken as the scene of its first appearance in this sense, though its presence in the biography of \*Kou Qianzhi (365?–448) in the *Weishu* (History of the Wei; trans. Ware 1933, 228–35) may attest a somewhat earlier occurrence, and an essay by Zhou Yong 周顒 to which Gu was responding already implicitly refers to Buddhism and Taoism as contrasting *jiao*.

It was, of course, inevitable that the Buddhists should have attempted to

disassemble this construct polemically. Uncertain of their control of physical sacred space in China, where numinous places were already cult sites, they were anxious to deny their newly organized rivals cultural space by imposing a contrast between the otherworldly concerns of Buddhism leading to *nirvāṇa*, and (by analogy with the Indian case of the old Hindu gods) the sublunary status of all other religious phenomena. Laozi was acceptable as a philosopher, but had had no soteriological intent; pursuit of immortality within this world was fine (though success was, of course, dependent on *karma*); even some forms of religious observance might be tolerable—but not the aping of Buddhism's grand conception of the cosmos and the human condition.

This attempt at stifling *daojiao* at birth was frustrated by its clear political appeal as a religion much more in tune with Chinese imperial symbolism than Buddhism. On these grounds it garnered widespread support from dynasties such as the Northern Wei, the Northern Zhou and (most definitively) the Tang. During the Tang epoch the categories of the Three Teachings (of Confucius, Laozi and the Buddha) proved such a convenient way of ordering the intellectual interests of the elite—even though they were far from mutually substitutable equivalents—that at a conceptual level they became an irreducible part of Chinese culture.

The consolidation of Neo-Confucianism under Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; SB 282–90) affected discourse on *daojiao* in slightly different ways, as may be seen from his *Recorded Sayings* under this heading (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, Zhonghua shuju ed., 125.3005–6). He himself generally prefers the Han usage *daojia* to refer to everything from Laozi down to the religion of his contemporaries, and under that term does support the Buddhist charge of plagiarism against Taoism, mainly with a view to recapturing for Confucians elements of the state cult of Heaven which had fallen under Taoist control during the Tang. He evidently treats *daojiao* as a synonym for *daojia*, and uses it in opposition to *rujiao* 儒教 “Confucianism,” stating that Confucianism may not be too vigorous, but Taoism has declined the most; another dictum specifies this decline (in *daojia*, in this case) as having taken place in two phases, from Laozi to the pursuit of immortality, and thence to the rituals and prayers which put it on a par with shamanic religion.

This rhetoric of decline, essential to the self-image of the Neo-Confucians as revivers of their Way, imposed a unity on the phenomenon known indifferently as *daojia/daojiao* in a completely ahistorical fashion, but a



fashion that was irresistible to Protestant missionaries of the nineteenth century, whose religion was founded upon a somewhat analogous rhetoric with regard to Catholic Christianity. Meanwhile, Japanese scholars, under the greater traditional influence of medieval Buddhist polemics (see \*[Bianzheng lun](#)) tended to bifurcate *dao**jia*, signifying the philosopher Laozi and his peers, from *dao**jiao*, signifying the religious elements opposed to Buddhism—this, too, clearly appealed to the Protestant element in Western thought. (Fukui Fumimasa 1995, 14, lists the key Japanese contributions to clarifying this issue; Penny 1998 explores some Protestant approaches to Taoism.)

Thus the manipulation of the term *dao**jiao* by non-Taoists to suit their own agendas has in no small measure created the marked twentieth century confusion as to what Taoism is and was. It has at last been observed in a good discussion of the topic by Stephen R. Bokenkamp (1997, 11), that Taoists were perfectly capable of defining themselves through their own writings. By relying on those writings this encyclopedia seeks to make clear what *dao**jiao* meant to those who appropriated this term as their own: for a complete definition, the reader is hereby cross-referred to the sum total of other entries in this volume.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Barrett 2000; Chen Guofu 1963, 259 and 271–74; Fukui Fumimasa 1995; Kirkland 2000; Robinet 1997b, 1–23; Seidel 1997; Thompson 1993

※ DAOJIA

## LINEAGES AND TRADITIONS

### Lineages

Lineages in Taoism highlighted connections between human beings and the

sacred Way. People in China had long seen their society and its traditions as families organized by their reverence for recognized forebears. These organizations created cultural identities when people ritually linked themselves to predecessors, whether biological or imagined. Using ritual to acknowledge those who had passed on and their living heirs helped to strengthen society and to fashion a structure of depersonalized ancestors able to support that society. The genealogical imperative of Chinese civilization was typically patriarchal, focusing on male ancestors and descendants more than their female counterparts. These lineages also provided a rich resource for structuring and strengthening the political, religious, and cultural dimensions of Chinese lives.

Classical thinkers saw some key ideas of China's bronze civilizations of the Central Plains, such as the notion of ancestors and their living representatives, as signs of how a unified *qi* distributed itself across social space. Ritual could keep this differentiated *qi* in good order within a family, whose duties were the source of Chinese ethical responsibility and moral behavior. Han scholars used familial models to structure various political and cultural forms, including that of a common “family” (*jia* 家) binding together the presumed authors of diverse writings. Genealogical presumptions organized both writings and cultural forms, broadening their influence in Chinese culture.

Taoist traditions tapped into these ancestral sociocultural sources for creating identities in China, but gave them a new foundation, the patterned condensations of *qi* that manifest the sacred Way. Taoism went further, however; from its first movements in the second century CE, it stressed that this cosmic Way also regularly becomes part of human history. The sacred and anthropomorphic incarnations of the sacred Way in human society—as patriarchs, transcendentals, and saints—had their counterparts in the human body, composed of *qi* that could be refined and purified through ritual and meditation, and thus became the means for reuniting with the Way. Since everything in the world partook of *qi* that was rooted in the singular Way, the various Taoist traditions were so many sets of revealed reminders of the sacred sources of human life, and represented means to ritually and spiritually reconnect human life with these sources. Patriarchs, transcendentals, and masters distributed these reminders to worthy human beings.

As was typical in China, heirs to this Way imagined their sacred learning and the spiritual ties to the Way and its human embodiments as “families”

(*jia*), “lineages” (*zong* 宗), or “branches” (*pai* 派), whose “patriarchs” or “ancestors” (*zu* 祖) that had emanated from the Way distributed scriptures (see \*REVELATIONS AND SACRED TEXTS), talismans (\*FU), and ritual systems (*fa* 法) to worthy people. Taoist movements retained the key social value of family responsibility. The focus on the well-being of ancestors and the family reflected in early Taoist texts served as a template for other social values, including those articulated through ritual and scripture. Taoist initiation structured access to levels of understanding and deployed those aspects of the Way that best served human beings. Through moral living and sacred learning, an adept also gained access to larger and more powerful arrays of ritual forebears and living representatives who were charged with ensuring the orderly workings of the Way in the world. Taoist rituals served not only as reminders of proper order manifested in the Way, but also worked to instill that order in them. *Lineages in the history of Taoism*. The best-known examples of lineage in Taoism appear in the chains of Celestial Masters (\**tianshi*) stemming from \*Zhang Daoling, the \*Shangqing (Highest Clarity) patriarchs \*Wei Huacun and \*Yang Xi, and sacred lines of Taoist learning, extending all the way down to the eighteenth-century genealogical compilations of the \*Longmen (Gate of the Dragon) branch of \*Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) teachings. For the great Yuan hagiographer Zhao Daoyi 趙道(fl. 1294–1307), humans who “perfected transcendence and embodied the Way” came from all over China and from all social levels. At the same time, Taoist initiates embodied the purest emanations of the Way and replicated their activities in the world, reflecting the basic family values of filiality, brotherly concern, and benevolence. The Taoist initiate worked not only to save self, ancestors, and all living beings, but also to bring order to the natural world.

Over time, lineages that had begun as local traditions become embedded in grander visions of their ties to the Way, including elaborate spiritual genealogies connecting recent human preceptors to the primordial Way. Later traditions often stressed ties to classical Taoist traditions such as \*Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity), \*Lingbao (Numinous Treasure), Shangqing, and \*Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way). This process gave rise to tensions between innovation and tradition, which may be seen in the \*Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart), \*Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure), and \*Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) traditions, as well as in the cults to various local deities credited with issuing new Taoist teachings.

Traditions like Quanzhen and \*Qingwei (Pure Tenuity) worship their forebears as deities.

As Taoist traditions proliferated, the sacred genealogies that sought to legitimate contemporary belief and practice expanded and extended, showing how previously separate chains were actually part of elaborate webs of spiritual authority originating in the purest emanations of the Way itself. Thus, for example, what began as two separate local traditions, the \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) \**neidan* tradition and \*Wang Zhe's (1113–70) Quanzhen legacy, became known by early Ming times as the Southern and Northern Lineages (Nanbei zong 南北宗 see under \*Nanzong), a unity that by the late nineteenth century had become embedded in the larger penta-directional set of traditions that also included \*Li Daochun's (fl. 1288–92) Central Branch (Zhongpai 中派), \*Lu Xixing's (1520–1601 or 1606) Eastern Branch (Dongpai 東派), and \*Li Xiyue's (1806–56) Western Branch (Xipai 西派).

Lowell SKAR

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 10–20; Keightley 1990

### Transmission

The simplest form of transmission in China was pedagogical. A teacher such as Confucius orally passed on his learning to his pupils who recorded his wisdom for later posterity. An erudite might also personally present a text containing his wisdom to a deserving recipient. Another type of transmission appeared in the “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書 see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA) that were popular during the reign of Wang Mang (r. 9–23). Those texts were the repositories of myths, and each was associated with one of the Confucian classics. A “dragon-horse” bearing the eight trigrams (\**bagua*) of the \**Yijing* on its back emerged from the Yellow River to convey them to Fu Xi 伏羲 who copied them. A yellow dragon bearing the *Chart of the [Yellow] River* (*Hetu*) on its back crawled out of the river and presented it to \*Huangdi. A giant, black tortoise carrying a talisman in its beak came forth from the water, placed it on an altar before Huangdi and departed. A numinous turtle with the *Writ of the Luo [River]* (*Luoshu*) imprinted on its cinnabar red shell in azure

script emerged from the Luo River and transmitted it to Cangjie 倉頡 a divinity known as the inventor of writing. (On these two charts, see the entry \**Hetu* and *Luoshu*.) The trigrams, chart, talismans (\*FU), and texts were tokens that confirmed Heaven's conferral of the mandate on the ancient sage kings, and they became essential elements of Taoist rituals and ordinations.

On June 11 of 142, the Most High Lord Lao (Taishang Laojun 太上老君), i.e., Laozi deified (\*Laojun), descended to Mount Heming (\*Heming shan, Sichuan) and bestowed the Dao of the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity (*zhengyi mengwei* 正一盟威) on \*Zhang Daoling. This tradition, perhaps a later fabrication, was another sort of transmission, a personal revelation to a living human from a deity. What Zhang precisely received on that occasion is not at all clear since various sources supply different titles. Evidence seems to indicate that the works of Zhang or other \*Tianshi dao leaders included registers (\*LU), talismans, petitions, and codes. Later in the Six Dynasties, the priesthood, Zhang's successors, was responsible for inducting juveniles and young people into the faith. The rites involved transmitting registers.

*Scriptural transmission.* The \**fangshi* introduced another form of transmission involving arcane texts, some of which made their way into the alchemical tradition of Taoism. \*Ge Hong traced their transmission back to \*Zuo Ci (fl. ca. 200) and was one of the recipients of works at an altar (*tan* 壇) in the mountains of what is now northeast Jiangxi. There he received from his master three texts on alchemy under an oath of covenant (*meng* 盟) as well as secret oral instructions (*koujue* 口訣) on their meaning that could not be written down (see \*Taiqing). Originally, a deity (\**shenren*) had bestowed them on Zuo who in turn transmitted them to Ge's uncle, \*Ge Xuan, who passed them on Ge's master, \*Zheng Yin.

Ge Hong mentions another form of transmission involving the \**Sanhuang wen* (Script of the Three Sovereigns). Immortals hide copies of it in caves on all of the sacred mountains. When a person qualified to attain the Dao enters one of the mountains and earnestly meditated, its god will open the grotto and permit him to view the text. The process, however, was a little more complicated, as there were two traditions concerning the revelation of the scripture; but in both cases the text appeared spontaneously on the walls of grottoes after the persons stared at it or meditated and fasted. When they were able to discerning the writing, the two left pledges, copied the scriptures and

departed.

*Transmission and revelations in the Six Dynasties.* The oldest reliable accounts of divine transmission to humankind date from the second half of the fourth century. Between 364 and 371, a dozen or so of the Perfected appeared to \*Yang Xi in nocturnal visions to bestow upon him more than ten \*Shangqing scriptures and hagiographies as well as more than forty scrolls of oral instructions. Of all the Taoist revelations that occurred between 142 and 400, this is the only one that appears to have been the product of true ecstatic experience because Yang and his patrons, the Xus 許 kept detailed transcripts of the epiphanies. The influence of older occult sources is evident in the scriptures; the visions may have been nothing more than instruments for reshaping earlier writs and procedures to conform to Yang's new insights and agenda.

In the fifth century, the \*Lingbao order added a new twist to the lore of transmission. They contended that their scriptures had emerged before creation as coagulations of \*qi (pneuma). After the gods appeared, the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 see \*[sanqing](#)) had the texts cast on gold tablets and stored in his celestial archives. Thereafter, he granted lesser deities access to them if they underwent the proper rituals. Five eons passed before the Celestial Worthy decided it was time transmit the texts to a mortal. At his behest three of the Perfected descended with a cortege of carriages, an escort of cavaliers and a retinue of immortal lads and jade maids in the millions. That host landed on Mount Tiantai (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang) where the Perfected bestowed the scriptures, one by one, on Ge Hong's uncle who had made himself worthy of receiving them by suffering through innumerable reincarnations and having compassionately vowed to strive for the salvation of all mankind.

*Transmission and ordination.* These traditions, however fanciful, served a purpose. They established the sanctity of the scriptures as direct gifts from the gods. They also laid the foundations for mundane transmissions of sacred texts. Once the texts found their way into human hands it was the responsibility of the recipients to pass them on to worthy recipients. By the fifth century with the appearance of the first liturgy for ordinations, compiled by \*Lu Xiuqing, the process of transmission became codified (see \*[Lingbao shoudu yi](#)). Taoist investitures were the liturgical confirmation of a master's transmission of texts to his disciple and were overwhelmingly juridical in

nature. There were three legal formalities required of ordinands. The first were covenants by which they bound themselves to the gods and promised to venerate the scriptures. The punishment for violating such pacts was condemnation to the dark prisons of eternal night in hell. The second were vows. Ordinands gave their word that they would be temperate, chaste, compassionate, humane, benevolent, tolerant, and filial. The third were oaths. Ordinands swore never to transmit the canon indiscriminately, reveal its contents, violate its admonitions, converse or disparage the scriptures, or bestow the texts for a fee. To guarantee that they would never breach their word, they had to submit pledges in the form of gold, cash and textiles.

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▣ Benn 1991, 72–98; Lagerwey 1981b, 105–20, 117–40, and 149–70; Seidel 1983a; Stein R. A. 1968; Stein R. A. 1969a

✕ INITIATION; LINEAGES; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD; REVELATIONS AND SACRED TEXTS

## Initiation

In Taoism, the problem of how knowledge and skill are transmitted to the next generation (*chuanshou* 傳授) is not dealt with in a systematic or regulated way, but rather as a direct confrontation between master and disciple. This theme will be considered here centering on the treatment given in \*Ge Hong's (283–343) \**Baopu zi*. Ge Hong repeatedly stresses that if a person earnestly wishes to achieve immortality he should study under a master, and if a good master is not chosen, there can be no success. The entire chapter 14 (“Qinqiu” 勤求, “Seek Diligently”) of the *Baopu zi* deals with this theme.

Although students of the future must make it their duty to seek a master, it is vital that they do so having made very sure of him first. A person of poor and narrow knowledge will be powerless to help them to achieve the Way, because his actions will be shallow, his virtue weak, his accomplishment feeble, and his resources scarce. (14.257–58; see trans. Ware 1966, 237)

Ge Hong calls an excellent teacher an “enlightened master” or *mingshi* 明師 and repeatedly speaks about such a person. He says, for instance:

If you wish to become a divine immortal (*shenxian* 神仙), you must grasp the essential. The essential consists of treasuring the essence (*baojing* 寶精 see \**jing*), circulating breath (\**xingqi*), and ingesting the Great Medicine. In these three, however, there is profundity and shallowness. You cannot learn all about them in a short time unless you meet an enlightened master and go through much hard work. (8.149; see trans. Ware 1966, 138)

Ge Hong's “enlightened master,” as depicted in the *Baopu zi*, does not merely imply a wise teacher. As *ming* (enlightened) can mean *sheng* 聖 (saint, or sage) in contrast to *su* 俗 (worldly; Maspero 1933), *mingshi* can be interpreted as a person who is permitted, by means of a pact with the deities, to transmit the Taoist scriptures and techniques (Yoshikawa Tadao 1980). Therefore Ge Hong encourages people to seek an enlightened master, because without one, they cannot be taught the esoteric scriptures and secret teachings. He also says that refining the elixir cannot be easily done without receiving secret teachings from an enlightened master (Ware 1966, 270.)

A master gives this one-to-one transmission, or *shishou* 師受, only to a person in whom he has confidence and who is fit to receive the secret transmission. Ge Hong says that certain alchemical texts and methods must only be transmitted to the wise, even if the master is offered a mountain of gold for their secrets (Ware 1966, 75). The transmission of such texts to someone inferior would bring down heavenly punishment. Fear of the “retribution of Heaven” is found not only in the *Baopu zi* but also in other Taoist writings from the Six Dynasties. For instance, the \**Nüqing guilü* (Demon Statutes of Nüqing; 3.3b) says that Heaven will decrease by 300 the allotment of points that determine the length of life of anyone who shows the scriptures to a lay person or divulges the secret teachings.

*MIURA Kunio*

■ Mollier 1990, 117–18; Robinet 1984, 1: 120–21; Robinet 1990a; Seidel 1983a, 327–35 and passim; Stein R. A. 1968; Yoshikawa Tadao 1980; see also bibliography for the entry \*TRANSMISSION

※ LINEAGES; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD; SYNCRETISM; TRANSMISSION

### Ordination and priesthood

Taoist ordination developed in the Six Dynasties under the influence of both



traditional pledges used for political covenants and membership ceremonies of the Buddhist *sagha*. Like the former, it is essentially a rite of cosmic empowerment and change in social status; like the latter, it requires a set number of masters and witnesses, involves the chanting of various ritual incantations, and is formalized through the transference of a new title and a set of religious robes.

The earliest record of a ceremony for the transmission of Taoist scriptures is found in the *\*Laojun yinsong jiejing* (Scripture on Precepts of Lord Lao, Recited [to the Melody in the Clouds]) of *\*Kou Qianzhi* (365?–448). Here a rite is prescribed that involves the presence of a group of masters and recipients, the formal bowing and performance of obeisances, and the ritual chanting of the precepts (*\*jie*) as presented in the scripture. The precepts are at the center of the ceremony, and the text explains that they “must always be venerated and treated with great diligence” and should not be transmitted except with the prescribed methods (1a).

Another early glimpse of Taoist ordination is found in the preface to the fourth-century *\*Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie* (The Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao), recovered from *\*Dunhuang*. The text emphasizes that, in order to receive the precepts, adepts must purify themselves by bathing, abstention from the five pungent vegetables, and changing into fresh clothing. After bowing to their master, they receive the rules by reciting them three times and vowing to observe them. When the transmission is over, adepts obtain the text of the precepts and make one copy so they can venerate the text.



Fig. 1. Zhang Yuanxian 張源先, sixty-fourth Celestial Master (*\*tianshi*), reads an ordination text in Kaohsiung, Taiwan (December 1978). Photograph by Julian Pas.

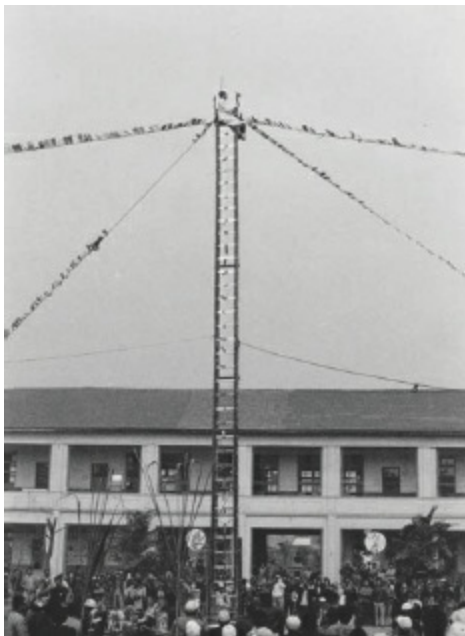


Fig. 2. As part of the ordination ritual, a candidate must climb a ladder of thirty-six swords and recite texts on top of the ladder. Each blade is “protected” by a paper talisman (*\*fu*). Kaohsiung, Taiwan (December 1978). Photograph by Julian Pas.

More elaborate ordination ceremonies, which more actively integrate Buddhist procedures, appear in Tang-dynasty sources, such as the *\*Fengdao kejie* (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao) and the *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法籙略說 (Synopsis of

Transmissions for Scriptures, Precepts, and Liturgical Registers of the Three Caverns; CT 1241; Benn 1991, 148–51), which also specify an integrated ordination or priestly hierarchy. The earliest Taoist ranks known, which became the foundation of the hierarchy, are those of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), in which different types and numbers of protective generals are listed in registers and presented to disciples. Ranks here include register disciple (*lusheng* 籙生), demon trooper (*guizu* 鬼卒), Dao official (*daoguan* 道官), and libationer (\**jijiu*). Anyone holding registers of 150 generals, as described in \*Lu Xiuqing's \**Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community), had to be good, loyal, simple, careful, prudent, diligent, and utterly dedicated to the Dao. They made up the avant-garde of the religion. Another frequently bestowed rank was that of Exalted Mystery (Gaoxuan 高玄), associated with the *Daode jing* and a set of ten precepts, subdivided into three levels, beginning with the status of “disciples of unsullied belief” (*qingxin dizi* 清信弟子 Bokenkamp 1989, 18–20; see also under \**jie*).

The integrated ordination system that was dominant throughout the Tang dynasty had eight ranks, which are listed below from lowest to highest:

1. Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi 正 Celestial Masters)
2. Divine Spells (Shenzhou 神咒)
3. Exalted Mystery (Gaoxuan 高玄)
4. Cavern of Spirit (Dongshen 洞神)
5. Ascension to the Mystery (Shengxuan 昇玄)
6. Cavern of Mystery (Dongxuan 洞玄)
7. Cavern of Perfection (Dongzhen 洞真)
8. Three Caverns (\*Sandong 三洞)

As ordinands passed on to higher levels, the requirements became more rigorous, monastic status was essential, and ceremonies grew more intricate. One example of a Cavern of Mystery (i.e., \*Lingbao) ceremony is described in great detail in the *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* (see Benn 1991), on the occasion of the ordination of the two Tang princesses Gold-Immortal and Jade-Perfected, held in February, 711.

Typically, candidates for ordination were carefully chosen and underwent extended periods of ritual and scriptural training under the guidance of an Ordination Master (*dushi* 度師) with the active support of their families and sponsors from the community. At the time of ordination they would present themselves before three masters—the Ordination Master, the Registration Master (*jishi* 籍師) and the Scripture Master (*jingshi* 經師), five to ten witnesses, a group of officiating priests, and representatives of their families and the community. In various formal rituals, they bid farewell to their fathers and lords, to whom they bowed for the last time; surrendered themselves fully to the Three Treasures of Dao, scriptures, and masters; delivered extensive material pledges to benefit the Taoist community; and vowed to uphold the precepts and faithfully carry out their religious responsibilities.

In return they were equipped with the insignia of their new status: religious names as well as formal titles, vestments (see under *\*guanfu*), and headdresses. They also received the scriptures and precepts relevant to their new ranks (which they copied within three days of the ceremony, in order to keep one copy with them at all times even to take them to the grave), as well as empowering tokens such as contracts (to identify themselves among the celestial officers), talismans and registers (to control the gods, gain protection, and ensure the correct delivery of memorials; see *\*FU* and *\*LU*), ordinances (to grant free passage on earth and in heaven), and various ritual techniques (spells, incantations, sacred gestures, and so forth).

The fully ordained Taoist was considered a member of the divine rather than the earthly community, and wielded considerable power. No distinction was made in the ranking and empowering of women, whose only special mark was an elaborate headdress, which also gave them the general appellation *nüguan* 女冠 or “female hats.”

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▣ Benn 1991, 72–98; Benn 2000; Despeux 1986; Kohn 2003a; Kohn 2004b; Lagerwey 1987b; Little 2000b, 208–13; Ozaki Masaharu 1986b; Schipper 1978, 376–81; Schipper 1985c; Schipper 1993, 82–88

※ LINEAGES; MONASTIC CODE; MONASTICISM

## Syncretism

Taoism took shape through the integration of various trends of thought and religious practice. Unlike Confucians and Buddhists, most Taoists accepted and even asserted this syncretic tendency. This is one of the reasons it is difficult to give Taoism an exact definition. In fact, syncretism enriched Taoism but can also be a source of confusion to its students; some Taoist texts are veritable patchworks resulting from centuries of progressive additions.

*Han to Tang.* From the Warring States period onward, Taoism inherited not only the texts and thought of the *Daode jing* and the \**Zhuangzi*, but also Yin-Yang and \**wuxing* cosmology, which provided its conceptual framework. These elements blended with remnants of early myths and with physiological practices dating from the same period. In spite of the scorn shown by the *Daode jing* for Confucian values, some of these too were adopted into Taoist teachings. Legalist features are also apparent in the \*Huang-Lao current, which served one of the links between the *Daode jing* and later Taoism.

Taoism inherited a large amount of features from Han religious and intellectual syncretism. Most important among them are the quest for longevity and the variety of related learning and lore, including medicine, alchemy, cosmology, and astrology. The Han “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書) left traces that still survive in present-day Taoism (see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA). The \**Huainan zi*, also a syncretic work, has a strong Taoist flavor. Moreover, the organization of the Han-dynasty Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) was modeled on the administration of the empire, and its relation to the gods followed bureaucratic procedures similar to imperial ones. The Celestial Masters adopted the *Daode jing* as a book for physical and moral cultivation (see \**Xiang'er*), and integrated Confucian virtues into their religion. Their meditation chambers (\**jingshi*) replicated the halls used by Confucian literati for reading the classics. In addition, some of the gods of the Celestial Masters originated as popular deities.

During the Six Dynasties, the \*Shangqing school harmoniously blended various earlier trends: the legacy of Han cosmology, the Han literary patrimony, some elements borrowed from the Celestial Masters, traces of \*Wang Bi's use of the terms \**wu* and *you* (Non-being and Being). Just as \*Ge

Hong had done some decades earlier, Shangqing Taoism incorporated the image of the saint (*\*shengren*) found in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985) and the *Zhuangzi*, along with the *Zhuangzi*'s notion of the Dao. The *\*Lingbao* school in turn drew much inspiration from the traditions of Ge Hong, Shangqing, and the Celestial Masters, as well as from certain Confucian traditions. To these it added a real Buddhist influence for the first time in Taoism, especially in its notion of universal salvation (*\*pudu*). The Lingbao cosmology and pantheon were also adapted from Buddhism and earlier Taoism.

The Tang period witnessed close relations among Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism, and conscious efforts to harmonize the so-called Three Teachings. The Taoist schools of Xiaodao 孝道 (Way of Filiality) and *\*Jingming dao* (Pure and Bright Way) emphasized the Confucian virtues of loyalty and filiality. Taoists, who had already considered the Confucian and Buddhist disciplines as parallel and complementary to their own, began to expand their exchanges with Buddhists. From at least the sixth century onward, some mountains, such as Mount Tai (*\*Taishan*, Shandong), hosted both Taoist and Buddhist communities who lived in harmony with each other. Taoist and Buddhist voices asserted the fundamental identity of their respective goals.

After external religious elements were incorporated from the fifth century onward, cosmological elements coalesced during the Tang period. Taoist texts also began to incorporate Madhyamaka dialectics into a coherent theoretical view of Taoism (see *\*Chongxuan*), and the notion of emptiness evolved in accordance with its Buddhist meaning. A curious combination of Taoism and Buddhism thus developed, which nevertheless remained remarkably true to the Taoist philosophical and religious perspective. The Buddhist theory of the Body of Manifestation (*huashen* 化身 *nirmāṇakāya*) and the Body of Response (*yingshen* 應身 *sambhogakāya*) was adopted to explain the multiplicity of teachings, schools, and deities: all teachings are only forms of the formless Ultimate Truth, or the Body of the Law (*fashen* 法身 *dharmakāya*) that cannot be seen or even thought of; all gods are avatars of the Dao or Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see *\*sanqing*), taking forms adapted to the circumstances and the capacities of the faithful. Lists of deities were created to synthesize and reorder the pantheon of the Shangqing and Lingbao schools. In spite of these well-intentioned efforts to coordinate different sets of gods,

discrepancies appear frequently in both cosmology and the pantheon, and the identities of some divinities are unstable. This, however, did not matter much to the Taoists, as they saw all divinities as only “names” or “traces” and as fundamentally one.

*The Song period.* During the Song period, with the emergence of Neo-Confucianism—another syncretic movement—Taoist syncretism became deeper and more widespread, mainly in *\*neidan* and ritual. Most of the Song ritual schools, including the *\*Shenxiao*, *\*Qingwei*, and *\*Tongchu*, assimilated features from the *\*Zhengyi*, Shangqing, and Lingbao schools, the *Daode jing*, and *neidan* and Buddhist Tantric practices. Incorporating earlier doctrines, beliefs, traditions, and ancient masters was in fact a way for these schools to strengthen their authority.

*Neidan*, which flourished at that time, synthesized Taoist elements (including breathing exercises, *\*waidan* language, and visualizations), Buddhist speculations, Chan didactic methods, and a systematic use of the *\*Yijing* trigrams and hexagrams. *Neidan* sinified the Buddhist dialectic of Non-being and Being, giving it the form of a dialectic between Yin and Yang. Such borrowings were more than conceptual or semantic; *neidan* authors tended to equate the Three Teachings, although at times they emphasized their differences. They claimed that the ultimate goal of the Three Teachings was the same, even though their language and methods differed, on the grounds that Ultimate Truth was beyond all differences and formulations, and that the Three Teachings had the same way to achieve it, namely, through quiescence. Language and images (*\*xiang*) had to be rejected to attain their ultimate meaning, so that the differences among the teachings pertained to the relative truth, not to the ultimate one. The Buddhist system of *panjiao* 判教 (classification of teachings) was applied to explain the differences of meaning carried by a single term; these differences occur within the framework of a didactic procedure that was present in both *neidan* and other teachings. Every teaching is part of the whole unutterable truth. Thus Taoists equated terms pertaining to the Three Teachings, such as Great Ultimate (*\*taiji*), “full awakening” (*yuanjue* 圓覺), Chaos (*\*hundun*), and Golden Elixir (*\*jindan*), or *nirvāṇa* and Dao, in the same way they had done earlier for Taoist alchemical, cosmological and physiological terms. Taoist masters commented on Confucian as well as Buddhist texts for their disciples, and sometimes even explained Confucianism using Buddhist terms.

With regard to Neo-Confucian thought, Taoists adopted its new language, referring to such notions as *li* 理 (Principle), or inner nature versus vital force (*\*xing* and *ming*). They quoted the traditional Chinese classics and other Confucian or Neo-Confucian texts and authors. Among Buddhist *sūtras*, the *Hṛdaya* (Heart), *Vajracchedikā* (Diamond), *Śūraṅgama* (Heroic Progress), and *Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) are the most frequently cited.

Because of the broad use of Buddhist and Confucian notions, the meaning of the terms underwent an evolution. The term *\*xin* (heart-mind and spirit) took on a Buddhist sense. The notion of *xing* as fundamental inner nature lost its original Taoist, Buddhist or Confucian connotations, and was equated with the Dao or with the Mysterious Pass (*\*xuanguan*), which hosts the transcendent and primordial parcel of light (a purely Taoist notion) concealed in all beings.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, *passim*; Liu and Berling 1982; Robinet 1977, 77–95, 117–34, and 191–203; Robinet 1985b; Robinet 1986a; Robinet 1997b, *passim*; Stein R. A. 1979; Zürcher 1980

✕ LINEAGES; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM; TAOISM AND CONFUCIANISM; TAOISM AND EARLY CHINESE RELIGION; TAOISM AND EARLY CHINESE THOUGHT; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOISM AND MEDIUM CULTS; TAOISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION; TAOISM AND POPULAR SECTS

## SCRIPTURES AND TEXTS

### Revelations and sacred texts

The status of sacred texts or *jing* 經 (scriptures) in Taoism was theorized and developed in the context of the *\*Shangqing* and *\*Lingbao* revelations. Both



schools in turn defined the role of texts according to the *\*fangshi* lore of Han times and *\*Ge Hong's* tradition in the early Six Dynasties. The function of Taoist scriptures is related to the sacred origin and cosmic value of writing and graphic representation, which is rooted in Chinese antiquity.

*The divine nature of Taoist scriptures.* In Taoism, sacred texts have a primary meaning and importance, existing prior to the world. They are the condensed form of the Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*), spontaneously born from the Void. They are said to have first appeared as rays of light too luminous for the human eye to behold, just as the Ultimate Truth cannot be grasped by thought. Symbolizing the celestial effluvia that come down to earth, they solidified as they descended, congealing into a permanent material form. Thus the scriptures are deemed to be the embodiment and receptacle of the original life force. They first became nebulous “cloud seals” (*yunzhuan* 雲篆) and then were written down in non-human characters of jade on tablets of gold, and stored in celestial palaces or sacred mountains. Their transcription into human writing happened later: over the course of thousands of precosmic eras, they were transmitted only among deities, until at last certain deities revealed them to humanity, or they were discovered in caves.

Although the prototypes of the scriptures remain in Heaven, their human versions are like trails leading to their celestial counterparts. In one of its senses, the word *jing* means “guide” or “way”: the scriptures are guides or threads that connect adepts with deities and the Origin of the world. They are auspicious tokens of Heaven's grace, certifying its protection, equivalent in this respect to talismans (*\*FU*) and other symbolic treasures that were owned by ruling families, which attest to Heaven's blessing (see *\*lingbao*).

By unveiling the “real form” (*zhenxing* 真形) or real sound of divine figures and places, the scriptures serve as tools of salvation in two senses. On one hand, they represent a contract with the gods who bestowed them; on the other, they convey the esoteric knowledge of the unseen world, whose hidden form is the real one. The texts embody these “real” forms and sounds, beheld and heard by the highest divinities in their contemplation. In fact, a *jing* often originates as a picture or an invocation. Writing and sound reflect and complement each other: copying a text is a pious act, texts are meant to be present during rituals, and spells must be written down; but texts should also be recited, and their terrestrial recitation is echoed by the deities who chant them in Heaven.



Fig. 3. “Primordial graphs” in a revealed text. *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation; CT 1), 5.21a.

These notions account for the form of the sacred scriptures, which differs not only from the Confucian classics but also from other Taoist writings containing essays or teachings by a known master. The *jing* are either anonymous or ascribed to legendary immortals; they are often cryptic as they contain a secret language, and timeless as they give no indication of historical places or features.

*Transmission in the world.* Transmission of the sacred scriptures within the human world was subject to specific rules, which the Shangqing school was the first to emphasize. These ritual rules of transmission were later codified in bureaucratic form. The scriptures were to be transmitted from master to disciple after a fast that lasted several days. The two parties swore a covenant (*meng* 盟) after performing a rite inspired by ancient ceremonies of consecration and feudal bonding, in which gods and spirits were invited as witnesses. The disciple gave gifts to his master as tokens of sincerity, called *xin* 信 (pledges). Rings and seals were broken in two parts, and master and disciple each retained one half, thus reproducing the ancient tesseræ (*fu*) used in contracts.

Above all, disciples swore never to reveal the scriptures to the uninitiated. A text could be transmitted only to those who were worthy of receiving it, who were predestined to immortality, and whose names were inscribed in the celestial registers. Receiving a text was thus an assurance of one's

qualification for immortality. Legitimate possessors of a scripture gained with it divine protection of jade boys and jade women (\*yunü) who watched over the book and its holder. The possession of a text also implied duties: adepts paid homage to it and practiced the methods that it contained. On the other hand, improperly obtaining a text amounted to “stealing a treasure from Heaven” and nullified its power.

The sacred text resolved the issue of the relation between innate predestination (adepts must have their name inscribed in the heavens in order to obtain immortality) and practice, and also between what later was called subitaneous (*dun* 頓) and gradual (*jian* 漸) awakening. Moreover, in the Shangqing school the sacred text played the same role the master had in earlier Taoist traditions. The real guide was now the scripture, and its increased importance marked the evolution of Taoism from an oral to a written tradition. Even the “oral instructions” (*koujue* 口訣), originally given only in speech, often were written down in later times. In this context, the master became no more than a guarantor of the legitimacy of the transmission. He did not officiate, and the methods did not bear his name as they had in ancient times. He served as a link in the chain that, through the scriptures, connected a lineage of human beings to Heaven.

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▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 188–94; Campany 1993, 21–25; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 361–414; Kohn 1993b, 35–43; Lagerwey 1981b, 104–35; Robinet 1984, 1: 107–23; Robinet 1993: 19–28; Seidel 1989–90, 250–54

※ SCRIPTURE AND EXEGESIS; TRANSMISSION

### Scripture and exegesis

“Scripture” is a Western term usually applied to the Bible as revered by the Jews and by Christians (Smith W. C. 1993, x), and must be applied to traditions like Taoism with caution. Laurence Thompson (1985, 204) has argued that the term scripture, when defined as text with religious authority that is “subject to exegesis but not criticism,” applies to many but not all texts in the Taoist Canon. Since the *Daode jing*, the exegetical enterprise has been

an important feature of Taoism, as commentaries and revision of a continuously expanding core of scripture has been one of the central means by which subtraditions invented and renewed themselves.

The use of the term scripture in the Taoist context requires attention to the differences in canon formation in Western and Asian contexts. In his comparative study of Confucian and Western exegesis, John B. Henderson observes that the Chinese model is perhaps more similar to the Hindu distinction between *śruti* (revealed scripture) and *smṛti* (explanations of saints and prophets). Borrowing Wang Chong's 王充 (27–ca. 100 CE) distinction between the *jing* 經 (classics, or scriptures) of the *\*shengren* (sages) and the commentaries of the *xianren* 賢人 (worthies), Henderson notes that in China the hierarchical distinction between classic and commentary is made “according to their respective sources” (1991, 71).

While the silk manuscript versions interred at \*Mawangdui in 168 BCE do not identify the work attributed to Laozi as a *jing*, the bibliographic survey of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han; ca. 90 CE) does list several versions of the scripture with different types of exegesis. Among them are two lost works in *jingshuo* 經說 (scripture and explanation) format attributed to a Mister Fu (Fu shi 傅氏) and a Xu Shaoji 徐少季 (30.1729). This and the ascription of supernatural characteristics to Laozi in Han texts like the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; ca. 100 BCE) show that the text was a “scripture” by the early Han dynasty at the latest. If two chapters of the late Warring States *Han Feizi* 韓非子 (ca. 240 BCE) dedicated to explaining and illustrating the *Daode jing* are authentic (Liao 1939–59, 1: 169–227), then it may have had that status earlier. Soon afterward, the text was used as a religious scripture, chanted for its magical efficacy by the early \*Tianshi dao (Way of the Celestial Masters; Kohn 1998h, 145). Several of the earliest commentaries on the text were preserved in the \*Dunhuang caves and rediscovered at the start of the twentieth century (Kusuyama Haruki 1992, 3–63), and more than sixty others are preserved in the Taoist Canon.

While many titles in the Canon besides the *Daode jing* are classified as *jing*, many of these “classics” or “scriptures” do not have a history of exegesis. By contrast, some texts not usually labelled *jing* have commentaries in the Canon. Examples of the latter are the commentaries to the Warring States military classic *Sunzi* 孫子 (Book of Master Sun) and the alchemical classic *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the Book of Changes). Other texts, like the Warring States *Nanhua*

*zhenjing* 南華真經 (Authentic Scripture of Southern Florescence, usually known as the \**Zhuangzi*) and the composite *Chongxu zhide zhenjing* 冲虛至德真經 (Authentic Scripture on the Ultimate Virtue of Unfathomable Emptiness, usually known as the \**Liezi*), were made canonical and given the status of *jing* by imperial fiat during the Tang dynasty. Other classics with numerous commentaries in the Canon include the \**Yinfu jing* (Scripture of the Hidden Accordance), the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), and the \**Qingjing jing* (Scripture of Clarity and Quiescence). The combination of pre-Qin works with Song works indicates that there is no single criterion of authorship or period that determines what works are considered either as *jing* or as worthy of commentary.

The nature of Taoist exegesis changed over time, in many ways consistent with changes in the Chinese exegetical tradition as a whole. Taking the *Daode jing* as an example, the readings of various commentators reflect a wide variety of points of view. The Song master Zhao Shi'an 趙實菴 (fl. 1152) distinguished three major concerns against which it had been read: non-action, longevity, and politics. It was also widely commented on by Buddhists and Confucians. This variety of exegesis has led some to distinguish Taoist exegesis from the rest of the exegetical tradition. Isabelle Robinet has observed Taoist texts “took their authority from revelation, which gave them an original stature and released them from dependence on their antecedents. . . . It also explains why [they] could have been commented on by people of such diverse orientations” (1999b, 154–55).

Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI

▣ Henderson 1991; Kohn 1992b; Kohn 1998e; Robinet 1984, 1: 107–22 and 193–94; Robinet 1993, 19–28; Robinet 1997b, 125–28; Thompson 1985; Wu Kuangming 2000

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS; REVELATIONS AND SACRED TEXTS; TRANSMISSION

### *Daozang* and subsidiary compilations

What has popularly come to be known as the *Daozang* 道藏 (Taoist Canon)

is indisputably the foremost body of texts for research in the field of Taoist studies. The Ming Canon of 1445, or so-called \**Zhengtong daoze* (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period), lies at the heart of all modern editions of the Canon. Its origins are closely linked to catalogues of Taoist writings prepared more than a millennium earlier. Canonic collections to which the Ming Canon is heir were produced under Tang, Song, Jurchen, and Mongol rulerships.

To some extent, each successive Canon may be regarded as the result of a working relationship between church and state. Both parties may very well have had particular needs in mind but if there was any motivation uniting them on this mission, it would have been the desire for ritual order. By joining forces to define a Taoist Canon imperial and clerical leaders could exercise their respective powers of regulatory control. Like all such endeavors, the compilation of every Canon in turn allowed the demarcation of textual authority to be established anew.

Later collections of texts derived from the *Zhengtong daoze* obviously narrow its boundaries. Those that stand in supplement to it alternatively offer an expansion of canonic limits. All such anthologies, as well as bibliographic guides to the Canon itself, serve to make the vast textual heritage of Taoist teachings more accessible.

*Catalogues and Canons through the Ming.* There is as yet no definitive study tracing the history of the *Daoze*. Canonic compilations prior to the Tang are particularly difficult to document, owing to disparate accounts found in a variety of texts ranging from Buddhist polemical writings to historical and topographical works. One of the more frequently cited resources is a stele inscription dating to 1275, but certain portions of this text remain to be verified. A copy of the inscription is appended to the \**Daoze quejing mulu* (Index of Scriptures Missing from the Taoist Canon), presumably compiled by the editors of the Ming Canon. The anonymous text is entitled *Daoze zunjing lidai gangmu* 道藏尊經歷代綱目 (Historical Survey of the Revered Scriptures of the Taoist Canon). It will serve here as an anchor for the summary of the early history of the Canon that follows.

The origins of the Ming Canon are commonly traced to the editorial endeavors of \*Lu Xiujing (406–77), codifier of the \**Lingbao* corpus. His preface to the \**Lingbao jingmu* (Catalogue of Lingbao Scriptures) dates to 437. The catalogue he reportedly submitted to Song Mingdi (r. 465–72) in

471 is assumed to be what is known as the *\*Sandong jingshu mulu* (Index of Scriptures and Writings of the Three Caverns). A collection of texts collated under the supervision of the Director of the Bureau of Evaluation in 471 is said to have been approximately a third of the size of that catalogued by Lu.

The titles of two catalogues are dated to the time of Zhou Wudi (r. 560–78). Buddhist accounts speak of a *Xuandu [guan] jing mu[lu]* 玄都[觀]經目[錄] (Index of the Scriptures of the [Abbey of the] Mysterious Metropolis), produced in 569 at the *\*Xuandu guan* (Abbey of the Mysterious Metropolis) in the capital of Chang'an (Shaanxi). Taoist writings speak of a [*Sandong*] *zhunang [jingmu]* [三洞]珠囊[經目] ([Catalogue of the Scriptures in] the Pearl Satchel [of the Three Caverns]), produced in 574 at the *\*Tongdao guan* (Abbey of the Pervasive Way) in Chang'an.

By the next century, during the early Tang period, additional catalogues of Taoist texts appear to have been compiled in succession. *\*Yin Wencao* (622–88) is credited with a *Yuwei jingmu* 玉緯經目 (Catalogue of the Scriptures of the Jade Weft Texts). Although there is no apparent trace of this text, the compilation of an *Yiqie daojing mu* 一切道經目 (Catalogue of the Complete Taoist Scriptures) is confirmed by the extant prefaces of the compiler Shi Chongxuan 史崇玄 (or Shi Chong 史崇, ?–713) and Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56). Another catalogue, also lost, accompanied what came to be known as the *Kaiyuan daoze* 開元道藏 (Taoist Canon of the Kaiyuan Reign Period), in reference to the reign period (713–41) during which it was compiled. Entitled *\*Sandong qionggang* (Exquisite Compendium of the Three Caverns), this catalogue is ascribed to a Taoist Master named Zhang Xianting 張仙庭. Neither catalogue nor Canon is thought to have survived the An Lushan 安祿山 and Shi Siming 史思明 uprisings of 755–63. Later efforts to recompile a Canon apparently met a similar fate following the Huang Chao 黃巢 rebellion of 874–84.

Three canonic compilations of significance arose during the Song. A comprehensive search and collation of texts began in the year 990, at the command of Song Taizong (r. 976–97). The catalogue to this initial Canon of the Song bore the title *Sandong sifu jingmu* 三洞四輔經目 (Catalogue of the Scriptures of the Three Caverns and Four Supplements). By 1009, Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) had authorized a new recension of the Canon. Seven years later the Minister of Rites *\*Wang Qinruo* (962–1025) presented the emperor with a catalogue entitled *Baowen tonglu* 寶文統錄 (Comprehensive Register of Precious Literature). The Canon of 1016 came to be known as the

\**Da Song Tiangong baozang* (Precious Canon of the Celestial Palace of the Great Song). The successor to this Canon is the \**Zhenghe Wanshou daozaog* (Taoist Canon of the Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity of the Zhenghe Reign Period). Compiled under the aegis of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125), it is the first Taoist Canon to have been produced in print. Approximately 70,000 blocks were cut for this Canon, a task apparently not completed until 1119 in Fuzhou (Fujian), a major publication center at that time.

The Canon of 1119 served as the foundation for a new compilation undertaken in 1190 by the authority of the Jurchen ruler Zhangzong (r. 1190–1208). Completed in 1192, the \**Da Jin Xuandu baozang* (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin) provided in turn the backbone for a Canon edited under the direction of the \*Quanzhen patriarch \*Song Defang (1183–1247). It was replaced in 1244 by the [*Da Yuan*] \**Xuandu baozang* (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis). Although Khubilai khan (r. 1260–94) later ordered the destruction of both texts and printing blocks of this Canon, small components of it have rather miraculously survived.

The so-called *Zhengtong daozaog*, or *Da Ming daozaog jing* 大明道藏經 (Scriptures of the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming), may be regarded as the culmination of Taoist canonic compilations undertaken within the imperial age of China. The forty-third Celestial Master \*Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410) served as the initial editor, by the command of the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403–24). It was only by the grace of his great-grandson the Zhengtong Emperor (r. 1436–49) that publication of the Ming Canon was finally accomplished in 1445. An addendum to the some 1400 titles in this Canon was completed in 1607. This supplemental collection of some fifty titles is given the title *Da Ming xu daozaog jing* 大明續道藏經 (Scriptures in Supplement to the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming). It is more popularly known as the \**Wanli xu daozaog* (Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Period), in reference to its compilation by order of the Wanli Emperor (r. 1573–1620). The responsibility for it fell to the fiftieth Celestial Master \*Zhang Guoxiang (?–1611).

*Modern editions.* Access to the Ming Canon remained limited until the Hanfen lou 涵芬樓 branch of the Commercial Press in Shanghai issued a thread-bound edition in 1923–26. The former Minister of Education Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘 (1872–1950) played a major role in the achievement of this landmark in publication. His persuasive endorsement of the academic



value of the Canon convinced President Xu Shichang 徐世昌 (1855–1939) to authorize a government subsidy for the project.

The copy of the Ming Canon photolithographically reproduced in 1,120 threadbound fascicles by Hanfen lou came from the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing. Missing portions of it are known to have been replaced in 1845. Reprints of the Hanfen lou edition have made the Ming Canon even more accessible, beginning with the threadbound copy issued in 1962 by the Yiwen 藝文 Publishing House in Taipei. Among the more widely available editions in modern binding is the 60-volume *Zhengtong daoze* produced by the same publishing house in 1977. Another edition, the 36-volume *Daoze*, appeared in 1988 as a joint publication of Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社 in Beijing, the Shanghai shudian 上海書店, and the Tianjin guji chubanshe 天津古籍出版社. This new edition overcomes a number of defects in earlier editions, replacing missing texts as well as correcting misplacements, but it also retains and introduces new defects.

A reorganized, punctuated edition of the Taoist Canon is now in print. Intermittent reports on this team effort began to appear as early as 1997 in *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 (Chinese Taoism), a publication of the \*Zhongguo daojiao xiehui (Chinese Taoist Association) headquartered at the Baiyun guan in Beijing. The final product is the 49-volume *Zhonghua daoze* 中華道藏 (Taoist Canon of China) published by Huaxia chubanshe in 2003.

*Indices.* Available indices are not in agreement on the total number of titles contained in the Ming Canon. This discrepancy primarily reflects the occasional difficulty in determining where one text ends and the next begins. The earliest annotated table of contents to the Ming Canon, the \**Daoze mulu xiangzhu* (Detailed Commentary on the Index of the Taoist Canon) ascribed to Bai Yunji 白雲霽, dates to 1626. It has been superseded by the *Daoze zimu yinde* 道藏子目引得 (Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature), compiled in 1935 by Weng Dujian 翁獨健. This volume in the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series lists altogether 1476 titles in the *Daoze* and indicates which texts are also found in the \**Daoze jiyao* (Essentials of the Taoist Canon) of 1906. An additional list of the texts recorded in the *Daoze jiyao* alone is followed by indices to both titles and compilers. The closing index to biographies is keyed to seventy-seven hagiographic

resources in the Canon.

An index volume accompanying the 60-volume edition of the *Zhengtong daoze* lists altogether 1487 titles in the Canon. Li Diankui 李殿魁 is responsible for this reedition of the *Concordance du Tao-tsang* compiled under the direction of Kristofer Schipper in 1975. The editors of the *Daoze tiyao* 道藏提要 (A Conspectus of the Taoist Canon), Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬, alternatively list a total of 1473 titles in the Canon. This collection of abstracts for all texts in the Canon also includes a supplement of brief biographical accounts on compilers cited. Another comprehensive guide to the Canon has been under preparation since 1979, with the establishment of the “Projet Tao-tsang” under the auspices of the European Science Foundation. The results of this massive collaborative enterprise, edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, have been published in 2004 by the University of Chicago Press under the title *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daoze*.

The recently published *Xinbian daoze mulu* 新編道藏目錄 (A Newly-Compiled Index to the Taoist Canon) compiled by Zhong Zhaopeng (1999) presents a reorganized table of contents to the Canon. This two-volume threadbound publication lists a total of 1527 titles under six major headings and twenty-two subheadings. Recorded under each title are the fascicle number(s) in the Hanfen lou edition and volume number(s) in the 60-volume Yiwen edition. The few editorial notes recorded after this data in some entries offer clarifications of provenance. The appearance of the 1988 edition late in the course of his work on this index led the compiler to add a chart listing the fascicle numbers of the Hanfen lou edition in correspondence with its thirty-six volumes (labelled *Sanjia ben* 三家本). The second volume of this publication contains indices to compilers and titles.

*Subsidiary compilations.* The *Daoze tiyao* mentioned above is by far the largest of anthologies chiefly derived from the Ming Canon. Other collections of note include the *\*Daoshu shi'er zhong* (Twelve Books on the Dao), the *\*Daoze jinghua* (Essential Splendors of the Taoist Canon), and the *\*Daoze jinghua lu* (Record of the Essential Splendors of the Taoist Canon). Publications that go beyond the Canon include the *\*Daoze xubian* (Sequel to the Taoist Canon), the *\*Zhuang-Lin xu daoze* (Supplementary Taoist Canon of Zhuang[-Chen Dengyun] and Lin [Rumei]), and the *\*Zangwai daoshu* (Taoist Texts Outside the Canon).

Specialized publications not to be overlooked include the collections of texts pertinent to the Taoist heritage that have been recovered from \*Dunhuang (Gansu) as well as from archaeological sites such as \*Mawangdui (Hunan) and \*Guodian (Hubei). In addition to the *Tonkō dōkyō* 敦煌道經 (Taoist Scriptures from Dunhuang) compiled by Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾 (Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79) there is now in print a five-volume *Dunhuang daoze* 敦煌道藏 (Taoist Canon of Dunhuang) edited by Li Defan 李德范 (1999). The study of Taoist institutional history should also be enhanced by the recent publication of a 36-volume *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan* 中國道觀志叢刊 (Collectanea of Monographs of Taoist Temples in China), edited by Gao Xiaojian 高小健 (2000). This publication will not only supplement monastic records in the Taoist Canon but also surely offer further supplement to the invaluable yet still largely overlooked *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 (A Collection of Taoist Epigraphy) compiled by Chen Yuan 陳垣 (1988). The recent appearance of so many new resources is truly without precedent in the field of Taoist studies.

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■ Bokenkamp 2001; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 247–50; Boltz J. M. 1987c; Boltz J. M. 1993b; Boltz J. M. 1994; Chen Guofu 1963, 106–231; Chen Yuan 1988, 618; Fukui Kōjun 1958, 134–213; Lagerwey 1981b, 222–73; Liu Ts'un-yan 1982; van der Loon 1984, 29–63; Ōfuchi Ninji 1979; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 217–58; Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng 1991; Schipper 1975b; Schipper and Verellen 2004; Seidel 1989–90, 231–36; Shi Bo'er and Li Diankui 1977; Weng Dujian 1935; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955; Zhong Zhaopeng 1993; Zhong Zhaopeng 1999; Zhu Yueli 1992, 123–72 and 311–60; Zhu Yueli 1996

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. II.12 (“Textual Corpora and Literary Genres”)

*sandong*

三洞

Three Caverns

The term *sandong* refers to the three major components of the Taoist Canon (see [table 18](#)): Dongzhen 洞真 (Cavern of Perfection), Dongxuan 洞玄 (Cavern of Mystery), and Dongshen 洞神 (Cavern of Spirit). These three units came to be identified with the scriptural legacies of \*Shangqing (Highest Clarity), \*Lingbao (Numinous Treasure), and \*Sanhuang 三皇 (Three Sovereigns; see \*[Sanhuang wen](#)), respectively. Although the designation of the Buddhist Canon as *sanzang* 三藏 (*Tripitaka*), denoting three genres of *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *abhidharma*, would appear to be its obvious parallel, the term *sandong* in reference to the Taoist Canon has never been applied to separate genres of writing. It corresponds more readily to the Buddhist concept of *sansheng* 三乘 (Three Vehicles), denoting separate schools of teachings. There is as yet no definitive study tracing the history of the concept of *sandong* as an organizing principle behind the compilation of the Taoist Canon. The legacy of this term remains problematic in part owing to variant, sometimes conflicting, accounts contained in both the Taoist and the Buddhist Canon.

The term *sandong* is notably absent from the inventory of \*Zheng Yin's (ca. 215–ca. 302) library that his disciple \*Ge Hong (283–343) provides in the \**Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity). A passage from the *Sanhuang jing* 三皇經 (Scripture of the Three Sovereigns) recorded in the late sixth-century \**Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials, 6.5a-b; Lagerwey 1981b, 82) identifies the *sanhuang* trinity as the *zunshen* 尊神 (venerable deities) of *sandong*. The \**qi*, or life-force, of *sandong* is defined as the condensed transformation of the \**sanyuan* (Three Primes): Tianbao jun 天寶君 (Lord of Celestial Treasure), Lingbao jun 靈寶君 (Lord of Numinous Treasure) and Shenbao jun 神寶君 (Lord of Divine Treasure). The three deities Tianhuang 天皇, Dihuang 地皇, and Renhuang 人皇, in turn, are equated with the life-force of Dadong 大洞 (Great Cavern), Dongxuan, and Dongshen, respectively.

The \**Shengshen jing* (Scripture of the Life-Giving Spirits; CT 318, 1a-b) names the three lords of the *sanyuan* trinity as the *zunshen* of Dadong, Dongxuan, and Dongshen. No correspondence to *sanhuang* is acknowledged in this central scripture of the Lingbao corpus codified by \*Lu Xiujing (406–77). The designation *Sandong dizi* 三洞弟子 (Disciple of the Three Caverns) notably precedes Lu's name, as the author of the *Lingbao jingmu xu* 靈寶經目序 (Preface to a Catalogue of Lingbao Scriptures). It is recorded in the eleventh-century \**Yunji qiqian* (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds,

4.4a), with a date of Yuanjia 元嘉 14 (437). An entry for this title in one *juan* registered in the inventory of the Song imperial library would seem to indicate that a copy of the catalogue intact with preface survived into the early twelfth century. The extant preface itself makes no reference to *sandong*. Lu does allude to a collective conferral of the *sandong* in the declaration preceding his guide to ordination (*\*Lingbao shoudu yi, biao* 表, 2a).

Lu Xiujing is widely credited with compiling a *\*Sandong jingshu mulu* (Index of Scriptures and Writings of the Three Caverns). It is remarkable that no Song library catalogue lists this text. The catalogue of scriptures that Lu is said to have submitted in 471, according to pre-Song Buddhist polemical treatises, is generally assumed to have borne this title. The earliest apparent reference to this title in the name of Master Lu 陸先生 occurs in the *\*Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching; 2.3b), compiled ca. 700 by Meng Anpai 孟安排. This text echoes the *Shengshen jing* passage on guardians of the Three Caverns, with Dongzhen replacing Dadong as the heading for the Shangqing corpus centering on the *\*Dadong zhenjing*. Here the heritage of the Three Caverns is presented as a unified, single Great Vehicle (*tongyi dasheng* 同一大乘).

An alternative, hierarchical, perception of the Three Caverns is conveyed in a presumably earlier text, noted for its transcript of an exchange between Tang Tianhuang 唐天皇 (i.e., Gaozong, r. 649–83) and *\*Pan Shizheng* (585–682) at Zhongyue 中嶽, i.e., Mount Song (*\*Songshan*, Henan). In this anonymous compilation, the *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 道門經法相承次序 (The Scriptures and Methods of Taoism in Orderly Sequence; CT 1128, 1.1b–2a), Dongzhen, Dongxuan, and Dongshen are designated *dasheng* 大乘 (Great Vehicle), *zhongsheng* 中乘 (Middle Vehicle), and *xiasheng* 下乘 (Lower Vehicle), respectively. Competition from Buddhist schools of teachings could very well have led to abandonment of this stratification of scriptural categories in favor of a unified presentation of disparate teachings. Both views are represented with no apparent conflict in lengthy accounts on the history of *sandong* in the *Yunji qiqian* (3.4a–7b; 6.1a–12a).

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 190–94; Bokenkamp 2001; Chen Guofu 1963, 1–4, 106–7; Fukui Kōjun 1958, 138–70; Kohn 1993b, 65–71; Lagerwey 1981b,

24–26, 82; van der Loon 1984, 171; Ōfuchi Ninji 1979; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 12–72 (= 1964, 217–76); Ozaki Masaharu 1983b, 75–88; Pregadio 2006b, 43–47, 152–55; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 536–52; Robinet 1984, 1: 75–85 and 195–97; Zhu Yueli 1992, 173–80

※ Sanqing; *Sandong jingshu mulu*; COSMOGONY; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*fu*

符

talisman, tally, charm

Taoist talismans are diagrams, conceived as a form of celestial writing, that derive their power from the matching celestial counterpart kept by the deities who bestowed them. Known also as *qi* 契 (or 契) or *quan* 券, tallies were used in pre-Han China to verify written orders of the king and as contracts and signs of authority held by the king's vassals. Authentication was achieved by joining the two split halves of the tally. From this mundane use, the term *fu* came to be applied to omens of divine approbation authenticating a ruler's receipt of the mandate to rule, known as *fuming* 符命. Taoist talismans derive both from this tradition and from the medical use of *fu* to bind demons and cure disease.



Fig. 4. Taoist Master Chen Rongsheng  
陳榮盛 writes a talisman in his Tainan,

Taiwan, home office (January 1979).  
Photograph by Julian Pas.

The most influential Taoist account of the origins of *fu*, found in the \**Zhengao*, relates them to a primordial form of writing that emerged with the differentiation of the Dao at the birth of the cosmos, still used by the highest gods and available to humans who have received them through proper transmission. The earliest script, the Writing of the Three Primes and Eight Conjunctions (*sanyuan bahui zhi shu* 三元八會之書), later became fragmented and simplified into various mortal scripts. The second primordial script, the Cloud-seal Emblems of the Eight Dragons (*balong yunzhuan zhi zhang* 八龍雲篆之章), remained unchanged and is the form used in *fu*. The name given this script seems to imply that the odd “graphs” inscribed on Taoist talismans were fashioned to resemble ancient, supposedly purer, forms of Chinese graphs, known as “seal script.”

Generally written in vermilion or black ink on rectangular pieces of wood, bamboo, silk, stone, or paper, talismans often do include recognizable symbols and words, but they are not meant to be read by humans. Legible only to the gods, they give power over troops of divine protectors, both within and without the body. The ritual uses of *fu* are many. The early Celestial Masters healed the sick through submission of confessional petitions and the ingestion of water into which the ashes of burned talismans had been mixed. In other cases, they were ingested whole with honey. Talismans were used to mark sacred space and represent the cycles of sacred time. As protective amulets,

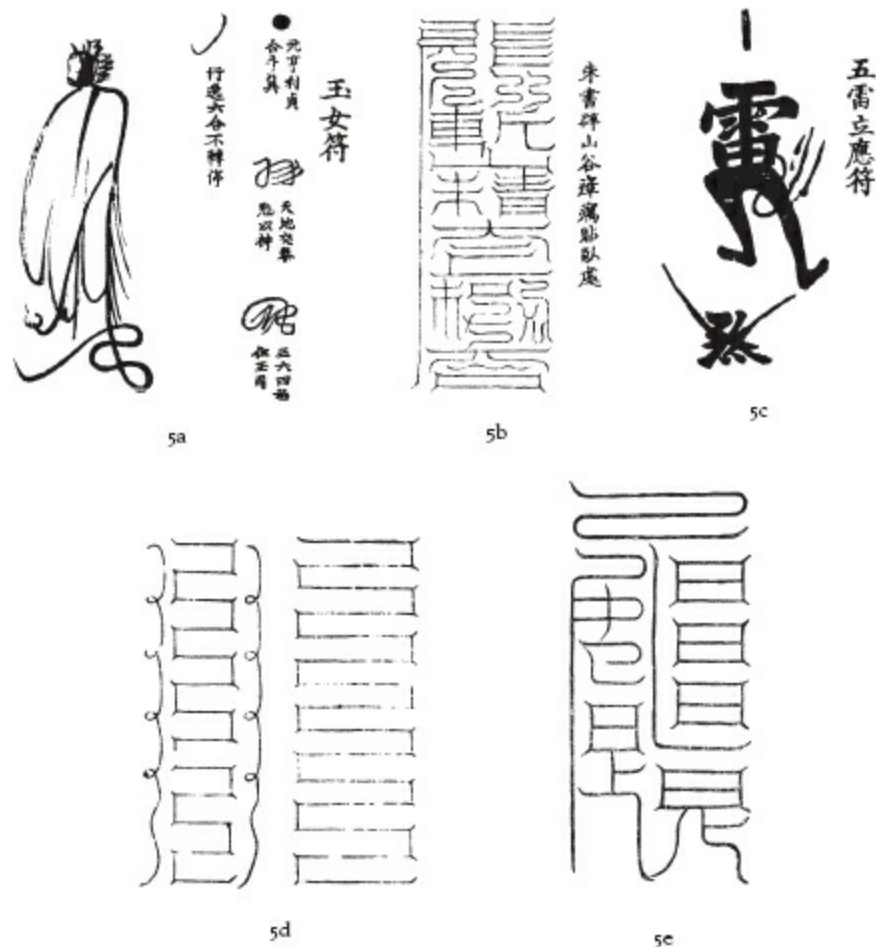


Fig. 5. Examples of talismans (see also figs. 18, 53 and 73).

(a) Talisman of the Jade Women, in *Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 (Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin; CT 220), 21.5b.

(b) Talisman for Removing the Miasma of Mountains and Valleys, in *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation; CT 1), 45.13b. See comments in Chen Hsiang-ch'un 1942, 47–48.

(c) A “Thunder talisman,” in *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠 (Uncollected Pearls from the Ocean of Rituals; CT 1166), 23.7b.

(d) Talisman for Expelling the Demons (on the right, a variant of its inner part), in *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣 (Instructions on the Scripture of the Divine Elixirs of the Nine Tripods of the Yellow Emperor; CT 885; see \**Jiudan jing*), 5.9a–10a.

(e) Talisman for Entering a Mountain, in \**Baopu zi*, j. 17.

they might be ingested or worn on the person when engaging in ritual or prior to encountering danger. They were held to reveal the true forms of deities or to serve as passports that might aid the passage from the earth-prisons of the dead, who received them in spiritual form after ritual burning. As aids in meditation, *fu* might bring the user face to face with a deity or reveal the



inner workings of the cosmos. Finally, in ritual, *fu* are not always written, but might be inscribed in the air with sword, staff, or thunderblock, and activated by breath-magic.

Whole scriptures were created with talismans as their centerpiece. Such, for instance, is the case with the *\*Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure), the *\*Wupian zhenwen* (Perfected Script in Five Tablets), and the *Wucheng fu* 五稱符 (Five Talismans of Correspondence) of the ancient *\*Lingbao* scriptures, as well as with the *Lingbao suling zhenfu* 靈寶素靈真符 (Authentic Talismans of the Immaculate Numen of the Numinous Treasure) transmitted by *\*Du Guangting*. In these cases, the primordial divine form of the scripture was said to reside in the talismans themselves. The scripture that contains them only recounts their origin and uses. The centrality of these useful divine “texts” can be seen in the fact that the twelve traditional generic subdivisions of each “cavern” (see *\*sandong*) of the Taoist Canon listed “Divine Talismans” (*shenfu* 神符) second, right after “Basic Texts” (*benwen* 本文 see [table 27](#)). Consequently, all ritual compendia came to contain talismans, as well as directions for their writing and use. The rigor Taoists showed in transmitting and inscribing talismans can be seen in how extremely well examples found in the *\*Dunhuang* manuscripts or archeologically excavated accord with those printed in the Ming canon.

Related forms of divine writing, not always easy to distinguish from *fu*, are known by a variety of names, including “cloud seal-script,” “secret language of the Great Brahmā” (*\*dafan yinyu*) and “registers” (*\*LU*). Various forms of charts (*tu* 圖) also function as talismans, though they are separately listed in Taoist bibliographies.

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■ Company 2002, 61–69; Chen Hsiang-ch'un 1942; Despeux 2000a; Drexler 1994; Harper 1998, 179–83 and 301; Lagerwey 1981b, 106–10; Lagerwey 1986; Legeza 1975; Little 2000b, 201–7; des Rotours 1952; Seidel 1983a; Strickmann 2002, 123–93 and passim; Wang Yucheng 1996; Wang Yucheng 1999

※ LU

*lu*

錄

register

In Taoism the term “register” refers to records that identify an individual either in this world or in the otherworld, and to lists of deities and supernatural beings over which an initiate has command. Texts listing demon names have been found in a Shuihudi 睡虎地 (Hubei) tomb dated to 217 BCE (Harper 1985). Their symbolism and meaning anticipates their usage in both Taoist religion and in Chinese tales of the otherworld; in particular, these documents are related to the belief that one can control demons and spirits simply by knowing their names. Later Han dynasty tomb texts also mention registers of life and death (Seidel 1987e), foreshadowing another Taoist *topos*.

During the Han dynasty, registers were also one of many items bestowed by Heaven signaling the mandate to rule. Begun in the Zhou period, religious legitimation was granted with the appearance of special objects and was gradually replaced with written documents and diagrams (see *\*lingbao*, and *\*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA*). Wang Mang (r. 9–23) tapped into this tradition, using texts to validate the establishment of his own dynasty and to legitimize his control of the throne. In his *Dongjing fu* 東京賦 (Rhapsody on the Eastern Capital), Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139; IC 211–12) describes the bestowal of registers and charts on Gaozu (r. 202–195 BCE), the founder of the Han dynasty, at his investiture (Knechtges 1982–96, 1: 245). Both registers and charts were later bestowed on Taoist masters during their ordination rituals.

*Registers in Taoist traditions.* Registers were the earliest documents of the Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*). Their maintenance was crucial for the religious and social organization of the church. The Celestial Masters, heading a theocracy in the second century Sichuan area, kept records of all births, deaths, and marriages, using them to determine taxes and corvée labor requirements. As copies of these records were also kept in the otherworld, it behooved the populace to update them periodically. Any mistake might lead to the ineffectiveness of deities to aid the living in healing rituals, or to being summoned to the world of the dead prematurely: during the Six Dynasties,

many tales circulated concerning mistaken summons to the otherworld due to errors in the registers of life and death. To update the registers, the Celestial Masters held three assemblies a year (*\*sanhui*), during which the otherworldly officials also congregated to correct and collate their copies of these records. Registers were just as important in later Taoist traditions. To become a transcendent in the *\*Shangqing* tradition, one's name had to be inscribed in the celestial registers (Bokenkamp 1997, 355–60); in the *\*Lingbao* tradition, rituals were timed to coincide with these celestial assemblies.

The registers kept in the otherworld also recorded one's misdeeds. The *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), a second-century text associated with another religious movement of the Han dynasty, describes registers of misdeeds that adversely affect the length of one's life span. Both the *Shangqing* and *Lingbao* traditions inherited the notion of registers of life and death, but the number of gods in charge of monitoring human behavior increased. These registers and the idea that one's actions affect these otherworldly records appear throughout Taoist scriptures and in Six Dynasties *zhiguai* 志怪 tales (“records of the strange”).



Fig. 6. Great Register of the Most High Orthodox Unity for Removing Evil (*Taishang zhengyi bixie dalu* 太上正一辟邪大籙). *Sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu* 三五正一盟威籙 (Register of the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity of the Three and Five; CT 1208), 6.10b–13a.

Beginning with the Celestial Masters tradition, registers also listed protective deities. During the transmission of a scripture, the adept swore a covenant (*meng* 盟), recalling the bond forged between lord and vassal. This use and role of registers was replaced in the Shangqing tradition by the possession, knowledge, and use of revealed scriptures. Later, the Shangqing tradition developed its own ordination registers.



Fig. 7. Ordination certificate bestowed in 1981. Reproduced with permission of Princeton University Press from Dean 1993, 54.

*Bestowal of registers in ordination.* In later Taoist ordination and investiture rites, the adept receives registers listing protective deities. As the adept advances, he is given a longer register with more deities. The register records the names and attributes of the divine generals and their soldiers whom the adept calls upon in visualizations and spells to protect the possessor, affect healing, and convey petitions to the otherworld. In return, the adept agrees to obey certain precepts. In effect, the adept is entering into a contract with the deities as well as the master who bestows the register.

During the first ordination rite held at seven years of age, the adept receives the Child Register of the Highest One General (*Taishang yi jiangjun tongzi lu* 太上一將軍童子錄). At the next ordination stage, the adept is given more commandments to obey as well as a register listing ten otherworldly generals under his power. During adolescence, the adept receives a register of seventy-five generals. For women, the register is referred to as Upper Numinous (*shangling* 上靈), and for men it is called Upper Transcendent (*shangxian* 上仙). If two initiates marry, their registers are combined for a total of one hundred fifty deities, the highest ordination level for a layperson. The next level of ordination, where one receives one hundred eighty deities to summon as well as one hundred eighty commandments to obey, is limited to masters.

The Celestial Masters ordination registers, called Registers of the Pneumas of the Twenty-four Parishes (*ershisi zhi qi lu* 二十四治氣錄), are referred to as Esoteric Registers (*neilu* 內錄) for the masters and Exoteric Registers (*wailu* 外錄) for the laity. The Esoteric Registers are in the form of chart-registers (*tulu* 圖錄), which consist of images or maps of the cosmos and the

names of transcendents, and thereby act as passes for safe conduct to the otherworld. The talismanic registers (*fulu* 符籙), which are the Exoteric Registers of the laity, are excerpts from the more comprehensive registers of the masters.

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▣ Benn 1991, passim; Dean 1993, 53–58; Kroll 1986a, 108–13; Lagerwey 1987c, 157–61 and passim; Ren Jiyu 1990, 340–90; Robinet 1993, 143–51; Robinet 1997b, 57–58; Schipper 1978, 376–81; Schipper 1985c; Schipper 1993, 60–71; Seidel 1979; Seidel 1981, 241–47; Seidel 1983a, 323–32 and passim

※ FU [talisman]; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD; TRANSMISSION

### Hagiography

The Taoist biographical tradition primarily celebrates the exploits of immortals, those who have transcended the bounds of a standard life and attained the deathless and supreme state. It records their extraordinary feats and their powers and capabilities that exceed those of normal people. In some instances the biographies recount how these figures attained their exalted condition, for all of them passed from a human existence to a transcendent one, and why such a destiny fell to them and no-one else. Importantly, however, the biographies do not, in general, describe the techniques by which immortality was attained. Discussions of the preparation of elixirs, rules for entering sacred mountains and writing of talismans (\*FU) are notable by their scarcity in Taoist hagiography. Rather, the purpose of these biographies appears to be to provide evidence for the existence of immortals and records of models for emulation, rather than to give instructions on the attainment of immortality. For that, keen readers would have to look elsewhere.

Discussions of the purpose of Taoist biographies found in prefaces to collections and the like justify their existence on two major grounds. First, the lives recorded countered the perennial objection that immortality was not possible and that those who claimed to have attained it were simply charlatans. Secondly, the collections were often defined by their position in a

debate that resounds through the history of immortality, namely whether the ability to gain this exalted state was dependent on the fate one received at birth (length of life was, and to some extent still is, regarded as fated) or whether immortality was something that anybody could attain given the right information, sufficient study and apparently boundless enthusiasm. The *loci classici* for the two sides of this discussion are \*Xi Kang's (223–62) *Yangsheng lun* 養生論 (Essay on Nourishing Life) and \*Wu Yun's (?–778) *Shenxian kexue lun* (An Essay on How One May Become a Divine Immortal Through Training) respectively. Other motivations may be inferred from some collections compiled with a specific purpose in mind. Notable among these are the desire to record (or invent) a lineage or line of transmission such as the *Han tianshi shijia* (Lineage of the Han Celestial Master) which records the lives of the Celestial Masters from \*Zhang Daoling, who ascended to Heaven in the second century, to the forty-ninth Celestial Master, Zhang Yongxu 張永緒, who lived in the sixteenth century. Another motivation is revealed in \*Du Guangting's (lost) *Wangshi shenxian zhuan* 王氏神仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals of the Family Name Wang; Yan Yiping 1974, vol. 1) where a particular family is exalted—in this case the family of the ruler of the state of Shu in which court Du found himself. Similarly, there exist collections with a regional focus which bolster local pride and those associated with specific mountains or other cult sites.

Biographies of Taoist immortals—especially lesser known ones—are often remarkably stable over time. The rewriting of biographies, or the composition of a new one where an older version exists, is generally an indication that the subject of the biography has gained a new importance or a new role.

The earliest collection in the tradition is *Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals) which may indeed, perversely, be said to predate Taoism itself. Traditionally attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–8 or 6 BCE; IC 583–84), its very existence points to the prevalence of the idea of immortality in early China. Its biographies are short with only the most rudimentary narrative. In the second collection that survives, \*Ge Hong's (283–343) *Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals), the biographies are much fuller but still are rarely more than a few pages long. Various collections followed Ge's model: *Dongxian zhuan* (Biographies of Cavern Immortals; by Jiansu zi 見素子 who has not been satisfactorily identified, Six Dynasties), *Daoxue zhuan* (Biographies of Those who Studied the Dao; by

Ma Shu of the Chen dynasty), \**Xu xianzhuan* (Sequel to Biographies of Immortals; by Shen Fen 沈汾 of the Southern Tang dynasty). Du Guangting was a pivotal figure in the history of Taoist hagiography as he was in so many areas of Taoism. Among his works were the aforementioned *Wangshi shenxian zhuan*, the *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺 (Uncollected Biographies of Immortals; Yan Yiping 1974, vol. 1), and the \**Yongcheng jixian lu* (Records of the Immortals Gathered in the Walled City), which was an important attempt at comprehensive classification. Later, Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307) completed his monumental \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages) with over 900 biographies. This collection also broke new ground by including biographies of greater length than previously seen, some taking an entire chapter.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Bokenkamp 1986c, 143–45; Boltz J. M. 1986c, 156–59; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 54–101; Bumbacher 2000c; Campany 1996, 294–306; Campany 2002; Chen Guofu 1963, 233–51; Giles L. 1948; Kaltenmark 1953; Penny 2000; Sawada Mizuho 1988; Seidel 1989–90, 246–48

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. II.7 (“Immortals and Hagiography”)

## Epigraphy

Taoist epigraphy mainly consists of inscriptions on stone (stelae) and, to a lesser extent, on bronze or other metals (bells, incense burners, and various liturgical implements). Whereas early studies focused on their artistic quality (e.g., the *Yihe ming* 瘞鶴銘, *Inscription on the Burial of a Crane*, or the many Yuan Taoist stelae from the brush of Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, 1254–1322) or their philological value (e.g., the Tang dynasty stele of the *Daode jing* at Yixian 易縣, Hebei), in recent decades scholars have begun to tap their vast potential as resources for social history. As religious archives are unavailable, epigraphic sources yield the richest documentation on the life of Taoist communities in the past. Especially the reverse sides (*beiyin* 碑陰) of



the stelae, with their lists of religious personalities, their titles, and the names of their patrons, provide firsthand information on the economic basis and social background of Taoist establishments. Since stelae were often used as a public and reliable records for grants, contracts, or other official acts, they also document the legal status of communities. Moreover, inscriptions are a primary source for the history of cults, and even data on rituals or alchemical practices are available in stelae devoted to such issues.

Taoist inscriptions do not formally differ from other Chinese epigraphic sources. Most of their authors are lay people: sympathetic or, occasionally, critical literati. Their often standardized format and formulaic expressions are the same as those of their counterparts in Confucian, Buddhist, or popular contexts. However, Taoist epigraphy also includes some peculiar genres, however, including calligraphic samples of roaming immortals like \*Lü Dongbin, or charts of the human body for use in meditation (see \**Neijing tu* and *Xiuzhen tu*). These stelae, along with the alchemical poems frequently carved on stone from the Song onward, attest to the open diffusion and potentially vast audience of seemingly arcane and mystical expressions of the Taoist tradition.

The earliest inscriptions related to Taoism are those of the cults to immortals dating from the Han period. Some of them, like the Tang Gongfang 唐公房 stele (Schipper 1991a; Company 1996, 187–92), have been known for a long time, while others, like the *Fei Zhi bei* 肥致碑, are still being discovered today (Schipper 1997b; Little 2000b, 150–51). These early stelae bear devices—for instance, holes for offerings—showing that, in accordance with their archaic function, stelae were themselves the objects of rites: the erect stone represented the god. This notion seems to disappear shortly after the Han. During the Six Dynasties, Taoist communities produced iconic stelae (*zaoxiang bei* 造像碑) comparable to better-known Buddhist ones. We have many inscriptions from the Tang period onward devoted to Taoist temples and abbeys, as well as funerary stelae of eminent Taoists (Confucian-style *muzhi ming* 墓誌銘, or, rarely, Buddhist-style *taming* 塔銘). The Yuan dynasty is a Golden Age of Taoist epigraphy, and especially the \*Quanzhen order seems to have promoted the systematic erection of stelae in all its communities. An exhaustive count of extant Taoist inscriptions dating from the Jin and Yuan periods yields some 1,100 items, about 500 of which are of Quanzhen provenance. This only includes inscriptions primarily concerned with the activities of the \**daoshi*, and does

not consider the titles of lost inscriptions or inscriptions for shrines of popular cults which were also often staffed by Taoists. A corpus of this size is the best resource with which to gauge the presence of Taoism and its variations in space and time.

Like all Chinese inscriptions, the Taoist ones are scattered among records in old epigraphic treatises, local gazetteers, literary anthologies and recent archeological publications; collections of rubbings in Chinese, Japanese and Western libraries; and the actual stelae when they still exist. Whereas ancient inscriptions are well documented, those of the Ming, Qing, and contemporary periods are rarely published and must be collected through library study and fieldwork. These more recent inscriptions are nevertheless important to chart the history of modern Taoism, since few canonical or historiographical works are available for this period.

Recent fieldwork, for example, has documented fifty-three stelae dating from the Ming onward in the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds; Marsone 1999), and fifty-four of the same period at the \*Louguan (Tiered Abbey); Wang Zhongxin 1995). Thousands of smaller sites await similar investigation. For the earlier periods, the situation has much improved since the publication of *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 (A Collection of Taoist Epigraphy; Chen Yuan 1988), an anthology compiled by the great scholar Chen Yuan 陳垣 (1880–1971) in the 1930s as he was working on the history of Quanzhen, and posthumously completed and published. The anthology includes inscriptions from the Han to the Ming, but nearly 900 of its 1,500 texts date from the Jin-Yuan period. Extant Taoist inscriptions number over 10,000 in all, but it will take decades before a comprehensive survey is available.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 121–28; Goossaert 1997; Schipper 1991a; Schipper 1997b

※ *Ganshui xianyuan lu; Zhenxian beiji*

# COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY

## Cosmogony

### 1. Overview

In systems of thought based on a once and for all creation of the cosmos by a deity, or at least by a demiurge, the origin of the cosmos is a moment of the utmost significance in which the eternal and the temporal intersect. For quite different reasons, twenty-first century cosmologists pay great attention to elucidating exactly what happened in the first instants after the cosmic explosion known as the Big Bang. Such considerations are largely irrelevant to the understanding of ancient Chinese thought, in which divine creative activity was no longer a part of the intellectual landscape by the time cosmological speculation can be traced in the later Warring States period. Nor was cosmogony a major philosophical issue. Even at times when we seem at first sight to be confronting a cosmogonic discourse, as in the case of Zhou Dunyi's 周敦頤 (1017–73; SB 277–81) *Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說 (Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate), it is more likely that reference is being made not so much to a temporal sequence of evolution as to an order of ontological priority.

When cosmogonic writing is found in its true sense of an account of the origin of the present cosmos from some preceding state (which includes the possibility of Non-being; see \*[wu](#) and *you*), two characteristics stand out, apart from the absence of a divine creator. Firstly, there is no element of explicit teleology. The universe is not there as part of some wider purpose, or to exhibit some message. Secondly, the universe is not a chance production, but is the result of the unfolding of an implicit order.

One of the fullest and clearest early cosmogonies was composed by the astronomer, poet, technologist and courtier Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139; IC

211–12) around 120 CE. It forms part of a text, *Lingxian* 靈憲 (perhaps “The Numinous Structure”), in which he sets out to give a complete account of the large-scale order of heaven and earth.

Before the Great Plainness (or Great Basis, Taisu 太素) [came to be], there was dark limpidity and mysterious quiescence, dim and dark. No image of it can be formed. Its midst was void; its exterior was non-existence. Things remained thus for long ages; this is called obscurity (*mingxing* 溟滓). It was the root of the Dao.

When the root of the Dao had been established, from the non-existent (*\*wu*) there grew existence (*\*you*). The Great Basis first began to sprout, to sprout though as yet with no outer sign. The *\*qi* was all together, and all appeared as one—an undivided Chaos (*hundun bufen* 渾沌不分). So the *Account of the Dao* (*Daozhi* 道志, i.e., the *Daode jing*) says “There is a thing confusedly formed, born before Heaven and Earth.” The body of its *qi* could by no means yet be given a shape. Its stillings and quickenings could by no means yet be given regularity. Things remained thus for more long ages; this was [the stage called] vast and floodlike (*panghong* 龐鴻). It was the stem of the Dao.

When the stem of the Dao had been grown, creatures came into being and shapes were formed. At this stage, the original *qi* split and divided, hard and soft first divided, pure and turbid took up different positions. Heaven formed on the outside, and Earth became fixed within. Heaven took its body from the Yang, so it was round and in motion; Earth took its body from the Yin, so it was flat and quiescent. Through motion there was action and giving forth; through quiescence there was conjoining and transformation. Through binding together there was fertilization, and in time all the kinds of things were brought to growth. This is called the Great Origin (Taiyuan 太元). It was the fruition of the Dao. (*Hou Hanshu*, *Zhi* 志, 10.3215, commentary)

The presence of accounts of the emergence of the cosmos from non-existence and primal Chaos might prompt the obvious question as to whether (and if so when) it might revert to non-existence, and if so whether it might in time reemerge. Such questions do not however seem to have been raised systematically in ancient China before the coming of Buddhism, and unlike the case of ancient Greece and later Europe, the question of the eternity or temporality of the existence of the cosmos does not seem to have been seen as an important issue.

*Christopher CULLEN*

▣ Kaltenmark 1959; Le Blanc 1989; Major 1993, 23–28; Mathieu 1992; Schafer 1977a, 21–31

## 2. Taoist notions

The return to the Origin (*yuan* 元), or to the Dao as the source and foundation of the world, is one of the main notions running throughout Taoism. Several facets of this notion must be examined for its importance to be appreciated.

First, Taoist writers often compound the ideas of the absolute Origin and the beginning of existence. These ideas, however, are not entirely equivalent: while the Origin is an ever-present foundation in both space and time, the beginning of existence must be located in an unknown past. Second, both ideas are equally paradoxical: on the one hand, the absolute Origin cannot be something determinate, but if it were nothing it would not be the Origin; on the other hand, a beginning assumes that something already exists and that it has already begun to begin, as shown in *\*Zhuangzi 2*. A third issue concerns the shift from unity to multiplicity: the notion of the Origin has the paradoxical feature of a limit or a threshold, as it is the moment in which the indeterminate Dao takes form.

The following outline is only concerned with the notions of formation of the cosmos in Taoism, and does not consider the related but different themes of the succession of plural worlds, or the ordering of the world by mythical emperors and other cultural heroes.

*Metaphorical time.* The first brief hints of cosmogony in Taoism appear in some passages of *Daode jing* 21, 25, and 42, and are frequently quoted in later texts. The theme was further expanded in descriptive, narrative, mythical, or theogonic fashions, which are often blended with each other.

Time, measured in cosmic eras (*kalpas*, *\*jie*) or in myriad pneumas (*\*qi*), occurs as a metaphor. The Origin-beginning of the cosmos is set in the remote past, to indicate that it is unlike anything occurring in the phenomenal world. Various cosmogonic stages, however, are described as sequences of generations or transformations to emphasize the continuity between unity and multiplicity. Since in the Origin-beginning there is nothing, the texts rely on images evoking void, silence, desert, obscurity, immobility, or an immense open space. Nevertheless, several terms that connote original Chaos contain the semantic indicator “water” (*shui* 水) or “vegetation” (*cao* 艸), in accordance with the claim that paradoxically there is something in this void—the first signs or sprouts of the world (e.g., *Daode jing* 21).

The Origin-beginning is one: the Dao, the One (*\*yi*), Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*), or Chaos (*\*hundun*). This unity harbors the seed of multiplicity and the patterns of the world. It contains three principles merged in one: pneuma (*qi*), form (*\*xing*), and matter (*zhi* 質), or Yin, Yang, and the Central Harmony (*zhonghe* 中和). The number 3 represents in Taoism the notion of a complex and organized unity (see *\*NUMEROLOGY*). Numbers, which measure

the time of precosmic eras, symbolically express the maturation the three components must attain before they separate from each other.

*Threefold and fivefold patterns.* Taoism employs two main cosmogonic patterns, one threefold and the other fivefold, which are related to the vertical and horizontal axes of the world. From these patterns arise all other celestial and terrestrial configurations.

The threefold pattern is first seen in the *\*Shengshen jing* (Scripture of the Life-Giving Spirits; CT 318, 1a-b). This *\*Lingbao* text associates three precosmic eras with the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶), the teaching of Three Caverns (*\*SANDONG*), and the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣 see *\*sanyuan*) named Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), Original (*yuan* 元), and Inaugural (*shi* 始). First, these triads are blended in unity in the Void, then they generate the highest Heavens, and finally they divide into Heaven and Earth. Since the fifth century, this pattern has been enriched by texts that associate the Three Pneumas with the three highest Heavens, the three corporeal divinities (the Three Primes, *\*sanyuan*), the three qualities of the Dao—said to be invisible (*yi* 夷), inaudible (*xi* 希), and imperceptible (*wei* 微) in *Daode jing* 14—and the three bodies (*sanshen* 三身) or appearances of the Ultimate Truth. This view of a single but threefold Origin gave rise to meditation practices focused on the three corporeal deities and to speculations on the Three Ones (*\*sanyi*); later it also merged with *\*neidan* notions. Another threefold pattern is represented by the *\*sanhuang*, or Three Sovereigns, two of whom are precosmic.

The fivefold pattern first appears in the Han “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see *\*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA*) and in the opening chapter of the *\*Liezi*. This pattern imagines a genesis in five stages called Five Greats (*wutai* 五太; see [fig. 8](#)): *taiyi* 太易 (Great Simplicity), *taichu* 太初 (Great Beginning), *taishi* 太始 (Great Commencement), *taisu* 太素 (Great Plainness), and *\*taiji* 太極 (Great Ultimate). The second, third and fourth stages are the origin of pneuma, form, and matter, respectively. They evolve progressively but are in a state of chaotic unity until they transform into the One (the *taiji*), which is the “beginning of form.” This pattern was adopted by Taoist texts from the Tang period onward, and was related to the *\*wuxing*. In *neidan*, it was integrated with the view that the cosmos begins with the union of the trigrams *qian* 乾 ☰ (pure Yang) and *kun* 坤 ☷ (pure Yin), which generate the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*); it was also related to fire phasing (*\*huohou*) and the birth

of the immortal embryo (\**shengtai*).

In fact, there are several variations of the main cosmogonic themes outlined above. In the early Lingbao texts, for example, the number of precosmic eras ranges from three to four or five, called Draconic Magnificence (*longhan* 龍漢), Extended Vigor (*yankang* 延康), Vermilion Brilliance (*chiming* 赤明), Opening Luminary (*kaihuang* 開皇), and Higher Luminary (*shanghuang* 上皇). Some of these precosmic eras are represented as former worlds. In addition, a syncretic tendency blended these systems together, creating an extremely complex cosmogonic process. In some instances, Taoist scriptures describe the state that antedates the world in an attempt to prove that they, or the schools which they represent, are anterior and superior to other scriptures or schools, in a “cosmological battle” (Bokenkamp 1997, 190) that generates a *regressus ad infinitum*.

*Primordial deities.* Taoist cosmogonies are often theogonies, based on the notion of a god as creator and teacher of the world. In this view, a primordial divinity exists in emptiness and takes form progressively. Transforming its name and appearance, it fashions the celestial and human worlds that constitute its own body. This divinity governs and teaches through scriptures, first transmitted in Heaven and later to humans in written form. There was also disagreement about the identity of the primordial deity, who was usually thought to be either Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see \**sangqing*) or \*Laojun. In the Lingbao cosmogony, the Tianzun 天尊 (Celestial Worthy) takes the name Yuanshi tianzun in the Vermilion Brilliance era. The notion of gods changing appearances in precosmic eras and throughout the history of humankind appears to be a compromise in the struggle for priority among Taoist schools: all deities are seen as names and apparitions of the one, primordial, and ultimate Truth.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 188–98, 207–9; Girardot 1976; Girardot 1977; Girardot 1978b; Girardot 1983; Kalinowski 1996; Le Blanc 1989; Mathieu 1992; Mugitani Kunio 1979; Peerenboom 1990; Robinet 1977, 149–203; Robinet 1994b; Robinet 1995c; Robinet 1997a; Robinet 2002; Robinet forthcoming

※ *hundun*; *sanyuan*; *wu* and *you*; *wuji* and *taiji*; *xiantian* and *houtian*; *xing*; *yi* [oneness]; *yuanqi*; COSMOLOGY

# Cosmology

## 1. Overview

By the beginning of the imperial age in China, the dominant patterns of cosmological thinking that had emerged were clearly of the correlative type. This entry briefly introduces the two main patterns, those of Yin and Yang and the *wuxing*. The next entry, “Cosmology: Taoist Notions,” describes the application of these and other configurations of emblems in Taoism.

*Yin and Yang.* Let us consider first the simple binary scheme of Yin and Yang, two terms whose earliest identifiable meanings appear to be “the dark (northern) side of a hill” and “the sunny (southern) side of a hill.” The earliest lengthy statement of the Yin-Yang system comes from a text of the late third century BCE found in the 168 BCE tomb at \*Mawangdui, entitled *Cheng* 稱 (Designations; trans. Yates 1997, 155–69; see also Graham 1989, 330–31). We are told at the outset: “In sorting things out, use Yin and Yang.” There then follows the list reproduced in [table 1](#). It should be quite clear that Yin and Yang are not substances of any kind, nor are they “forces” or “energies”: they are simply the names that label the typical partners in a whole series of parallel relationships.

Table 1.

YIN	YANG	YIN	YANG
Earth	Heaven	Child	Father
Autumn	Spring	Younger brother	Elder brother
Winter	Summer	Younger	Older
Night	Day	Base	Noble
Small states	Large states	Narrow-minded	Broad-minded
Unimportant states	Important states	Mourning	Taking a wife, begetting a child
Non-action	Action	Being controlled by others	Controlling others
Contracting	Stretching	Host	Guest
Minister	Ruler	Laborers	Soldiers
Below	Above	Silence	Speech
Woman	Man	Receiving	Giving



Yin and Yang entities according to the \*Mawangdui manuscript Cheng 稱 (Designations). Based on Yates 1997, 169, and Graham 1989, 330—31.

And clearly nothing is Yin or Yang in itself and outside the context of a relationship: without Yin there is no Yang, and vice versa.

This simple system has a wide range of applications. Thus in Chinese medicine, a function such as digestion is seen as Yang, whereas the physical substrate that enables this function is seen as Yin. Supposing one has a severely malnourished patient, Yin-Yang thinking will draw attention to the need to restore both sides of the digestive partnership together, since a large meal given at once will demand Yang activity that the weakened Yin substrate cannot sustain. Thus initial nourishment should be small, with a gradual increase as function and substrate strengthen one another.

*Wuxing*. By the early imperial period, another correlative system was also well elaborated—not in competition with Yin-Yang, but in complementary relation with it. This was the so-called *wuxing*, a term which can reasonably be translated as Five Phases or Five Agents. Here the groupings go by fives, not by twos. The headings for this list of fivefold correlations are drawn from important elements in the functioning of the natural world: Wood (*mu* 木), Fire (*huo* 火), Soil (*tu* 土), Metal (*jin* 金), and Water (*shui* 水). The correlations of these five emblems are shown in [table 25](#).

Clearly any pattern that can include numbers, seasons, directions, colors and types of animal is not talking of physical ingredients like the ancient Greek elements, but is correlating systems of relationship. But if Yin-Yang thinking posits an alternation of activity, what happens when we have five phases? In fact two main types of pattern are said to occur (see [fig. 77](#)). The so-called “production” sequence (*xiangsheng* 相生) follows the circumference of the circle: thus Wood grows from Water, Wood produced Fire, Fire produces Soil (ashes), Metals grow in the Soil (as was thought), and Water condenses on Metal. In the “conquest” sequence (*xiangke* 相克) shown by the cross-lines, Water puts out Fire, Fire melts Metal, Metal cuts Wood, Wood (as a primitive spade) digs Soil, and Soil dams up Water.

Among other forms of correlative thinking in China was of course the elaborate system of correlations between the eight trigrams (\**bagua*) and the sixty-four hexagrams of the \**Yijing* and the whole of the cosmos. The

importance attached to such thinking varied from period to period, and of course its suffered a major blow with the popularization of the more mechanical style of modern scientific thinking. But it is certainly still alive and well in the world of Taoist practices, as well as in divination and traditional medicine.

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▣ Graham 1986c; Graham 1989, 318–58; Harper 1999; Henderson 1984; Kalinowski 1991; Le Blanc 1985; Major 1978; Major 1987b; Major 1993; Needham 1956, 216–345; Onozawa Seiichi, Fukunaga Mitsuji, and Yamanoi Yū 1978; Schwartz 1985, 350–82

## 2. Taoist notions

While Confucianism mainly deals with relations among human beings in society, Taoism focuses on human relations with Nature: unlike Confucians, Taoists maintain that one cannot understand human affairs without knowing how the cosmos functions, because the Dao is the totality of what exists and the whole world is a manifestation of the Dao. Moreover, in Taoism the human being is seen as a microcosm related in an analogical and organic way to the pattern of the world. In order to attain physical and mental health, and to achieve immortality, therefore, one should know and follow the cosmic laws. Cosmology thus plays a basic role in Taoism. That is why around the third century CE, when Confucianism rejected the cosmological speculations it had incorporated during the Han period, Taoism became the main heir of *\*fangshi* lore and Han naturalistic thought, and contributed to their renewal in Neo-Confucianism from the eleventh century onward.

*The Taoist view of the cosmos.* For the Taoist saint (*\*shengren*), first as depicted in the *\*Zhuangzi*, the cosmological dimension serves as a means to go beyond the self. The world that Taoism deals with is not exactly the same as the world of the cosmologists: Taoist cosmology is based on the common Yin-Yang and *\*wuxing* patterns, but adds a divine dimension to this system. The cosmos is an imaginary world where “spirits are embodied and bodies are spiritualized” (see *\*xiang*). Even more than deities, cosmology therefore provides the necessary mediation between the Absolute and the human beings. Accordingly, many Taoist practices aim at fashioning a material or ideal microcosm: the ritual altar, the alchemical laboratory, and the human

body itself are tools to know the cosmos, stride along it, and finally go beyond it.

Taoist alchemists further state that a parcel of the Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*), a sparkle of light that antedates the formation of the world, lies within each and every thing and being (see *\*dianhua*). The way Taoists travel in the world thus runs in two directions, unlike the way of the cosmologists: not only from the Dao to multiplicity, following the unfolding of the world (*shun* 順 “continuation”), but also from multiplicity to the Dao, in a reverse order (*ni* 逆 “inversion”) that Taoism calls “return” (*\*fan*).

The foundation and source of the world is the One (*\*yi*), an aspect of the Dao or the Original Pneuma. The world consequently has internal coherence and adheres to general laws and rhythms. These patterns regulate various systems which, despite their differences, resonate with each other with respect to these laws. Moreover, the world is a continuum: although the human mind perceives divisions and reference points in the world, they only have a conventional and provisional value. Taoists emphasize this point more often and more strongly than the cosmologists. Various means are available to reconcile the unity of the world with the multiplicity of its aspects. One stresses the “fluidity” of the Dao or the Original Pneuma, which can take all forms because it has none; another focuses on the circulation of the Original Pneuma which, like a whirlwind, spins the cosmos around and bestows a specific virtue or character to each of its sectors; while another offers a dynamic view of a constantly changing world, whose mutations happen in a way akin to birth or to a seed that grows into a tree, without any disruption.



Fig. 8. The cosmogonic sequence of the Five Greats (*wutai* 五大): Great Simplicity, Great Beginning, Great Commencement, Great Plainness, and Great Ultimate. \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual; CT 1220), 1.9b.

But the world cannot appear without taking form, which means that it requires outlines that delineate things and separate them from one another. This occurs through a long process of parturition from the indeterminate Formless (*wuxing* 無形) to form (*\*xing*). Then there appears the first and ultimate “line,” or limit, the *\*taiji* (Great Ultimate), which generates the division into two (Yin and Yang, or Heaven and Earth). These two basic principles do not give birth to a dualistic view of the world because they do not apply to the human world, but merely delineate its frame. The human world lies between these two limits, and Taoism is concerned with their mingling and fluctuation.

*Numerical and geographical patterns.* Unlike the cosmologists, Taoists privilege the number 3 instead of the number 4, which evokes the four seasons and the four major trigrams. As stated in *Daode jing* 42, the number 3 represents the recovered Original Unity that gives birth to the “ten thousand things.” Accordingly, the main structures of the world are threefold and fivefold (see *\*sanwu*). The vertical structure is threefold and is mainly associated with three realms above, below, and in the middle. These are variously called Yin, Yang, and Central Harmony (*zhonghe* 中和 the median pneuma); or Heaven, Earth, and Humanity; or (by the early *\*Tianshi dao*) Heaven, Earth, and Water (see under *\*sanguan*). The horizontal structure is

fivefold, with the *wuxing* as the main mark-points.

The combination of the four cardinal directions with above and below constitute the traditional six directions of the world mentioned in Taoists texts. The \*Lingbao texts in turn borrow from Buddhism the notion of ten directions, or the eight directions of the compass plus above and below.

The fantastic aspect of the Taoist world can be observed in its view of the underworld, the heavens, and what is above the heavens. North is the land of death and hells, while south is the land of salvation and paradise. The poles of the earth, where Taoists like to roam, are traditionally believed to be dangerous and inhabited by barbarians and monsters, but for the Taoists they abound in propitious pneuma and deities (see *\*yuanyou*).

For the Taoists, finally, the Heaven and Earth that we know and inhabit are not eternal. They have a beginning and will undergo an apocalyptic end, only to be replaced by others.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 15–20, 165–66, and 234–37; Lagerwey 1981b, 33–38, 40–42, and 80–82; Major 1993; Robinet 1984, 1: 130–40 and 221–27; Robinet 1997b, 7–14, 42–46, 92–94, 158–62, and 234–39; Robinet forthcoming; Schipper and Wang 1986

※ COSMOGONY; DIVINATION, OMENS, AND PROPHECY; MACROCOSM AND MICROCOSM; NUMEROLOGY; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. II.1 (“Doctrinal Notions”) and sec. II.4 (“Cosmos and Cosmology”)

### Macrocosm and microcosm

Like several other cultures, China has developed the macrocosm-microcosm theory in different forms. Taoism has borrowed some of them and elaborated others. These multiple formulations are not restricted to the universe and the human being, as other components come into play. The first is the state: the human community with its codes, hierarchies, and physical seats of power ideally mirrors the configuration and order of Heaven; reciprocally, Heaven is an administrative system managed through bureaucratic procedures similar

to those performed at court and in government offices. The second is the ritual area, whose altars (*tan* 壇) correspond to the cosmos and its temporal and spatial configurations. Other environments and surroundings, including gardens and gourds, are also said to represent a “cosmos in miniature.”

Cosmos, human being, society, and ritual area are analogically related to each other, so that an event or an action that occurs within any of these domains can be relevant for the others; this is determined by the principle of “resonance” (*ganying* 感應 lit. “impulse and response”), by which things belonging to the same class or category (*lei* 類) influence each other. Ritual, for instance, reestablishes the original bond between humans and gods, and a Real Man (*\*zhenren*) or a Saint (*\*shengren*) benefits the whole human community in which he lives by aligning himself with the forces that rule the cosmos. On the other hand, a ruler who ignores Heaven's omens brings about natural calamities and social disturbances.

In many cases, the conduits linking each domain to the others are the abstract emblems of correlative cosmology, or the gods of the outer and inner pantheons. Emblems and gods are related to each other, as several divinities correspond to cosmological notions. Symbolic numbers (see \*NUMEROLOGY) and images (*\*xiang*) play a central role in establishing these relationships. In Taoism, however, numbers and images also perform an even more important function, as they serve to express both the emanation from Dao to macrocosm, and the reverse process of return to the Dao (*\*fan*), which is often performed with the support of a microcosmic framework.

*Cosmos, gods, and the human body.* The macrocosm-microcosm theory lies at the core of correlative cosmology. The pattern of the Five Agents (*\*wuxing*) in particular forges relations among various sets of entities and phenomena, such as numbers, colors, spatial directions, seasons, planets, musical notes, and so forth. Within these sets, the relation of the five viscera (*\*wuzang*) to the seasons and directions aligns the human microcosm to the macrocosmic categories of space and time. An example of the adaptation of this theory in Taoism is the

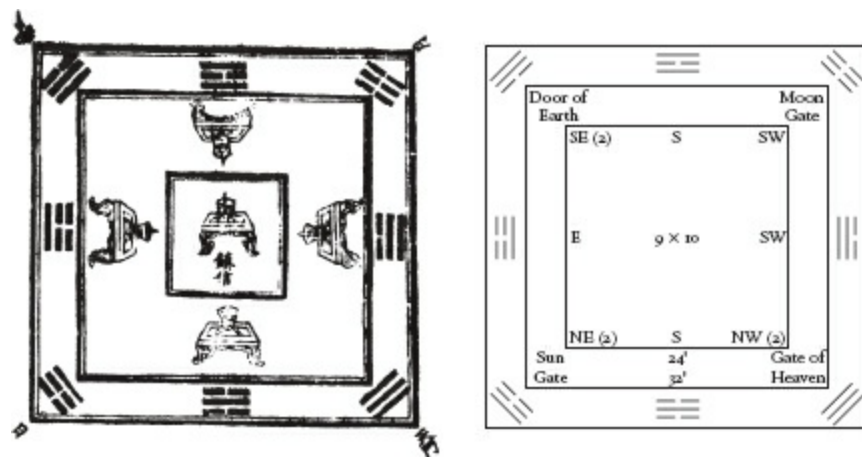


Fig. 9. The Taoist altar as a microcosm. \**Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials; CT 1138), 52.1a. The diagram on the right is based on Lagerwey 1987c, 36; see his comments *ibid.*, 30–36.



Fig. 10. Human figure surrounded by emblems associated with Yin and Yang and the Five Agents (\**wuxing*): Dragon (Yang) and Tiger (Yin); the hare in Moon (Yang within Yin) and the crow in the Sun (Yin within Yang); trigrams of the Book of Changes (\**Yijing*); and names of ingredients of the Inner Elixir (\**neidan*). \**Yunji qiqian* (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds; CT 1032), 72.34a.

practice of absorbing the pneumas (\**qi*) of the five directions (Maspero 1981, 506–13; Eskildsen 1998, 53–56). In other instances, the macrocosm-microcosm theory establishes looser analogies between cosmic phenomena and functions or organs of the human body. Here too, the identification with the cosmos is not only spatial but also temporal. Several Han texts, for example, indicate correspondences between the 360, 365, or 366 days of the year and the identical numbers of joints (*jie* 節) in the body.

The human being, moreover, is home to a host of major and minor gods.

The most important among them dwell both in Heaven and within the individual, and therefore play a role in connecting the two realms. The gods who dwell in the three Cinnabar Fields (*\*dantian*) are, according to different texts, the Three Primes (*\*sanyuan*, which represent original, precosmic pneumas) or the Three Ones (*\*sanyi*, which represent the three basic levels of the cosmos). The twenty-four body spirits formed by the three sets of Eight Effulgences (*\*bajing*) are also related to the three Cinnabar Fields; they correspond to the twenty-four *jieqi* 節氣 (energy nodes) of the year, and each set represents Heaven, Earth, and Humanity within the human being. In another formulation, the main inner gods rule over 18,000 other inner deities; when an adept meditates on these deities, Heaven “makes 18,000 more divinities descend to complete the inner body. This makes 36,000 gods altogether, who raise the whole body and let it ascend to Heaven” (*\*Wushang biyao*, 5.12b–14b; see Maspero 1981, 347, and Lagerwey 1981b, 79–80). The inner landscape of divine beings and their palaces is depicted in the *Neijing tu* (Chart of the Inner Warp; see *\*Neijing tu* and *Xiuzhen tu*, and [fig. 19](#)), a representation related to other pictures that portray the body as a mountain, which in itself is a microcosm (Lagerwey 1991, 127–42; Despeux 1994, 194–98).

*Macrocosm and microcosm in ritual and alchemy.* Taoist ritual represents a complete time cycle, and its arrangement of altars reproduces the spatial structure of the cosmos (Lagerwey 1987c, 25–48; see [fig. 9](#)). In a manner reminiscent of the body spirits mentioned above, an altar described in the *\*Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials) has each side measuring twenty-four feet, corresponding to the twenty-four periods of the year, and is provided with three tables assigned to the Three Sovereigns (*\*sanhuang*) of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (49.1a–2a; Lagerwey 1981b, 152–53). Spatial correspondences are also apparent in another altar, which is arranged in such a way as to correspond to the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*) at its four sides and the four corners, and the twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支 see *\*ganzhi*) along its periphery (Schipper and Wang 1986, 191, [fig. 3](#)). The altar, moreover, is a microcosm not only in relation to the cosmos in its temporal and spatial aspects, but also to the deities who inhabit it. Images of these deities are painted on scrolls and placed in positions (*wei* 位) to which their respective gods descend to take part in the ceremony.

The macrocosm-microcosm theory is also one of the main modes of



expression in *\*waidan* and *\*neidan* (see [fig. 10](#)). Based on the emblems of correlative cosmology, the elixir represents all the temporal and spatial features of the cosmos. As stated in the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*), for instance, the 384 scruples (*zhu* 銖) that compose one symbolic pound of elixir correspond to the number of lines in the sixty-four hexagrams of the *\*Yijing*. Thus the elixir incorporates the cosmos and all its actual and potential changes. In both *waidan* and *neidan*, macrocosmic time sequences are reproduced in the system of fire phasing (*\*huohou*), while in *waidan* the spatial arrangement of instruments on the alchemical altar is also established according to cosmological principles (Sivin 1980, 279–92).

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▣ Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 2: 7–132; Girardot 1983; Granet 1934, 342–88; Kominami Ichirō 1989; Lagerwey 1987c, 3–48; Needham 1956, 294–303; Schipper and Wang 1986; Sivin 1980, 221–92; Stein R. A. 1990

※ COSMOGONY; COSMOLOGY; INNER DEITIES; NUMEROLOGY; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

## Numerology

In classical Chinese thought, numbers have a meaning germane to natural order. As natural order is a manifestation of the Dao, numbers play a primary role in cosmogony and cosmology. They are said to have appeared along with images (*\*xiang*), before forms (*\*xing*) and names. Heaven, Earth, and the “ten thousand things” (*wanwu* 萬物) are born, move, and act through numbers that represent the movement and quiescence (*\*dong* and *jing*) of Yin and Yang, i.e., their rhythm and the laws governing their transformations. Numbers applied to cosmogonic and cosmological cycles, or to alchemical cycles, measure periods of evolution, maturing, and decline, and their exhaustion marks the end of the world. Some numbers are also significant marking points: they ascribe qualities, provide meaning, and serve as tools to correlate different domains—e.g., cosmos and body, Earth and Heaven, temporal and spatial distribution—and make them *commensurable*. For instance, there are three parts in the human body (head, chest, and abdomen)

and three heavenly bodies (sun, moon, and stars), just as there are three levels in the world (Heaven, Earth, and the space between them); there are five viscera (\**wuzang*) in the body and five openings in the human face, as there are five Agents (\**wuxing*), five planets, and so forth.

Numbers can be cardinal or ordinal. One, in the sense of “unique,” is either identified with the Dao or considered as an outcome of the Dao: it engenders the world by its unfolding. In the sense of “first,” it is associated with the agent Water. The One splits into the Two to give rise to the fundamental and dynamic bipolarity of the world. The Two in turn generate the Three, which represent Primordial Unity and the joining of the two primordial entities. Five is the matrix of the quinary order based on the four cardinal directions and the center. As such it is the addition of Four plus One; but it also represents the Center, which both separates and links the “generative” (*sheng* 生) numbers (from 1 to 5) and the “performative” (*cheng* 成) numbers (from 6 to 9). Six and nine are the extreme numbers of Yin and Yang, the two complementary forces of the world represented by Water (Yin) and Fire (Yang).

Since the world is the unfolding of the One to multiplicity, returning to the Origin (\**fan*) means going back through time. The left-turning movement of Yang is the normal direction of this unfolding (*shun* 順 lit., “continuation”), which aims at giving life to other beings (procreation) but ultimately leads toward death. The right-turning movement of Yin is the direction of reversal and decrease (*ni* 逆 lit., “inversion”), the return to the Origin, the way to give life to the inner immortal embryo (\**shengtai*, Embryo of Sainthood). Taoists therefore assume a progression of numbers from the One to Multiplicity as well as an inverse progression, the return to the One.

However, numbers are only metaphorical, as \**neidan* alchemists, who heavily rely on them, often emphasize. Their role is limited by that which cannot be measured, comprehended, or ordered: the infinitely great and the infinitely small subtlety of movement and change.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

■ Granet 1934, 149–299; Major 1990; Major 1984; Robinet 1994a; Schipper and Wang 1986

※ *sanwu*; *Hetu* and *Luoshu*; COSMOGONY; COSMOLOGY; MACROCOSM AND MICROCOSM

# DEITIES AND SPIRITS

## Deities: The pantheon

Defining the Taoist pantheon depends on how one defines Taoism itself. The present entry briefly discusses the pantheon on the basis of selected sources in the Taoist Canon. While these sources give a somewhat different image of the pantheon compared to the deities venerated in present-day Taoism, they help to show how the modern pantheon is the result of historical development.

The Taoist pantheon, in fact, has always been extremely unstable. From earliest times, as new divinities were added, some older ones disappeared, and their ranking changed over time. An important factor in this fluidity has been the Chinese view of religion itself, in which the realm of the deities reflected the structure of the imperial court, centered on the emperor who was considered the representative on earth of the supreme god, Shangdi 上帝 (Highest Emperor). The imperial courts of Shangdi in Heaven and the emperor on earth shared a similar configuration. Thus the earthly emperor conferred titles on a large number of deities, and had the authority to decide which of them were orthodox and which were not. Consequently, the names and rankings of Taoist deities often depended on the imperial court. In later times the pantheon expanded through the incorporation of popular deities. In this sense, a clearly defined Taoist pantheon never existed in the past, any more than it exists in the present day.

*Early Taoist deities.* The earliest record of a Taoist deity is associated with the worship of Laozi (\*Laojun, Lord Lao) within the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), established by \*Zhang Daoling in the mid-second century CE. Laozi was also deified around the same time within the Later Han court (see under \**Laozi ming*), which may have been influenced by the

\*Huang-Lao tradition. There is very little evidence on how the veneration of Laozi was carried out by the Celestial Masters, but statues of Laozi as a sage who had attained the Dao certainly reflect a view of this figure that had become widespread by the second century.

No evidence can be found in the received text of the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace) to link the contemporary Taiping dao 太平道 (Way of Great Peace; see \*Yellow Turbans) to the Laozi cult. In the early fourth-century *\*Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity), \*Ge Hong (283–343) describes Laozi as the founder of Taoism and states that certain talismans (\*FU) and secret rites originated with him, but does not mention his cult. By the time the *\*Shangqing* texts appear in the middle of the fourth century, however, titles such as Laojun (Lord Lao) and Daojun 道君 (Lord of the Dao) point to a deification of Laozi and the Dao. One of the main deities then was Huanglao jun 黄老君 (Yellow Old Lord, a name formed by the combination of the names of \*Huangdi and Laozi). Meditating upon this deity and making it manifest within one's *\*niwan* (the upper *\*dantian* or Cinnabar Field) was a way to attain immortality. The highest development in the deification of the Dao is Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see *\*sanqing*). This deity, who appears in the *\*Lingbao* texts of the fifth century, is the supreme god who is the “beginning of everything,” that is, the Dao. By comparison, the Northern Celestial Masters of \*Kou Qianzhi (365?–448) considered Laojun (i.e., the deified Laozi) to be the founder of Taoism. There were thus some differences in how the pantheon developed in northern and southern China.

*Tao Hongjing's pantheon.* It was \*Tao Hongjing (456–536) who first constructed a single pantheon synthesizing the various lineages of divinities from a Shangqing viewpoint. This pantheon is contained in the *\*Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Real Numinous Beings), which served as the basis for later systematizations. In this work, the deities are divided into seven ranks, with Yuanshi tianzun at the summit. Each rank is further divided into three classes, middle, left and right, of which the middle is of the highest standing and the right is of the lowest. Yuanshi tianzun is ranked as the god of the middle class of the first rank and stands at the head of all the deities, residing in the Great Canopy Heaven (\*Daluo tian) above the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*), i.e., the celestial domains of Highest Clarity (*shangqing*), Jade Clarity (*yuqing*), and Great Clarity (*taiqing*).

Special features of the *Zhenling weiye tu* are that Laojun is placed in the fourth rank; that Confucian sages such as Yao 堯, Shun 舜, and Confucius himself are ranked above him; and that emperors and well-known historical persons who have embraced Taoism are listed as deities. The lowest, seventh rank is occupied by deities of the underworld and by “demon-officials” (*guiguan* 鬼官) who serve the bureaucracy of hell. Placing Laojun in the fourth rank indicates not only the ideological standpoint of the Shangqing school, but also the fact that Taoism was no longer merely a belief in Laozi but had come to embrace a more complex “Dao.”

*Later developments.* The appearance of such works as the *\*Yebao yinyuan jing* (Scripture on the Causes of Karmic Retribution), which mentions the belief in the Celestial Worthy Who Relieves Suffering (*\*Jiuku tianzun*) and its ten manifestations, indicates that Taoism continued to create new deities as new scriptures were composed. Yuanshi tianzun remained the supreme deity until the Song dynasty, when Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) made *\*Yuhuang*, the Jade Sovereign, supreme god by imperial decree, and Huizong (r. 1100–1125) bestowed upon him the title of Haotian Yuhuang shangdi 昊天玉皇上帝 (Jade Sovereign of the Vast Heaven, Highest Emperor). At the same time, divine or semidivine beings originally related to Buddhism and Confucianism were accepted into ranks of Taoist deities, a further demonstration of the ever-changing nature of the Taoist pantheon.

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▣ Chan A. K. L. 1990; Ishii Masako 1983a; Kubo Noritada 1986; Lagerwey 1981b, 91–102; Little 2000b, 227–311; Ma Shutian 1996; Maspero 1981, 75–196, 364–72, and 431–41; Robinet 1997b, 18–19, 67–70, and 158–62; Shahar and Weller 1996; Stevens 1997; Stevens 2001; Verellen 1994; Yamada Toshiaki 1995a

※ HELL; OTHERWORLDLY BUREAUCRACY; TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. II.6 (“Deities”)

### Demons and spirits

Chinese demonology and related beliefs and practices became involved with

the Taoist religion in at least three ways. Taoism incorporated a number of late Zhou and Han ideas and techniques concerning demons and spirits. The demonization of deities of local, popular cults gave Taoists a way of distinguishing themselves from popular religion. Taoists' reincorporation of those same demons/popular gods allowed Taoism to draw upon the energies of the "shamanic substrate" or "popular complex" of Chinese religion.

*Incorporation of early ideas and techniques.* Ancient, pre-Taoist ideas about the invisible world did not sharply divide its inhabitants into good and evil ones. The natures of various *guishen* 鬼神 "demons and sundry spirits," ranged from the entirely malevolent to the potentially helpful. The early demonological tradition was devoted to identifying such spirits, figuring out the likelihood of their being harmful or helpful and, thus, whether one should seek to drive them off or obtain their aid (Harper 1985, 459–60 and n. 1).

The vitality of early demonography is attested in legends surrounding the sage king Yu's 禹 nine cauldrons, which, by depicting the "hundred [spirit] creatures" (*baiwu* 白物), allowed the people to know the forms of harmful spirits; extant texts such as the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; see Kiang Chao-yuan 1937); and the numerous lost books on identifying and controlling harmful spectres recorded in the bibliographic treatise of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han). Archaeological evidence has been even more fruitful. A book whose title was probably *Rishu* 日書 (Book of Days—much of the book's content is hemerological) was recovered in the mid-1970s from an early third century BCE tomb in Shuihudi 睡虎地 (Hubei). One section called "Spellbinding" ("Jie" 詰) begins with a brief prologue, after which virtually all of its seventy entries follow the same sequence: the type of demon is described and named, then appropriate exorcistic measures are prescribed (Harper 1985, esp. 492–94; Harper 1996).

The most notable example of the absorption of this demonographic tradition into Taoism is the ca. 400 CE *\*Nüqing guilü* (Demon Statutes of Nüqing; some parts of the text may be one or more centuries older). Most of the text is comprised of a roster of demons: "If one knows the name of the demon, it will return to its real form (*zhenxing* 真形) and no longer harass one. . . . The demon that is a tree sprite (*mujing* 木精) is named Qunyao 群夭. . . . The demon that is a tiger sprite is named Jianzhuang zi 健莊子" (2.1a-b). Special attention is given to the spirits of the sixty days of the sexagesimal cycle (see *\*ganzhi*). They have human forms, but are covered

only by red hair; they have ears but no eyes. If one remembers the appropriate demon's name for a given day (and, presumably, calls it out), then one can avoid its depredations (1.4b–7b). The *Nüqing guilü* also prescribes various protective spells and talismans for avoiding demonic harm.

Thus the *Nüqing guilü*, like the “Spellbinding” text written centuries before, places the same emphasis on magical control over demons through various exorcistic measures, but especially through the ability to identify any given spectre by name. Still, given that the *Nüqing guilü* is a Taoist scripture—revealed by the Most High Lord Lao (\*Laojun) to the Celestial Master \*Zhang Daoling—the nature and function of the demonic is presented in a very different context. The opening of the scripture describes the revelatory situation. In the beginning, people were free from demonic harassment; demonic hordes were loosed upon the world only when the moral behavior of humankind deteriorated (1.1a). Followers of the Dao should have relatively little to fear if their actions remain correct; for them, problems only arise when demons overstep their correct functions (punishing evil). The *Nüqing guilü* thus functioned to aid adherents when they encountered such rebellious demons. Taoist ethics (spelled out in a code of twenty-two items—for humans, not spirits—in *j.* 3 of the *Nüqing guilü*) became conjoined with the demonographic tradition.

*Demonization of popular deities.* The addition of this moral component was not the only way in which Taoism changed the demonological tradition that had preceded it. While early conceptions of the spirit world had drawn only a vague and unstable line between good and evil supernatural beings, the Celestial Masters and their followers established a much sharper one. According to \*Lu Xiuqing's *\*Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community), one of the chief features of the new Taoist regime had been the following: “The spirits (*shen* 神) do not eat or drink”—i.e., the deities of local, popular cults were no longer to receive sacrificial offerings. Continued worship of such deities was forbidden as “licentious sacrifice” (\**yinsi*). Indeed, such gods were unmasked by Taoist revelation: they were really demons, “stale pneumas” (*guqi* 故氣) of the demonic realm of the Six Heavens (see \**santian* and *liutian*). Thus the “gods” of the people are caricatured as rapacious exploiters, promising blessings to those who give them cult, but dealing out only impoverishment, disease, and early death (1a-b, trans. Nickerson 1996a, 352; see also \**Santian neijie jing*, 1.6a-b, trans.

Bokenkamp 1997, 216–17).

The cosmology of the administration of the dead, the Six Heavens of \*Fengdu, became highly developed in Taoism, for instance in *j.* 15–16 of the \*Zhengao (Declarations of the Perfected). Drawing on Han period accounts of Mount Tai (\*Taishan, Shandong), the *Zhengao* sets out an elaborate bureaucracy for this fabulous mountain in the northeastern seas, positions in which all are filled by dead historical personages. Elsewhere, however, the \*Shangqing scriptures name talismans, spells, and texts for, *inter alia*, “eliminating,” “overawing,” and even “invoking” the demonic powers of the Six Heavens (Nickerson 1996b, esp. 582–83), again emphasizing the value of placing the powers of the demonic under the control of the adept through use of appropriate techniques, such as talismans, spells, or even the simple act of naming.

*From demon to god.* Through meritorious service to the Dao, certain demons could move up through the ranks, eventually to the status of transcendent immortal, making the line between the divine and the demonic a highly porous one. According to the *Zhengao*, most of the demonic officials of the Six Heavens, after specified years of service and advancement through the ranks, can eventually reach transcendent status. Similarly, in the *Nüqing guilü* the Celestial Master states that he is sending out demon lords of the five directions (*wufang guizhu* 五方鬼主), each with command over a myriad of demonic troops. If other spectres are found to be “overstepping their bounds”—attacking with disease not only sinners but also good people—Taoists should call out the name of the appropriate demon lord (depending on the illness contracted). The demon lords are to disperse the recalcitrant demons, forcibly if necessary, and bring aid and succor to the worthy. If they do this, then these lords eventually will rise above their demonic status and have their names listed on the Registers of Life (*shenglu* 生籙; 6.2a-b; see similar language in the fifth century stratum of the \*Dongyuan shenzhou jing; 2.6a–7b).

This pattern was to become even more common in ensuing centuries. Zhao Gongming 趙公明 is named in \*Tao Hongjing's own notes in the *Zhengao* as a fever demon (10.17b). However, the *Nüqing guilü* names Zhao as one of the demon lords just mentioned—and hence as a spirit capable of rising from demonic to divine status. This was precisely what happened. By Song times, Zhao had become a Taoist spirit-general, one of the Prime Marshals



(*yuanshuai* 元帥). His powers, and those of his subordinates, could then be drawn upon by Taoist priests and lay ritual masters (*\*fashi*). Similar careers—from object of popular cult to a place in the Taoist pantheon—may be traced for other figures who became important in Song and later times, e.g. \*Wen Qiong and Ma Sheng 馬勝 (Lagerwey 1987c, 241–52; Cedzich 1995; Davis E. 2001, esp. 278–79 note 14, and 284–87 note 49). However, this is not to say all followers of such deities took cognizance of the Taoist “superscriptions” that turned the gods of the people into Taoist spirit-functionaries (Katz P. R. 1990; Katz P. R. 1995a). Nor was it the case that the tensions between local cults, on the one hand, and Taoism (together with central government authority), on the other, had become completely relaxed. State officials, sometimes themselves trained in Taoist exorcistic techniques, might still come into conflict with local deities and their supporters (Boltz J. M. 1993a).

Although the barriers separating the Taoist/divine from the popular/demonic became even more permeable during Song times, they still continued to exist, and the Song produced its share of “demon statutes”: the *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü* 上清骨髓靈文鬼律 (Devil's Code of the Spinal Numinous Script of the Highest Clarity; CT 461), edited by \*Deng Yougong some time before 1116, and several others. However, these new statutes were very different from the medieval *Nüqing guilü*. The Song statutes address demons themselves—such as those that attach themselves to or possess humans—and also members of the lower echelons of the Taoist otherworldly administration, such as spirit generals and their minions (and even Taoist ritual masters), who fail to protect people from demons. Such statutes then go on to specify the punishments to be suffered by the guilty. Hence, disease and misfortune were no longer attributed to the misbehavior of the afflicted, to human sinners, but instead to the demons and other beings that had allowed people to be harmed in the first place (Davis E. 2001, 22–23, 41–42). The medieval link between misfortune and immorality had been severed, and thus the forces of the spirit world were expected only to behave properly and leave people alone (or help them), not to enforce a revealed Taoist moral code.

The three modes of interaction between Taoism and demonology delineated above may appear to represent chronological phases. Contemporary practice, however, evinces the continued prevalence of each of those several modes of interrelationship. For instance, the horoscopic

calculations, sometimes carried out by Taoist priests or ritual-masters themselves, that determine which malign astral spirit a client may have “offended” (*fan* 犯) or “bumped into” (*chong* 衝) can be traced back to ancient mantic practices, including those described in the *Rishu*. And today as well, the identification of such malefic spirits leads to subsequent exorcistic rites (Hou Ching-lang 1979).

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▣ Boltz J. M. 1993a; Cedzich 1993; Davis E. 2001; Harper 1985; Harper 1996; Hou Ching-lang 1979; Kiang Chao-yuan 1937; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1996; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 211–71; Katz P. R. 1990; Katz P. R. 1995a; Mollier 1997; Nickerson 1996a; Nickerson 1996b; Schipper 1971; Strickmann 2002

※ *gui*; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

### Otherworldly bureaucracy

Taoist texts abound in bureaucratic elements and images, particularly in their view of the otherworld and the relation of Taoist adepts to it. Far from being a Taoist innovation, these bureaucratic features are borrowed from earlier religious practices and ideas. At the time of the Shang dynasty, the otherworld was ruled by hierarchically ranked deceased members of the royal family. The interaction between the living rulers and these otherworldly beings was already marked by bureaucratic elements, such as the importance of written documents, the fulfillment of duties, the use of titles, and the emphasis on hierarchy and order (Keightley 1978b). The Zhou dynasty built on this image, presenting an afterlife ruled by a celestial sovereign surrounded by a court of deceased nobles. Archaeological evidence and tomb texts show that by the second century BCE, when China had already established a centralized system of government, the otherworld was conceived of as a complex bureaucratic administration. Both the pantheon of otherworldly beings, hierarchically arranged into offices with fixed titles and roles, and the manner of interaction through written communiques and even bribes was based on a bureaucratic idiom.

One major function of the otherworldly bureaucracy was record-keeping. Offices and officials in charge of these documents appear in funerary texts as early as the second century BCE. In particular, Mount Tai (\*Taishan, Shandong) developed in the early Handynasty as an administrative and judiciary site responsible for determining the life span of individuals. This concern with techniques for procuring longevity and the view of the otherworld as monitoring human behavior was part of a common ideology, which later reappeared not only in Taoism and Buddhism but also in *zhiguai* 志怪 texts (“records of the strange”; Campany 1996). From these shared religious ideas, Taoism adopted various offices and officials in charge of longevity and the registers of life and death, such as the Director of Destinies (\*Siming), and added new ones, such as the Three Offices (\**sanguan*, of Heaven, Earth, and Water). These deities, who inspected human behavior, could adversely affect one's life span, prevent advancement in the celestial hierarchy, or relegate one to the tortures of the “earth prisons” (*diyu* 地獄) until merit from descendants would set one free.

*Entering the otherworldly pantheon.* Despite the wholesale adoption of the otherworld as a record-keeping archive in charge of life spans, Taoism focused on transcendence rather than longevity as the primary goal. In the \**Baopu zi*, an early-fourth-century work, longevity is subordinated as a means to aid in the acquisition of transcendence (*xian* 仙; see \*[xianren](#)). In the slightly later \*Shangqing tradition, transcendence in turn is relegated to a position inferior to that of a Perfected (\**zhenren*).

The Shangqing tradition provided a detailed description of the otherworldly realm, which formed the basis of all later Taoist ideas on the otherworld. Below the Heavens of the Three Clarities (\**sanqing*), the middle of which houses the Perfected and the lowest of which hosts the transcendents, are the Nine Palaces (\**jiugong*) and the Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian*; see \*[dongtian](#) and *fudi*), the latter of which are populated by earthly transcendents (*dixian* 地仙). The lowest realm, the Six Heavens (*liutian*; see \*[santian](#) and [liutian](#)) and \*Fengdu, are the administrative abodes of those who have not attained the rank of Perfected or Transcendent.

Those who do not become Perfected in this life undergo post-mortem refinement, advancing through the ranks of the otherworld in much the same manner as in the secular bureaucracy. This preoccupation with appointment to office and promotion is found in the \**Zhengao* (Declarations of the

Perfected), which reflects the concerns of an elite recently pushed from political office and power.

*Control over the otherworldly bureaucracy.* In an attempt to differentiate themselves from other religious specialists, the Taoists adopted a role similar to the one played by Han dynasty officials. They borrowed the image of a bureaucratic otherworld, abolished sacrifices to the demons of popular religion (not sanctioned either by Taoism or the state), replaced blood sacrifices with written communiques to the gods, and incorporated popular deities into the Taoist pantheon as minor gods (and Han officials as transcendents).

Taoist priests wield control over the otherworldly bureaucracy through registers (\*LU) received during ordination. Adepts interact with this otherworldly bureaucracy both in ritual and in visualization. Since the body is a microcosm of the external world, they journey within themselves to address the deities of the cosmos and to lay documents before celestial officials.

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▣ Bokenkamp 1989; Lagerwey 1981b, 87–104; Lévi 1989a; Maspero 1981, 75–195, 263–430; Needham 1974, 93–113; Nickerson 1994; Robinet 1997b, 62–65; Seidel 1978a; Seidel 1987a; Seidel 1987c; Seidel 1987e; Seidel 1989–90, 254–58; Yü Ying-shih 1981

※ DEATH AND AFTERLIFE; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; HELL; TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

## Hell

In the Western world, hell typically refers to a place of eternal punishment where people are sent as retribution for their sins. In Taoism, the same sort of realm exists as a counterpart to celestial spheres; however, Taoist hell is usually a temporary abode, not necessarily for those who are damned but for those who are not yet part of the celestial hierarchy. The inhabitants can escape from this netherworld, in which they may or may not endure bodily punishments, either by working their way up the ranks of the otherworldly bureaucracy or through the merit of their living descendants.

*Early Chinese ideas of the otherworld.* Many features of the Taoist hell have their roots in earlier Chinese ideas. During the Shang dynasty, the otherworld was composed of deceased members of the royal family (Keightley 1978b). This royal image continued into the Zhou period, when the heavens were administered by a celestial ruler surrounded by a court of nobles. This paradise was paired with a subterranean realm, usually called the Yellow Springs (*huangquan* 黃泉), where, one supposes, commoners went to labor on waterworks as they had in this world.

According to Handynasty tomb texts, by the second century BCE the otherworld was fully bureaucratized and replete with tax offices, tribunals, and prisons, a virtual mirror of the government in this world. As in the Yellow Springs, the dead were locked away with the help of jailors (*yushi* 獄使) beneath the sacred mountains, particularly Mount Tai (\*Taishan, Shandong), to keep them from harming the living. A celestial ruler and administration governed these subterranean offices, recalling the Zhou dynasty dichotomy between celestial and subterranean realms. Registers (\*LU) recorded one's life span as well as good and bad deeds committed. The use of the term *jie* 解 (to release from culpability) in these documents indicates that the \**hun* and *po* souls of the dead were imprisoned for misdeeds, though punishments are not made explicit. The roots of a bureaucratic otherworld where the dead were judged was coalescing.

*Taoist views.* In addition to inheriting the idea of a celestial bureaucracy and the image of a bureaucratized subterranean world filled with interrogations, judgements, and imprisonment, Taoism also retained the dichotomy between celestial and terrestrial realms and the belief that the dead could physically harm the living.

In the \**Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), a text of the second century CE, there are four celestial judicial departments (*cao* 曹) where deeds are monitored and registers kept, reminiscent of the Four Palaces (*sigong* 四宮) or Four Guardians (*sishou* 四守) mentioned in the \**Huainan zi* (Major 1993, 68, 80, 296). Those who commit evil deeds are afflicted by disease, have their life spans shortened, and after death face torture under interrogation, reflecting Han dynasty penal practices; the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) tradition similarly stressed longevity and often saw disease as a punishment for misdeeds. The Three Offices (\**sanguan*, of Heaven, Earth, and Water) in the otherworld judge the affairs of the living and send \**gui*

(low-ranking demonic officials) to afflict them with illness, recalling earlier ideas of the dead harming the living. These *gui* dwell in the Six Heavens (*liutian*), an abode for non-initiates, in contrast to Taoists who inhabit the Three Heavens (*santian*; see \*[santian](#) and *liutian*).

The \*Shangqing tradition adopted and elaborated on this administrative structure of the otherworld. In their systematization, the Six Heavens are situated beneath Mount Luofeng 羅酆, also called \*Fengdu (the name of the Zhou dynasty capital). This subterranean realm is home to souls who have acquired merit through moral behavior or meditational techniques, but not in sufficient quantity to enter the ranks of the celestial hierarchy. They are interrogated and judged by the Three Offices, which either assign them to minor bureaucratic posts as *gui* or condemn them to corvée labor.

*Buddhist influence.* In the mid-second century CE, when Buddhist *sūtras* began to be translated into Chinese, the ideas of *karma* and reincarnation found their way into the Taoist conception of the otherworld. Although by this time the Chinese had a well-developed idea of the otherworld as a bureaucratic realm and a prison, conceptualizations focused on administrative procedures and the process of interrogation and torture. The living were often punished with disease; post-mortem punishments were not described in detail. Buddhism introduced a systematic structure of hells and elaborate tortures that led to vivid descriptions of the punishments and sufferings endured in Taoist texts, particularly those of the early \*Lingbao tradition (ca. 400 CE).

Among the terms used in the Lingbao corpus to refer to the otherworldly realm for sinners is *diyu* 地獄 (“earth prisons”). Traditionally understood as introduced by Buddhism, this term meshed well with the Chinese image of the otherworld as a subterranean penal institution. While punishments and tortures, based on Han penal codes as well as on Buddhist hells, are elaborately described, Lingbao scriptures focus on saving the inhabitants of hell, and on the numerous rites to do so. Influenced by the Buddhist ideas of universal salvation (\**pudu*) and the transfer of merit, these rites erase the names of the unfortunate from the registers of the dead, inscribe them in the registers of transcendents, and either cause their transfer to the Heavenly Hall (*tiantang* 天堂) or ensure a propitious rebirth.

In the early tenth century, Buddhist and Chinese ideas on the otherworld coalesced in the appearance of the Buddhist *Shiwang jing* 十王經 (Scripture

of the Ten Kings; Teiser 1994). A few centuries later, Taoism responded with similar scriptures on the tribunals of the ten Perfected Lords (*zhenjun* 真君), one with the most complete bureaucracy being the *Difu shiwang badu yi* 地府十王拔度儀 (Liturgies for Salvation from the Ten Kings of the Earth Administration; CT 215; Teiser 1993, 137). In the twelfth century, \*Shenxiao rituals, developing out of Lingbao funerary ceremonies, involved saving the dead from hell through meditation and visualization techniques. In the last several centuries, ideas on hell which developed in Taoist and Buddhist contexts have continued in popular morality books (\**shanshu*).

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▣ Boltz J. M. 1983; Company 1990; Eberhard 1967, 24–59; Miller A. L. 1995; Nickerson 1997; Robinet 1993, 216–20; Sakamoto Kaname 1990; Sawada Mizuho 1968; Seidel 1987a; Seidel 1987e; Teiser 1993; Teiser 1994; Thompson 1989; Xiao Dengfu 1989; Yü Ying-shih 1981

※ FENGDU; DEATH AND AFTERLIFE; OTHERWORLDLY BUREAUCRACY; REBIRTH

## SACRED SITES

### Taoist sacred sites

In considering Taoist sacred sites, it might be best to begin by distinguishing between natural sites (caves and mountains) and man-made sanctuaries (temples, monasteries, and shrines). For Taoist practitioners, mountains and caves are sites for the practice of self-cultivation, the goal of which was to attain longevity or immortality. They also constitute places of refuge, liberation, and transcendence. Worship at such natural sites involves a journey that can be either upward or inward, or in some cases both. For mountains, the journey's goal is not to attain the summit, but to locate and

enter caves containing Grotto-Heavens (*\*dongtian*). Such a journey is in many ways a rite of passage, involving entry through portals and the crossing of streams. The journey can be fraught with danger, and adepts had to purify themselves and perform rituals before ascending. Mountains are also renowned for containing exotic animals, for example deer and cranes.

Mountains have traditionally been home to all manner of hermits or recluses (*yinshi* 隱士). Like their Near Eastern counterparts, some remained secluded throughout their religious careers, but others chose to return to the world after completing their regimens or self-cultivation or asceticism in order to advise emperors or provide succor and salvation for the masses (Brown 1982; Eskildsen 1998; Porter 1993). These adepts also studied a mountain's flora, especially medicinal herbs that could be used in preparing alchemical elixirs. They were also interested in the mountain's geomancy (*fengshui* 風水), including a site's “earth texture” (*diwen* 地文; Ward 1995). Of particular significance were texts that attempted to guide practitioners through underground passages to the Grotto-Heavens below the mountains, such as the *\*Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks), and the *Fengdu shan zhenxing tu* 酆都山真形圖 (Chart of the Real Form of Mount Fengdu). The Grotto-Heavens on mountains often contained scriptures and treasures (especially swords) hidden in these caves by immortals, and the most fortunate adepts might even encounter an immortal in person. Some Taoist mountains could also be sites for ritual suicide, including ingesting poisonous elixirs or throwing one's body off a cliff (Strickmann 1979, 129–38; Lagerwey 1992, 319–20).

Perhaps the best-known Chinese mountains with clear links to Taoism—and in most cases Buddhism as well—are the Five Peaks (*\*wuyue*): *\*Taishan* (Shandong), *\*Hengshan* 衡山 (Hunan), *\*Huashan* (Shaanxi), *\*Hengshan* 恆山 (Shanxi), and *\*Songshan* (Henan). Taoist masters also produced hierarchical ranking of the ten great and thirty-six lesser Grotto-Heavens and seventy-two Blissful Lands (*\*fudi*). There are also the so-called guardian mountains (*zhenshan* 鎮山), which are said to have been spatially fixed during the Zhou dynasty. Other important mountains have been intimately linked to the history of Taoist movements, including *\*Longhu shan* and the Way of the Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*) movement; *\*Maoshan* and *\*Shangqing*; *Zhongnan shan* 終南山 and *\*Quanzhen*, etc. At the same time, however, no mountain was the exclusive property of a particular Taoist movement, and many were home to Buddhist and other non-Taoist



practitioners. Taken as a whole, the location of mountains and Grotto-Heavens neatly matches the pattern of Taoism's historical growth.

While mountains and caves can be imposing wonders, on another level they can serve as both macrocosm and microcosm. In China and the West, the grotto has long been a metaphor for the cosmos (Miller 1982; Stein R. A. 1990; Verellen 1995). In China, a grotto can symbolize both the womb that gives life, and a tomb that houses the dead. Cave entrances were literally referred to as “mouths of the mountain” (*shankou* 山口), from which issued the *\*qi* exhaled by the mountain. In some texts, the inside of a mountain is conceived of as a respiratory system.

Records of man-made Taoist sites date back to at least the Han dynasty. Such sites ranged in size from small “quiet chambers” (*\*jingshi*) and thatched huts (*lu* 蘆), where adepts could practice self-cultivation, to monasteries and abbeys (*guan* 觀), where Taoist monks and nuns resided and practiced self-cultivation, and large-scale palaces (*gong* 宮) often patronized by the imperial court. The layout of a Taoist sacred site could vary significantly, but in general their sacred space seems to have been arranged in a way that would present the Taoist pantheon and Taoist cosmology to practitioners and local worshippers (Steinhardt 2000). Like mountains, few Taoist temples were exclusively Taoist, but also coexisted with Buddhist and especially local cult sites (Katz P. R. 1999, 41–51; Robson 1995). Temples also preserved examples of Taoist art, and were sites for the performance of Taoist music. Their festivals (*yingshen saihui* 迎神賽會) and temple fairs (*miaohui* 廟會) provided an important occasion for interaction between Taoists, officials, elites, and members of the local community. Of particular significance were the lay associations (*hui* 會) that worked with Taoists to organize these events, which were also occasions for performances of local dramas and intensive economic activities (see *\*TAOIST LAY ASSOCIATIONS*). Taoist temples were also sites for pilgrimages, during which worshippers approached a sacred mountain or temple (*chaoshan* 朝山; *chaosheng* 朝聖) and presented incense to its deity (*\*jinxiang*). (See also the entry *\*TEMPLES AND SHRINES*).

Viewed from a social historical perspective, both natural and man-made Taoist sacred sites featured extensive interaction between Taoists and lay worshippers, who attempted to impose their interpretations and representations on sacred space by means of a wide range of texts, including stele inscriptions, gazetteers, murals, rituals, oral traditions, and dramatic performances. As recent work on the Palace of Eternal Joy (*\*Yongle gong*)

and other temples has shown, Taoist sites were diverse and complicated, and represented a multiplicity of meanings to different groups of patrons (Katz P. R. 1999, 16–17 and 50–51; Miller T. G. 2000).

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▣ Ward 1995; Brown 1982; Doub 1979; Hachiya Kunio 1990; Hachiya Kunio 1995; Hahn 1988; Hahn 2000; Little 2000b, 147–61; Miller N. 1982; Munakata Kiyohiko 1991; Nara Yukihiro 1998; Naquin and Yü 1992; Schipper 1960; Schipper 1985a; Stein R. A. 1990, 209–72; see also bibliography for the entry \*TEMPLES AND SHRINES

※ TEMPLES AND SHRINES; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. II.10 (“Temples, Abbeys, Shrines”) and sec. II.11 (“Mountains and Mountain Monographs”)

## VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BEING

### Taoist views of the human body

Three main terms define the traditional Chinese views of the human body. The first, *ti* 體 or “body,” designates the physical frame as an ordered whole made of interdependent parts. The second, *\*xing* 形 or “form,” mainly refers to the body as the counterpart and residence of spirit (*\*shen*; see *\*lianxing*). The third, *shen* 身 or “person,” denotes the whole human being, including its non-material aspects ranging from thinking and feeling to personality and social role. These terms show that the Western notion of “body” as physical structure is inadequate to convey the complexity of the Chinese views. The specifically Taoist views are further enriched by significant varieties among different traditions. In the absence of a single way of seeing the body shared by all Taoist traditions, this entry outlines some of the main themes that

emerge from different contexts.

*Body and state.* The human body and the state are two microcosms related not only to the macrocosm but also to each other (see \*MACROCOSM AND MICROCOSM). The body is often described with bureaucratic metaphors, and governing the state is often likened to self-cultivation. This analogy runs throughout Heshang gong's 河上公 commentary to the *Daode jing* and is restated in later texts. One of Heshang gong's relevant passages reads: “If in governing the body one cherishes one's breath, the body will be complete. If in governing the country one cherishes the people, the country will be peaceful. Governing the body means to inhale and exhale essence and pneuma (\**jing* and \**qi*) without letting one's ears hear them. Governing the country means to distribute virtue (\**de*) and bestow grace (*hui* 惠) without letting the lower ones know it” (\**Laozi Heshang gong zhangju* 10; see Erkes 1950, 27). At the center of the bureaucratic metaphor are the five viscera (\**wuzang*), described as “offices” (or “officers,” *guan* 官) in both Taoist and medical texts including the \**Huangdi neijing* (Inner Scripture of the Yellow Emperor; *Suwen* 素問, sec. 3.8).

*Body and cosmos.* Taoism adds much to the theory of the correspondence between cosmos and human body, beginning with descriptions that focus on \*Laojun, the divine aspect of Laozi. According to the \**Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi), the \**Kaitian jing* (Scripture of the Opening of Heaven), and other texts, Laozi exists at the beginning of the formation of the cosmos and reappears throughout human history, transforming his body each time. In other instances, the cosmos itself is seen as the body of Laozi, a theme that appears to have originated in myths concerning Pan Gu 盤古, the “cosmic man” (Seidel 1969, 93–96; Girardot 1983, 191–97). A text quoted in the Buddhist \**Xiaodao lun* (Essays to Ridicule the Dao) describes the cosmic body of Laozi as follows: “Laozi transformed his body. His left eye became the sun; his right eye, the moon; his head, Mount \*Kunlun; his beard, the planets and constellations; his bones, the dragons; his flesh, the quadrupeds; his intestine, the snakes; his stomach, the sea; his fingers, the five peaks (\**wuyue*); his hair, the trees and the herbs; his heart, the Flowery Canopy (*huagai* 華蓋, i.e., Cassiopea in heaven and the lungs in the body); and his kidneys, the Real Father and the Real Mother of humanity” (T. 2103, 9.144b; see Kohn 1995a, 54–55).



Fig. 11. An immortal. Painting by Liang Kai 梁楷 (thirteenth century). National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China..

Attesting to the continuity among different times and traditions, an echo of this passage is found in an invocation that the Taoist priest pronounces at the beginning of the Offering (*\*jiao*) ritual, when he performs a series of purifications of outer and inner space. With the Great Spell for the Transformation of the Body (*da bianshen zhou* 大變身咒), the priest identifies himself with the cosmos and with some of the divinities who inhabit it (Lagerwey 1987c, 71–72; Andersen 1995, 195; see under *\*bianshen*).

*The body as residence of gods and spirits.* The spirits of the viscera have a human shape and the texts provide details on their names, heights, garments, and functions. Since the earliest descriptions, found in the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture



Fig. 12. (a) On the left, the head surrounded by the three *\*hun*, the seven *\*po*, and the four emblematic animals (*\*siling*); on the right, locations of deities and nomenclature of components of the head. (b) Loci of the inner body, viewed from the left side and the right side. (c) The trunk and the five viscera, viewed from the front and the back. Representations attributed to Yanluo zi 煙蘿子 (tenth century?), in *\*Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection; CT 263), 18.2a–3b.

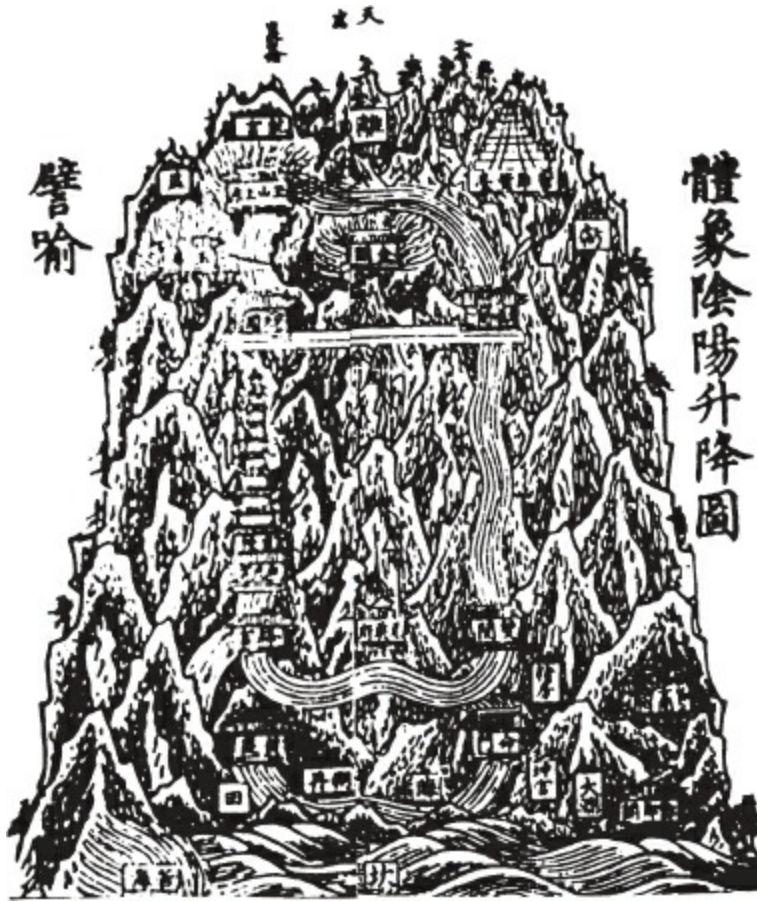


Fig. 13. The human body represented as a mountain. Depicted here are the Cinnabar Fields (\**dantian*), the Three Passes (\**sanguan*), and the palaces of the inner deities. *Duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* 度人上品妙經內義 (Inner Meaning of the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 90), 8a-b. See Despeux 1994, 38–40.

of Great Peace; Robinet 1993, 64–66), these details are provided as support for meditation: visualizing the inner gods causes them to remain in their corporeal abodes and perform their functions, while their departure would result in illness and death. More extended descriptions of the inner deities are found in the \**Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court) and especially in the \**Laozi zhongjing* (Central Scripture of Laozi), and were later developed by the \*Shangqing school. The *Huangting jing* describes the gods of the five viscera and of the \**niwan*, the upper Cinnabar Field (\**dantian*) located in the region of the brain. The *Laozi zhongjing* features a group of deities who dwell in different regions of the human body, all of whom are different forms taken by the Great One (\**Taiyi*). In both texts, the deities of the viscera perform administrative functions within the body, establishing a

link with the views of the medical texts referred to above.

In other instances, the viscera are the seats of impersonal forces. According to the Heshang gong commentary and to medical texts, the *\*hun* “soul” (representing the Yang components of the human being), the *\*po* “soul” (representing the Yin components), the essence (*\*jing*), the spirit (*\*shen*), and the Intention (*\*yi*) respectively reside in the liver, lungs, kidneys, heart, and spleen. Elsewhere, *hun* and *po* are represented in a divinized form; in this case, the *hun* deities are said to number three and the *po* seven (see [fig. 42](#)). They are often mentioned with the “three corpses” and “nine worms” (*\*sanshi* and *jiuchong*), malevolent spirits who report the faults and sins of the individual in which they dwell to the Director of Destinies (*\*Siming*). Accumulating merit through good actions, abstaining from cereals (*\*bigu*), and performing rites on the *\*gengshen* day (the fifty-seventh of the sexagesimal cycle) were among the methods used to neutralize them.

*The body as mountain and landscape.* The *\*Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Principles, 41.3b; Lagerwey 1981b, 136) associates the Authentic Talismans of the Five Emperors (*wudi zhenfu* 五帝真符) with the five planets in heaven, the five sacred mountains on earth, and the five viscera in the human body. The body itself is often represented as a mountain (Despeux 1990, 194–98; Lagerwey 1991, 127–42). Liang Kai 梁楷 (thirteenth century) painted a famous scroll that depicts an immortal—possibly meant to be Laozi himself—as a mountain, using the technique normally applied for painting landscapes ([fig. 11](#)). Images of the body as a mountain are also found in Taoist texts (for an example, see [fig. 13](#)). They illustrate loci in the body that are important for the practices of Nourishing Life (*\*yangsheng*) and inner alchemy (*\*neidan*). Some of these sites are represented as palaces that function as headquarters for the administration of the inner body: here too the metaphor of the government of the country as the government of the body is apparent. In turn, the visual depictions of the body as a mountain are related to the best-known Taoist image of the inner body, the *Neijing tu* (Chart of the Inner Warp; see *\*Neijing tu* and *Xiuzhen tu*, and [figs. 60 and 61](#)), which maps the body as a landscape whose features (e.g., the watercourse, the mill, the furnace) have symbolic meanings in *neidan*. (For another example, see [fig. 19](#).)

*The body in inner alchemy.* The *neidan* view of the body is complex, and remarkable differences occur among various subtraditions and authors. In

general, the main components of the inner elixir (essence, pneuma, and spirit, or \*jing, qi, and shen), as well as the tripod and the furnace (\*dinglu), are said to be found within the human being. Beyond this basic premise, *neidan* shares some of the views outlined above and dismisses others. For instance, it inherits from traditional medicine the importance of the Control and Function channels (\*dumai and renmai) that play a central role in the circulation of essence (see \*zhoutian); on the other hand, *neidan* practice as it was codified during the Song period does not involve visualizing the inner gods.

*Neidan*, however, is more than a technique, and the importance it gives to immaterial notions such as inner nature and vital force (\*xing and ming), or inner nature and individual qualities (xing 性 and qing 情), shows that its focus is not the physical body. \*Li Daochun (fl. 1288–92) explains that the various notions and practices have multiple “points of application” or “points of operation” (zuoyong chu 作用處); they take on different meanings at different levels, from the physical to the spiritual and beyond this distinction (see especially \*Zhonghe ji, 2.15b–17a). An example is the Mysterious Pass (\*xuanguan), which according to different authors is located between the eyebrows, between the kidneys, in the gallbladder, in the navel, or elsewhere, while other say it has no precise location in the body. As Li Daochun remarks: “The Mysterious Pass is the most mysterious and wondrous pivotal pass (jiguan 機關). How can it have a fixed position? If you place it in the body (shen), this is not correct. If you separate it from the body and search for it outside the body, this is also not correct” (Zhonghe ji, 3.3a).

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▣ Andersen 1995; Despeux 1990, 187–219; Despeux 1994; Despeux 1996; Engelhardt 2000, 94–100; Ishida Hidemi 1989; Katō Chie 2002; Kohn 1991b; Lagerwey 1981b, 77–80; Larre 1982; Lévi 1989b; Maspero 1981, 448–59; Robinet 1989b; Rochat de la Vallée n.d.; Sakade Yoshinobu 1983b; Saso 1997; Schipper 1978; Schipper 1993; Sivin 1987, 117–167; Sivin 1995; Yamada Toshiaki 1989a; Yates 1994a

※ *bianshen*; *lianxing*; BIRTH; DEATH AND AFTERLIFE; INNER DEITIES; MACRO-COSM AND MICROCOSM; REBIRTH; TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMORTALITY; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. II.8 (“The Human Being”)



## Inner deities

Besides the celestial gods and goddesses who reside in heaven, a veritable pantheon of Taoist deities also exists within the human being. These deities fulfill various related functions: they personify abstract notions such as the Dao, Yin and Yang, or the Five Agents (*\*wuxing*); they allow the human being to communicate with the major—and in several cases corresponding—gods of the outer pantheon; they act as officers in the bureaucratic system that manages the whole body; they perform healing tasks by supporting the balance of the body's functions; and they are objects of meditation. The basic purpose of visualizing them is to “maintain” them (*\*cun*) in their proper locations, nourish them with one's inner pneumas and essences, and invoke them so that in turn they provide protection and sustenance. This is said to ensure health, longevity, or immortality, and to defend one from calamities caused by demons and other noxious entities.

*Gods of the head and viscera.* The *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace) is the earliest text containing references to the gods of the five viscera (*\*wuzang*, i.e., heart, lungs, liver, kidneys, and spleen). Each is represented wearing a single garment the color of the current season, or three layers of clothing related to the pneuma (*\*qi*) of the current season and the next two seasons (Robinet 1993, 64–66). Visualization of the gods of the viscera is also mentioned in a related text, the *Taiping jing shengjun bizhi* 太平經聖君祕旨 (Secret Directions of the Holy Lord on the Scripture of Great Peace; CT 1102, 3a; Kohn 1993b, 196).

Systematic descriptions of the inner gods are first found in the “Inner” (“Nei” 內) version of the *\*Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court). In particular, this source mentions the gods of the head and the inner organs. The deities of the head (sec. 8) reside in the hair, brain, eyes, nose, ears, tongue, and teeth. Their actions are governed by the Muddy Pellet (*\*niwan*, the upper Cinnabar Field or *\*dantian*) which in turn hosts nine more gods, the Nine Real Men (*jiuzhen* 九真), in its nine rooms (see *dantian*).

The gods of the inner organs (sec. 9–14) include those of the five viscera and of the gallbladder (*dan* 膽), an organ that represents all “six receptacles” (*liufu* 六腑; see *\*wuzang*) in the *Huangting jing* and other texts. Each of these organs is called a “department” or a “ministry” (*bu* 部) and is managed

by a god who resides in a “palace” (*gong* 宮) within that organ. The various gods are identified by their names and the colors of their garments (for instance, the god of the liver wears “a wrapping gown of green brocade,” the god of the spleen “a yellow gown,” and so forth, based on the *wuxing* associations); by the function that they supervise in the body (regulating breath, digesting food, etc.); and by the corresponding part of the face on which they rule (eyes, nose, etc.). Other prominent gods mentioned in the *Huangting jing* are the Great One, who resides in the upper *dantian*; Blossomless (Wuying 無英) and White Prime (Baiyuan 白元), in the upper *dantian*; and the Peach Child (Taohai 桃孩, also known as Peach Vigor or Taokang 桃康), in the lower *dantian* (sec. 9, 11, 15, 17, and 20; for illustrations of these gods in the \**Dadong zhenjing*, see [fig. 14](#)).

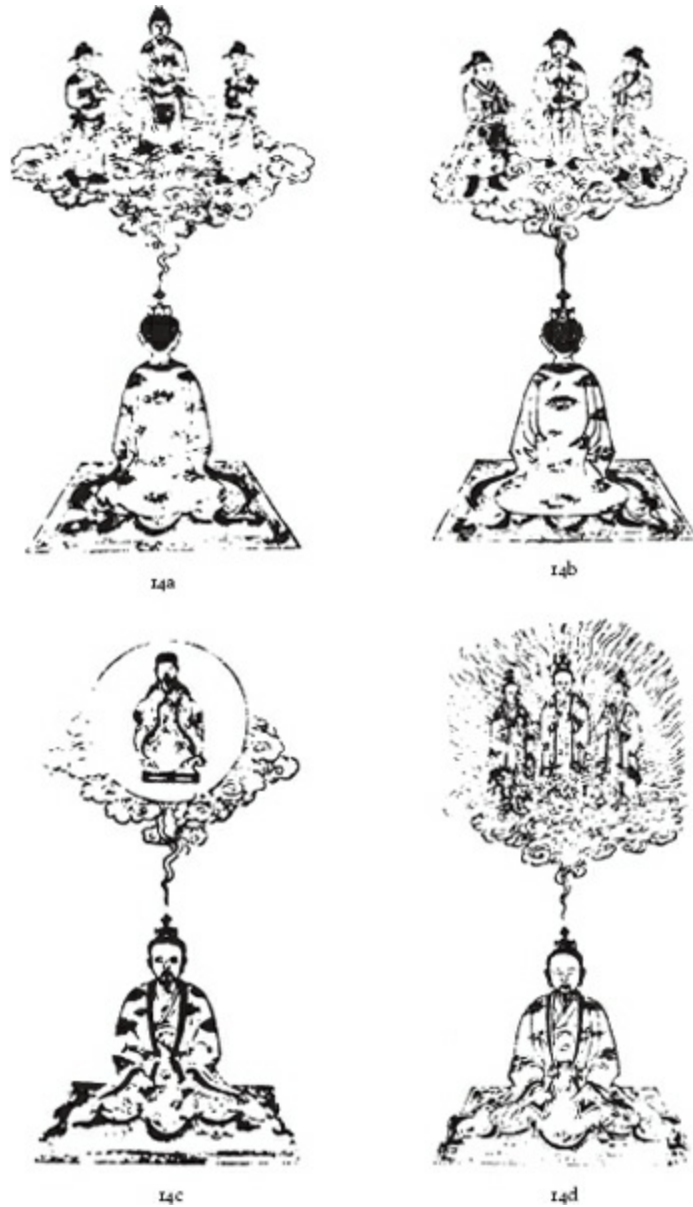


Fig. 14. Inner deities of the *\*Dadong zhenjing*: (a) Blossomless (Wuying 無英); (b) White Prime (Baiyuan 白元); (c) Director of Destinies (*\*Siming* 司命); (d) Red Child (Chizi 赤子) in the Mud Pellet (*\*niwan*); (e) Peach Vigor (Taokang 桃康), or Peach Child (Taohai 桃孩); (f) Venerable Lord Emperor One (Diyi zunshen 帝一尊神). *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern of the Highest Clarity; CT 6).



14c



14c

A related but by no means identical system is reflected in the *\*Laozi zhongjing* (Central Scripture of Laozi), where the scope of the pantheon is much wider and the nomenclature of the inner gods is, with few exceptions, different. Leaving aside a host of minor spirits mentioned throughout the text, the major gods are those described in the first twelve sections. They are represented as transformations of a single sovereign deity, the Supreme Great One (Shangshang Taiyi 上上太一), who is the Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*) spontaneously issued from the Dao and appears under varying names and forms, including the Lord of the Dao (Daojun 道君) and *\*Laojun*. In several of these appearances, the Great One has as his spouse the Jade Woman of Mysterious Radiance of Great Yin (Taiyin xuanguang yunü 太陰玄光玉女). All these gods are said to reside both in the heavens and in the human being (and sometimes on earth as well); the usual formula that connects these different planes to each other is “human beings also have it” (*ren yi you zhi* 人亦有之), to introduce their placement within the body. The Dao itself resides in the human being as the Supreme Lord of the Central Ultimate (Shangshang zhongji jun 上上中極君; sec. 39); it is the individual “self” (*wu* 吾), also called Zidan 子丹 (Child-Cinnabar) or Red Infant (*chizi* 赤子; sec. 12 and passim).

*The One as an inner god.* In the *\*Baopu zi*, one of the two types of meditation defined as Guarding the One (*\*shouyi*) is also based on visualizing the One as a god residing within the human being (the other type consists in multiplying one's “form,” *xing* 形, or in hiding it to escape harm

caused by demons). Drawing from an anonymous text, \*Ge Hong provides a short description of the features of the One and his multiple locations. According to this passage (see under \**dantian*), the One alternately resides in each of the three Cinnabar Fields, and takes different names and vestments at each of these loci.

\*Shangqing Taoism later developed this view of the One dwelling at different times in the Cinnabar Fields into the notion of the Three Ones, each of whom permanently resides in its own Field. A well-known Shangqing visualization method based on the Three Ones is described in the \**Suling jing* (CT 1314, 27a–38b; see under \**sanyi*).

*Later history.* Visualization practices such as those described above appear to have fallen into disuse by the Tang period, replaced first by the \**neiguan* type of meditation, based on inner contemplation and awareness of mind, and then by \**neidan* practices, focused on the refining of one's inner essence, pneuma, and spirit (\**jing*, *qi*, and *shen*). Neither practice is based on visualization of gods, although the *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (Scripture of Inner Observation; CT 641; trans. Kohn 1989b) mentions several major inner deities in its model of the “perfected body.”

Visualizing the inner gods continued to play an important role in liturgy, however, where the priest summons his inner gods and dispatches them to submit petitions in Heaven (for details, see under \**bianshen*, \**chushen*, and \**liandu*). This function is attested from medieval times (Bokenkamp 1996c) to the present day (Lagerwey 1987c, 121–23; Schipper 1993, 96–97). *Neidan* has preserved visible traces of earlier practices in both of its best-known charts of the inner body, the \**Neijing tu* and *Xiuzhen tu*. The *Neijing tu* includes several divine beings in its representation of the “inner landscape,” and the *Xiuzhen tu* explicates its visual map of the inner alchemical process with passages related to the *Huangting jing* (Despeux 1994, 51–64 and passim).

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■ Andersen 1979; Boltz J. M. 1983; Despeux 1994; Kakiuchi Tomoyuki 1998; Katō Chie 1996; Katō Chie 2002, 61–73; Kohn 1989a; Kominami Ichirō 1992; Lagerwey 1981b, 79–80; Maspero 1981, 272–86, 346–64, 364–72, and 431–41; Pregadio 2006a; Robinet 1989c; Robinet 1993; Schipper 1979a; Schipper 1993, 108–12; Schipper 1995c; Yamada Toshiaki 1989a

## Birth

Most Taoist sources consider *\*jing* or “essence” to be the life germ: when Heaven and Earth “exchange their essences” (*jiaojing* 交精), Yin and Yang generate the “ten thousand things.” A human being similarly “receives life” (*shousheng* 受生 or *bingsheng* 稟生) at conception through the exchange of essences between father and mother. Birth is only one step in a person's development, which culminates at the age of sixteen for males and fourteen for females. According to this view, one is “born” as soon as one is conceived, and birth represents only a transition from inner to outer life. From the Song period onward, this event was seen as the transition from the precelestial state (*\*xiantian*) to the postcelestial state (*\*houtian*).

Gestation therefore is an essential period of life. During this time, the various physiological elements are progressively formed, and one receives the different cosmic pneumas (*\*qi*) as well as the spirits and divinities who inhabit the microcosm of one's body. This process, however, also creates blocks that one must overcome during one's lifetime in order to attain immortality (the so-called “mortal knots” in the embryo).

The various Taoist traditions interpret the phases and elements of gestation in different ways, as shown by the following examples.

*Physiological development.* Several sources, both Taoist and medical, cite with minor variations the classical description of embryonic development first found in *\*Huainan zi* 7 (trans. Schipper 1993, 117). In the first month, a ball of lard (*gao* 膏) appears; in the second, the preliminary form of the embryo (*die* 肤); in the third, the full form of the embryo (*tai* 胎); in the fourth, the muscle tissues (*ji* 肌); in the fifth, the tendons (*jin* 筋); in the sixth, the bones (*gu* 骨); in the seventh, the embryo is complete; in the eighth, it moves; in the ninth, it turns upside down; and in the tenth, it is born.

*Inner spirits and divinities.* The most frequently cited description of embryonic development is found in the *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (Scripture of Inner Observation; CT 641, 1b; trans. Kohn 1989b). In the first month, essence and blood coagulate in the womb; in the second, the preliminary

form of the embryo takes shape; in the third, the three *\*hun* appear, and in the fourth, the seven *\*po*; in the fifth, the five viscera (*\*wuzang*) are formed and their divinities take up residence within them; in the sixth, the six receptacles (*liufu* 六腑; see *\*wuzang*) take shape; in the seventh, the seven orifices are opened; in the eighth, the “eight effulgences” (*\*bajing*) descend into the body; in the ninth, the inner residences and palaces are properly arranged; in the tenth, the gestation process is completed and birth occurs.

*Celestial pneumas.* According to the *\*Yebao yinyuan jing* (19.1b–2a, and YJQQ 29.1b–2b), the embryo is imbued with nine pneumas in the first nine months of gestation. In the third month, the *hun* are formed, and in the fourth, the *po*. In the ninth month, 36,000 deities descend into the body, and birth occurs during the tenth month. A *\*Lingbao* document, the *\*Shengshen jing* (Scripture of the Life-Giving Spirits), explains how the deities are created from different cosmic pneumas, and how the embryo is nourished during gestation by the Three Primes (*\*sanyuan*) and the pneumas of the Nine Heavens (*\*jiutian*). At the time of birth, some divinities descend to the courtyard of the house to protect the newborn child (CT 318, 2a, and YJQQ 29.2b–3a).

The *\*Jiuzhen zhongjing* (Central Scripture of the Nine Real Men; CT 1376, 1.2b–3a, and YJQQ 30.6a) establishes a distinction between the inner spirits, such as the *hun* or the *po*—which are produced by supernatural spirits (*ling* 靈) and the pneumas of the parents—and the outer spirits, who come to reside within the person.

*Mortal knots.* The *\*Shangqing* views of birth are described in the *\*Taidan yinshu* (Concealed Writ of the Great Cinnabar [Palace]; CT 1330, 38b–39b, and YJQQ 29.4b) and the *Taijing zhongji jing* 胎精中記經 (Scripture of the Central Record of the Essence of the Embryo; CT 1382). After the Yin and Yang pneumas merge, during each month of gestation the embryo receives the pneuma of one of the Nine Heavens. Twelve knots and twelve joints strengthen the embryo, but they also create fetters that adepts must untie during their time on earth to attain immortality (see Robinet 1993, 139–43).

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▣ Furth 1995; Furth 1999, 94–133; Katō Chie 2000; Katō Chie 2002; Larre 1982, 169–75; Miyazawa Masayori 1984a; Robinet 1993, 139–43; Schipper

### Death and afterlife

*Early views.* Notions of death and the afterlife in Taoism—and the rites created to deal with them—evolved from two largely distinct strains of thought and practice: those connected with the search for transcendence and immortality, and juridical motifs relating to a bureaucratized afterlife. The former concerned, among other aspects, various methods for the attainment of life everlasting (e.g., *\*waidan*) as well a rich lore concerning immortals and the fantastic lands they inhabited.

The juridical features of the Chinese afterworld, though they may be traced back to Warring States precedents (von Falkenhausen 1994; Harper 1994), are best exemplified by first and second century CE documents placed in tombs, known as grave-securing writs (*zhenmu wen* 鎮墓文). These set out the orders of a Celestial Monarch (Tiandi 天帝), relayed through his Envoy (*shizhe* 使者) to an elaborate spirit-bureaucracy of the tomb. The cosmology thereby implied suggests a prototype of later Chinese notions of hells and other underworld domains (see under *\*HELL*). The deceased is placed under the jurisdiction of the Lord of Mount Tai (*\*Taishan*) and subject to a regime that includes population registration, corvée labor, and taxation.

Early Taoism's fusion of the immortality cult with the “religion of the Celestial Monarch” (Seidel 1987e) is evident already in the *\*Xiang'er* commentary. It states that the Great Darkness (Taiyin 太陰) is where advanced Taoists, feigning death, “refine their forms” (*\*lianxing*) in order to be reborn with perfected bodies. Those who are less virtuous are “taken away in service of the Earth Offices” (Rao Zongyi 1956, 22, 46, and 77; Bokenkamp 1997, 102) The text expresses both the alchemical metaphor of refining the body through smelting away the grosser form (thus attaining prolonged life) and the juridical notion of the underworld as a place of incarceration.

*Administering the dead.* Fourth-century materials collected in the *\*Zhengao* (Declarations of the Perfected) evince how such ideas were expanded upon.



The center of the administration of the dead has shifted to the Six Heavens of \*Fengdu (on the Six Heavens see \**santian* and *liutian*). All the newly dead pass through Fengdu and are judged and sent off to appropriate afterworld destinations depending on the contents of their files, which record their (and their ancestors') merits and demerits. Those who are virtuous—but not virtuous enough to have attained immediate transcendence—may become officials in Fengdu, advancing by steps to immortal realms. Others, such as great generals and dynastic founders, their files having been stained by too much blood, are consigned to demonic office in Fengdu forever. Developing the notion of “release from the corpse” (\**shijie*) already suggested in the *Xiang'er*, the *Zhengao* also provides for the possibility that a person who had accumulated “hidden merit” in his or her family for generations might simply provide a bone from his or her foot to the Three Offices (\**sanguan*, of Heaven, Earth, and Water) of Fengdu. Then one could eventually—possibly after having been reborn into a different clan—feign death, avoid the land of the shades altogether, and achieve transcendence (*Zhengao*, j. 15–16).

By the end of the fourth century or early fifth century, a variety of materials attest to increasingly elaborate soteriologies among a number of Taoist groups. Celestial Master (\*Tianshi dao) tomb ordinances from the fifth and early sixth centuries, excavated in Hunan and Hubei, address a pantheon of tomb spirits that shares many members with the Han grave-securing writs, but the orders proceed from the deified Laozi. Additionally, the tomb spirits are instructed, not only to forbear from harassing the deceased and the survivors, but also to assist the deceased with her or his ascent to the Three Heavens: “shampooing and bathing, capping and girding him,” “sealing and binding up his \**hun* and *po*, and opening the way for him.”

“*Salvation through extinction.*” A \*Lingbao scripture, the *Miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* 滅度五鍊生尸妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on Salvation through Extinction and the Fivefold Refinement of the Corpse; CT 369), likewise prescribes the use of a set of five tomb ordinances, with the exact content of each varying according to the \**wuxing*. These Lingbao ordinances are highly consistent both with the Celestial Master ordinances and their Han dynasty predecessors. According to the Lingbao ordinances, the deceased's body is to go to Great Darkness, while the *hun* is to be released from the underground prison of the hells of the Nine Shades (*jiuyou* 九幽). This dual transfer is preparatory to the reunification of spirit and body and their rebirth

in the human world after a set number of years. These notions are founded on the Lingbao notion of “salvation through extinction” (*miedu* 滅度). Initially an early Chinese Buddhist term for *nirvāṇa*, here the phrase refers to successive cycles of death, ascent to heaven, and rebirth, by which the individual eventually could reach the rank of “transcendent king” (Bokenkamp 1989; Bokenkamp 1990; Nickerson 1996b, chapter 3).

Likewise echoing the *Xiang'er's* conception of Great Darkness, the Lingbao *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation) claims that those of insufficient merit will have to pass bodily through Darkness. However, recitation of the scripture can release their spirits to the Southern Palace (Nangong 南宮). Then the deceased may, after repeated cycles of rebirth, achieve transcendence (Bokenkamp 1997, 428–89). The connection between alchemical transformation and salvation was deepened through new forms of mortuary rites developed in the Song, in particular that of Salvation through Refinement (*\*liandu*), in which the priest's own inner-alchemical visualizations effected the deliverance of the deceased (Boltz J. M. 1983).

*Sepulchral complaints.* Notions of death and afterlife in early Taoism relate not only to rites for the newly deceased, but also and especially to the need to settle the spirits of the unquiet dead. Such problems typically took the form of sepulchral complaints (*zhongsong* 冢訟)—lawsuits filed before the magistracies of the underworld by the aggrieved dead—either directly against the living or against their deceased kin (and still causing illness or death among the living owing to the legal principle of the collective responsibility of relatives; on the early forms of this notion see under *\*chengfu*). The *Zhengao* details several such cases that affected the Xu 許 family (the patrons of *\*Yang Xi*, who revealed the *\*Shangqing* scriptures), for instance the troubles encountered by Xu Mi 許謐 (303–76) when a man his deceased uncle had murdered filed a complaint before the Water Official of the Three Offices.

The sepulchral complaint became the chief explanation for misfortune in medieval Taoism, and the medieval manual for petitioning celestial officials, *\*Chisong zi zhangli* (Master Red-Pine's Almanac of Petitions), contains two versions of a “Great Petition for Sepulchral Complaints” (“Da zhongsong zhang” 大塚訟章; trans. Nickerson 1997) that detail the supplicant's difficulties, attribute them to the misdeeds of deceased kin, and call down a panoply of celestial officials to rectify all problems related to the complaint. Such problems

include not only those directly concerned with the plaintiff's suit, but in particular those connected with demons of tombs, offended spirits of the earth, and the "prohibitions and taboos" (\**jinji*) of astrology and geomancy. Unsurprisingly, the *Chisong zi zhangli* often relates problems with tombs and the dead to problems of soteriology, as where the result of the resolution of a sepulchral plaint and the release of the departed to heaven is his or her inability to cause disease among, or further file complaints against, the living (6.1b–2b). Soteriology is once more linked with juridical/exorcistic concerns.

*Death and the afterlife in Taoist ritual.* Much of the later history of these issues may be considered under the rubric of \*taoism and ancestor worship. It might simply be noted here that many of the patterns outlined above have persisted to the present. Taoist rites for the dead (the ritual of Merit, \**gongde*) still center on the rite of Opening a Road in the Darkness (\**kaitong minglu*) so that the deceased may leave the underworld, ascend to the Southern Palace, and be reborn. This ritual is customarily followed by that of Dispatching the Writ of Pardon (\**fang shema*), a document received from the Chancellery of the Three Heavens and addressed to the Court of the Nine Shades in Fengdu, which again effects the release of the departed. Typically in the event of early or violent deaths, the priest, wearing a red headcloth signifying the militaristic/exorcistic role of the Red-head (*hongtou* 紅頭) ritual master (see \**hongtou* and *wutou*), may subsequently carry out an Attack on the Fortress (*dacheng* 打城; see \**poyu*), a vernacular rite parallel to the preceding classical ones. The release of the deceased is this time effected by palpable theatre. The priest violently destroys a paper edifice—the Fortress of Those Who Have Died Unjustly (*wangsi cheng* 枉死城)—and releases a figurine representing the departed. At least in southern Taiwan, the Attack on the Fortress is even more frequently performed by ritual masters in local temples as an independent rite—to release spirits of dead kin (who have returned to afflict the living with illness and other misfortunes) from sufferings in the underworld.

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■ Bokenkamp 1989; Bokenkamp 1990; Boltz J. M. 1983; de Bruyn 1999; Company 1990; Company 2002, 47–60; Graham 1978; Harper 1994; Loewe 1982; Nickerson 1996b; Robinet 1979b; Seidel 1987a; Seidel 1987c; Seidel 1987e; Yü Ying-shih 1987

※ *shijie*; BIRTH; OTHERWORLDLY BUREAUCRACY; REBIRTH; TRANSCENDENCE  
AND IMMORTALITY

## Rebirth

Rebirth is not an issue in early Taoist texts, where the end of human life is seen as a transformation, either into an ancestor or into other forms of life. It first appears under Buddhist influence in the fifth century, especially in the \*Lingbao school, in two forms: on this earth as another human being or animal; and in heaven as an immortal.

The first case is closely linked with the doctrine of *karma* and retribution, according to which one's moral behavior during this life determines one's fate after death. As outlined in the Sui-dynasty \**Yebao yinyuan jing* (Scripture on the Causes of Karmic Retribution), high moral stature and numerous good deeds will typically lead to an advantageous rebirth, such as in a noble and prosperous family. Crimes of various sorts, on the other hand, are punished by appropriate levels of suffering, first in a set of eighteen hells, later by rebirth in lowly forms—for example, as a worm living in excrement for “lasciviously violating the holy person of a monk or nun,” or as a monkey for stealing holy vessels and the like.

The second form of rebirth involves the ritual petition for the transfer of one's ancestors from the realm of the dead to that of eternal life. They are officially transferred from \*Fengdu to the Southern Palace (Nangong 南宮), where they undergo a sort of inner-chemical refinement. One way to achieve this relocation is through the practice of visualization and ecstatic excursion, during which the adept visits the dignitaries on high and formally petitions for the transfer of both his own and his ancestors' registers.

The other way to achieve celestial rebirth is through rituals performed at the time of burial as specified in the *Mingzhen ke* 明真科 (Code of the Luminous Perfected; CT 1411). To assure a rebirth in the celestial realm, the five tablets of the “Perfect Text in Cinnabar Writing” (see under \**Wupian zhenwen*) are set up on five tables placed according to the five directions, together with various offerings of gold and silk as well as a set of cast dragons. The rite ensures that the deceased will be clothed in an appropriate garment during his wait for transformation, while the dragons, cast and

pointed in the five directions, carry the message of his impending transfer to all the relevant officers of the otherworld.

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▣ Bokenkamp 1989; Bokenkamp 1996c; Campany 1990; Harper 1994; Kohn 1998d; Robinet 1984, 1: 170–73

※ *lianxing*; *shijie*; BIRTH; DEATH AND AFTERLIFE; TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMORTALITY

### Transcendence and immortality

One of the most difficult issues in the study of Taoism is how to understand the final goal of the Taoist life. The difficulty owes not merely to insufficient research, or even to the murkiness and disparity of the data, but also to the interpretive lenses through which specialists and non-specialists alike have viewed the issue. For generations, many writers maintained, for instance, that what ultimately distinguished the “philosophical Taoists” of antiquity from the “religious Taoists” of imperial times was that the latter were devoted to achieving a “physical immortality.” That artificial distinction invited overemphasis on certain elements of Taoism, where practitioners at least discussed the use of material substances and processes (e.g., “elixirs”) as supposed means of achieving the spiritual goal. Such elements were indeed present in Taoism, but their importance has often been exaggerated because of their amazing alienity from the modern Enlightenment mentality and from models of religious life known from other traditions.

We must be careful not to mistake the part for the whole, and must carefully consider a wide array of Taoist phenomena, and numerous divergent models, within the minds and lives of Taoists of different periods and different traditions. We must also distinguish the religious models of practicing Taoists from the highly romanticized conceptions of “immortals” that always abounded in Chinese literature, art, and culture. The ultimate distinction is that among Taoists, the goal was never simply to find a means of obviating the death-event, but rather to attain an exalted state of existence through assimilation to higher realities. Among Taoists, such attainment

generally assumed a process of personal purification and enhanced awareness of reality, i.e., a process of moral, spiritual, and cognitive growth (Kirkland 1992b). Once one has completed such a process, one is assumed to have somehow reached a state that will not be extinguished when the physical body dies. Beyond these generalities, concepts varied widely, not only between the classical Taoist texts and later “religious” practitioners, but among Taoists of every segment of the tradition.

A common problem involves the term *xian* 仙 or *\*xianren* 仙人, commonly translated as “immortal.” Both in China and beyond, this term has widely been regarded as a key feature of “Taoism” as it developed in imperial times. In the early and mid-twentieth century, leading scholars (e.g., Henri Maspero and H. G. Creel) argued over whether the ancient writers of *Daode jing* and *\*Zhuangzi* envisioned such attainment of a deathless state. Some argued that the classical Taoists only sought a more spiritualized life and an unworried acceptance of inevitable death. The *\*Liezi*, a text originally of the fourth century CE whose received version borrows much from the *Zhuangzi*, seems to insist upon the finality of death, with no indication that one can transcend it. Certainly, many passages of *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi* suggest that one's goal should be to live a spiritualized life until death occurs, but others (e.g., *Daode jing* 50) clearly commend learning how to prevent death. The term *xian* occurs in neither the *Daode jing* nor the *\*Neiye*, and in *Zhuangzi* it does not appear among its many terms for the idealized person (*\*zhenren*, etc.). But in *Zhuangzi* 12, a wise border guard tells Yao that the “sage” (or “saint,” *\*shengren*) “after a thousand years departs and ascends as a *xian*,” and in *Zhuangzi* 1 a character is ridiculed for doubting the reality of the invulnerable “spiritual person” (*\*shenren*) of Mount Gushe (Gushe zhi shan 姑射之山), who ascends on dragons and extends protection and blessings to people. These passages are quite consistent with most later images of the *xian*, and suggest that such a state is both theoretically possible and a worthy goal.

Writings of Han times (Kaltenmark 1953) mention *xian* as denizens of distant realms, often winged beings who can fly between earth and higher worlds. In his *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 28.1368–69), Sima Qian 司馬遷 mentions men of Yan 燕 (Shandong) who “shed their mortal forms and melted away, relying upon matters involving spiritual beings (*guishen* 鬼神).” Though such images are quite vague, they provided fuel for centuries of religious and literary elaboration, both Taoist and non-Taoist. For instance, in

literature from Han to Tang times, the goddess \*Xiwang mu (Queen Mother of the West) “controlled access to immortality,” but while poets wove bittersweet images of “immortality” as an unattainable beatitude (Cahill 1993), Taoist writers firmly believed that one can transcend “the human condition” if one can only learn the subtle secrets and practice them diligently enough.

The most famous of all such writers was \*Ge Hong (283–343), who attempted to convince “gentlemen” that the pursuit of deathlessness through alchemy was a feasible and honorable goal (Barrett 1987a). Such beliefs did reappear among some leading \*Shangqing practitioners, such as \*Tao Hongjing, but were subordinated to a pursuit of spiritual elevation that was assumed to require the loss of bodily life (Strickmann 1979). Some depictions of the process of \*shijie (“liberation by means of a corpse”) intimate that exceptional men and women could undergo a transformation that merely simulated death (Robinet 1979b). But we must read carefully to distinguish metaphors from practical ideals (Bokenkamp 1989). Though many accounts depict leading practitioners as having “ascended to immortality,” most Taoist texts actually suggest a “post-mortem immortality” (Seidel 1987c).

Stories of “immortals” who continue to live for hundreds of years are generally products of literary imagination, not Taoist religious practice (Kirkland 1992b). Yet, Taoism was the only Chinese tradition that provided colorful images of a happy personal afterlife. And it is clear that while some Taoists used such images as recruitment devices, luring novices into a process of spiritual self-cultivation, others did occasionally ponder the theoretical possibilities of attaining an idealized state beyond death. For instance, the famed Tang poet and \*daoshi \*Wu Yun (?–778) is credited with a text entitled *An Essay on How One May Become a Divine Immortal Through Training* (\*Shenxian kexue lun). And even the “Fifteen Articles” of the \*Quanzhen founder, \*Wang Zhe (1113–70), says that the successful reclusive meditator attains the status of *xian* while still alive in the mortal body (\*Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun, article 12). Such ambivalent concepts of transcendence endure among twentieth-century Taoists, for human minds vary in how they conceive spiritual goals.

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■ Bokenkamp 1989; Bokenkamp 1990; Cahill 1993; Campany 2002, 75–80; Chen E. M. 1973a; DeWoskin 1990; Kirkland 1992b; Kohn 1990b; Kohn 1993b, 277–363; Kominami Ichirō 1992; Liebenthal 1952; Lagerwey 1981b, 183–221; Little 2000b, 147–61 and 313–35; Loewe 1979; Loewe 1982; Penny 2000; Robinet 1984, 1: 161–80; Robinet 1986b; Robinet 1993, 42–48; Robinet 1997b, 48–50, 82–91, and 128–32; Seidel 1987a; Seidel 1987c; Seidel 1989–90, 246–48; Spiro 1990; Strickmann 1979; Yamada Toshiaki 1983b; Yoshikawa Tadao 1992b; Yü Ying-shih 1964; Yü Ying-shih 1981; Yü Ying-shih 1987

※ *lianxing; shengren; shenren; shijie; xianren; zhenren*; DEATH AND AFTERLIFE; REBIRTH; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

## VIEWS OF HUMAN SOCIETY

### Messianism and millenarianism

Messianic beliefs played a central role in medieval Taoism and formed, in different ways, the irreducible theological nucleus of every Taoist movement. Millenarian expectations and visions of the end of the world, along with the messianic hopes that usually accompany them, never ceased to be a source of religious fanaticism in China, and acted as a major factor in the emergence of marginal currents of Taoism. They are the roots of a long messianic and millenarian tradition that has spanned the whole of Chinese history.

The origins of Chinese messianism can be traced to the Former Han dynasty. The first attested movement arose in the third year BCE. Its followers worshipped the goddess \*Xiwang mu (Queen Mother of the West), transmitted her edict with frenzied enthusiasm, and awaited the arrival of people with vertical eyes. The movement spread throughout northern China, all the way up to the imperial court (Loewe 1979, 98–101). In later times



Xiwang mu did not continue to play this charismatic role, but reappeared as various avatars (e.g., Wusheng Laomu 無生老母 or Unborn Venerable Mother) in subsequent millenarian movements, until as late as the Eight Trigrams uprising of 1813 (Naquin 1976).

The Taoist messiah expected in medieval times, especially during the intensive millenarian effervescence of the second to the seventh centuries, was \*Li Hong, that is, the deified Laozi or \*Laojun. As the supreme divinity of the Taoist pantheon, Laojun was venerated by the first large-scale Taoist movements of the second century. According to the founding legend of the \*Tianshi dao theology, Laozi had appeared in the year 142 CE to inaugurate a new moral order called the Way of the Orthodox Unity (\*Zhengyi, the alternative appellation of the Tianshi dao organization), and to bestow the title of Celestial Master (\**tianshi*) on \*Zhang Daoling. This epiphany marks the beginning of the Tianshi dao, whose mission was, from generation to generation, to secure religious teaching for the people in order to save the world. The messianic kingdom established by the Celestial Masters in Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) lasted more than twenty years. In 215, its chief, \*Zhang Lu, surrendered to General Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220), the virtual founder of the Wei dynasty. The Celestial Master organization was thus scattered throughout the whole state, and eventually came to embody the spiritual power complementary to official ideology. Adorned with the insignia of orthodoxy, the Taoist Church became the representative of moral and religious order, and in turn set itself up against other millenarian sects.

This destiny was not shared by the other main contemporary Taoist millenarian movement, the Taiping dao 太平道 (Way of Great Peace) of the \*Yellow Turbans. Active in eastern China, and close to the Celestial Masters in their practices and ideology—emphasizing disease caused by sins, therapy through confessions and talismans, recitation of the *Daode jing*, and so forth—the Yellow Turbans went so far as to threaten the power of the Han dynasty. Their insurrection of the year 184 was violently repressed. The movement thus was not institutionalized, but continued to exist underground. The utopia of the Great Peace (\**taiping*) remained a powerful detonator for millenarian uprisings, such as the great rebellion of \*Sun En which blew up in southern China in 399. The followers of these movements considered a change of sovereign as a sine qua non condition for the success of the messianic realization, since the emperor was believed to incarnate the cosmic as well as the political order. The advent of the reign of Great Peace

necessarily implied the renewal of the Heavenly Mandate (*tianming* 天命).

During the period of partition of the Six Dynasties, while northern China was ruled by non-Chinese peoples, southern China—the guarantor of ancestral cultural and religious traditions—became the location of an unceasing messianic effervescence. Prophets of the rural masses called Li or Li Hong multiplied, stirring up anxieties about the coming end of the world among their followers. Although these self-proclaimed prophets claimed to act under Laojun's authority, they were not only persecuted by officials but also attacked by orthodox Taoism, which condemned them as charlatans and heretics.

The second-century Taoist millenarian movements are known to us essentially through the accounts of the official dynastic histories. The firsthand accounts that have survived, preserved in the Taoist Canon and among the \*Dunhuang manuscripts, date to the second and third centuries. But it was mainly during the fourth to sixth centuries in southern China that an abundant messianic literature was produced by both marginal Taoist sects and mainstream, official Taoist movements. In fact, by that time messianic beliefs were not limited to the uneducated masses, but had also become an important concern of the Taoist elite. Their literary apocalypses were said to be transmitted to earth in times of intense cosmic and moral crisis to save the “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*). All of these texts predict the advent of the messiah Li Hong and the inauguration of the ideal reign of Great Peace. The main Taoist apocalyptic scripture, entitled \**Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss), was produced at the beginning of the fifth century by a religious community active in the Jiangnan 江南 region. Liturgically organized on the margins of the Celestial Masters, with its own clergy and rituals, this millenarian sect underwent a process of institutionalization, and during the Tang dynasty became one of the clerical orders of the official Taoist priesthood. Other contemporary messianic sects were similarly absorbed into the orthodox establishment. Such was the case with the movement of the Northern Emperor (\**Beidi*), whose exorcist preachers of the end of the world were transformed, a few centuries later, into official Taoist masters of exorcism (Mollier 1997).

Imperial dynasties adopted messianic beliefs to legitimize their rule. The \**Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace) in its different versions was used to legitimize the rule of both Han Shundi (r. 125–144) and Han Huandi (r. 146–168); and the name Li was taken both by Wang Mang (r. 9–23) to justify his

political usurpation, and by Han Guangwu (r. 25–57) to validate his dynastic restoration. The Han house became intimately linked with the name Li, and so too did the Tang dynasty, which claimed to trace its genealogy back to Laozi. The Sui house similarly established its power according to current messianic beliefs. The impact of Taoist-inspired imperial messianism was thus powerful and long lasting. Motivating peasant revolts, the tradition of Taoist messianism and millenarianism also became, at the opposite end of the Chinese social spectrum, the keystone of the nationalistic ideology of the ruling dynasties.

In medieval Chinese culture and society the power of messianism was so great that Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Buddhism, recently established in China, also began to circulate prophecies emphasizing its pantheon of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, and to sound the alarm of the “end of the dharma,” echoing Taoist apocalyptic threats. The reciprocal influence of the two religions was considerable. A sixth-century scripture, the *Laozi huahu miaojing* 老子化胡妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi; Seidel 1984), goes as far as to predict the advent of the Taoist messiah, the Perfect Lord Li Hong, accompanied by Maitreya, the messianic Buddha.

Through the centuries other foreign religions—Manicheism, Christianity, Islam—have also enriched Chinese messianism and millenarianism with their own notions and systems. This apparently inextinguishable tradition has persisted to the present day, now addressing the needs of modern societies, but still proclaiming eschatological visions and utopian expectations very close to those of the Taoist beliefs of the first centuries of the Common Era.

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■ Bokenkamp 1994; Dubs 1942; Goodman 1994; Kaltenmark 1979b; Kohn 1998f; Levy 1956; Mollier 1990; Schipper 1979b; Seidel 1969; Seidel 1969–70; Seidel 1983b; Seidel 1984; Seidel 1997; Shek 1987; Stein R. A. 1963; Sunayama Minoru 1975; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 69–92; Tsukamoto Zenryū 1975

※ Li Hong; *housheng*; *taiping*; *zhongmin*; APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY

Apocalyptic eschatology

Visions of the end of the world become fully expressed in Taoist literature only between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries CE. This is a rather late appearance if one considers that a millenarian tradition of at least two centuries precedes it. The *\*Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi) and the *\*Laozi zhongjing* (Central Scripture of Laozi), which contain the first written traces of a Taoist messianic and apocalyptic movement, date from the second and third centuries CE. However, these two texts, both predicting *\*Laojun's Parousia*, contain only the embryo of Taoist messianic thought.

A growing body of apocalyptic literature arose during the Six Dynasties at a crucial point in the history of Chinese religion. At that time, Taoism faced the growing challenge of Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Buddhism, predominantly in northern China which had been occupied for a century by non-Chinese peoples. Southern Taoism considered itself the guardian of ancestral religious and cultural traditions. Its attitude toward Buddhism was ambivalent: while greatly influenced by the sophisticated concepts of the foreign religion (especially in the realm of eschatology), Taoism rejected it as an imported usurpatory tradition. Forced to compete with Buddhism, Taoists developed the idea of a national religion, and strived to define its identity. In reaction to the proliferation of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, they produced their own holy scriptures, which revealed the words of a personified Dao. These “Taoist *sūtras*” are said to have been born of the primordial energies before the generation of the universe. Stored in heaven, they are transmitted to the human world only during times of crisis to restore order and save the people. The faithful receive them by divine means—that is, through mediumistic techniques—and are entrusted with their transmission to fellow human beings.

The first Taoist accounts of the coming apocalypse appeared in the wave of revealed scriptures produced by this Taoist reaction to Buddhism. Preserved both in the Taoist Canon and among the *\*Dunhuang manuscripts*, the apocalyptic literature consists of about a dozen works, most of which derive from the main institutionalized schools of medieval Taoism. This is the case, specifically, with the *Laojun bianhua wuji jing* 老君變化無極經 (Scripture of the Endless Transformations of Lord Lao; CT 1195) and the *Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue* 正一天師告趙昇口訣 (Oral

Instructions Declared by the Celestial Master of Orthodox Unity to Zhao Sheng; CT 1273), both issued by the \*Tianshi dao organization. Two other texts, the \**Housheng daojun lieji* (Chronicle of the Lord of the Dao, Saint of the Latter Age; CT 442) and the *Santian zhengfa jing* 三天正法經 (Scripture of the Orthodox Law of the Three Heavens; CT 1203; Ozaki Masaharu 1974), describe the \*Shangqing elite's vision of the end of the world. The finest examples of Taoist apocalyptic eschatology, however, were produced by sectarian movements, notably the *Laozi huahu miaojing* 老子化胡妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi; S. 2081; Seidel 1984) associated with a marginal current of \*Lingbao (see \*[Huahu jing](#)), and the \**Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss; CT 335), recorded by a sect of devotees active in the region of the southern Yangzi River at the beginning of the fifth century.

Despite their different origins, the extant texts present an identical theology, cosmology, and messianic ideology. They claim that the end of the world will happen in a *jiashen* 甲申 year (the twenty-first of the sexagesimal cycle), and that it will be preceded by calamities: court proceedings, imprisonments, wars, fires, floods, and above all, innumerable diseases. These calamities will be brought about by huge armies of demons, mostly the souls of the dead worshipped by popular cults and by the state religion. The messianic movements understood illness as the outstanding mark of sin, and recommended the recitation of sacred scriptures (see \*[songjing](#)), the use of talismans (\*FU), the practice of confession, and the performance of rituals as healing techniques. They condemned the heterodox cults (\**yinsi*) characterized by the slaughter of animals offered to demonic spirits. Emphasis was also placed on explaining the advent of the apocalypse as the result of concurrent causes: cosmologically, the end of time was unavoidable because of the exhaustion of cosmic energies and the impending end of the *kalpa* (\**jie*); morally, the cosmic end was necessary to purge the whole universe of irreligious, depraved creatures. The texts express hope for a renewed theocratic society led by the divine \*Li Hong (Laozi's appellation as the messiah), who would appear on earth in a *renchen* 壬辰 year (the twenty-ninth of the sexagesimal cycle), eight years after the end of the world. This renewed world would be exclusively populated by the “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*), the elected ones predestined for immortality and salvation.

The divine transmission of sacred scriptures is thus the most obvious confirmation of one's elected status. It allows the initiate and his entire family

and lineage to enjoy the bliss of the messianic kingdom. The perfect universe anticipated by Taoist devotees is seen as a return to the Golden Age of early antiquity, and as a regeneration of original purity.

*Christine MOLLIER*

▣ Bokenkamp 1994; Bokenkamp 1997, 295–99; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 403–81; Mollier 1990; Robinet 1984, 1: 138–40; Seidel 1984

※ *housheng*; *zhongmin*; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

### Ethics and morals

Taoist ethical thinking developed on the basis of ancient Chinese thought and in conjunction with Buddhism. Its key tenets, which existed by the fifth century, developed in three phases. The first of these is the ancient indigenous view that prevailed from the Zhou through the Han. It focused on the notion of reciprocity (*shu* 恕) both within society and in a broader, supernatural context. If people harmed other beings or natural forces, their deeds were believed to be judged by a celestial administration and to return to cause them suffering. While this placed the responsibility for one's good or bad fortune squarely on one's own actions, there was also the simultaneous belief that people had certain inborn qualities or a “destiny” (*ming* 命) that would direct their lives and the deeds they committed. Human life in ancient China was thus understood as unfolding through a combination of self-induced good and bad fortune and the inborn character or fate one received from Heaven at birth.

This already complex understanding was later expanded by the early Taoists to include three further factors. The first was the belief that fate could be inherited from one's ancestors, expressed especially in the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace) in the notion of *\*chengfu* or “inherited burden.” The second was the idea that the celestial administration had supervisory and punishing agents who dwelled deep within the human body. In particular, these were represented by the “three corpses” (*sanshi*; see *\*sanshi* and *jiuchong*) described first in the *\*Baopu zi*, entities who worked hard toward the destruction of the human body, and reported to and acted upon orders

from the celestial authorities. The third factor was the attachment of numerical values to good and bad deeds, a theory outlined especially in the *Chisong zi zhong jiejing* 赤松子中誠經 (Central Scripture on Precepts by Master Red-Pine; CT 185), which would result in specific adjustment of the length of a person's life span. All three of these factors served to clarify the individual's position in the universe, both within a supernatural family network and through closer interaction with the cosmic bureaucrats; fate thus became more calculable as deeds and days were counted with greater exactness.

*Buddhist influence.* Buddhism was the key factor of the third phase of Taoist ethical development. Although vaguely present and exerting some influence from the second century onward, its notions of *karma* and rebirth became an active factor in the Chinese understanding of fate only after major waves of scriptural translation in both north and south China around the year 400 brought access to a better understanding of Buddhist doctrine. At that time four new factors entered the system: (1) the belief in rebirth and the retribution of sins or good deeds accumulated during one's own former lives, added to those committed by oneself in this life and to those of one's ancestors; (2) the vision of long-term supernatural torture chambers known as "earth prisons" (*diyu* 地獄) or hells, as well as punishment through rebirth as an animal or hungry ghost; (3) trust in the efficacy of various forms of ritual, such as rites of repentance (*\*chanhui*) and the making of offerings, to alleviate the karmic burden; and (4) an increasing faith in savior figures, such as bodhisattvas, gods, and Perfected (*\*zhenren*), who would use their limitless power and compassion to raise people from the worldly mire.

\*Lingbao Taoists of the fifth century embraced the Buddhist vision with particular enthusiasm. In accordance with the general Chinese tendency, they emphasized lay, bodhisattva-oriented practice, and most of the rules they established governed the devotional activities of the common people, such as the performance of repentance rituals, the giving of charity, and the sponsorship of festivals. These rules were often rather vague in nature and provided general moral guidelines more than specific behavioral instructions.

Still, the new vision was not incorporated into the older tradition entirely without conflict. As Erik Zürcher (1980) points out, there were three areas of particular difficulty. First, the notion of ancestral inheritance was blurred in light of the belief in individual rebirth, raising the question of who really was

to blame. Second, the traditional clear division of the afterlife into Heaven and the underworld was now complicated by the possibility of another alternative, rebirth. Third, the general sense of communal unity and collective guilt was disrupted by the strong individualism of Buddhism.

These three stages of the early development of Taoist ethical thought correspond loosely to those outlined for the Western tradition by Paul Ricoeur (1967), who sees an unfolding of ethical thinking from defilement (cosmic) to sin (social) to guilt (individual).

*Later developments.* From the fifth century onward, Taoist ethics continued to be nurtured under Buddhist influence (especially in the doctrines of *karma* and rebirth; see \*[Yebao yinyuan jing](#)), and to be cultivated through monastic codes (see \*[Fengdao kejie](#)) and meditative techniques. In the Song, the Taoist ethical vision broadened, and there was a greater popular concern with deeds and their retribution. The highly popular \**Taishang ganying pian* was compiled in the 1150s, and many people began keeping ledgers of merit and demerit (*gong-guo ge* 功過格; Brokaw 1991) to take stock of their moral deeds and cosmic standing. This suggested a rather mercantile approach to the problem of ethics, which nevertheless did not significantly deviate from the basic ethical thought that had first developed in the middle ages.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Allinson 1994; Eberhard 1967; Hendrichke 1991; Hsü Cho-yun 1975; Kirkland 1995a; Kirkland 2002; Kleeman 1991; Kohn 1993–95; Kohn 1998a; Kohn 2004a; Lagerwey 1981b, 84–87; Maspero 1981, 321–24; Strickmann 1985; Zürcher 1980, 129–41

※ *jie* [precepts]; *shanshu*; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. II.9 (“Ethics and Morals”)

## RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION



## Monasticism

The origins of Taoist monasticism are obscure. The most ancient forms of organized Taoism did not have a monastic tradition; the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) emphasized the importance of marriage and the transmission of their teachings from father to son. In the fourth century, the followers of \*Shangqing tended to remain unmarried in order to be able to devote their energies to the Dao, realizing that, as Michel Strickmann (1978a, 471) puts it, “with the Perfected, a far purer union could be achieved than that vulgar coupling of the flesh offered either by secular marriage or by the rites of the Celestial Master.” As a result, in their centers of activity (\*Maoshan, \*Lushan, \*Tiantai shan), married and celibate practitioners lived side by side, following a regimen similar to that of Buddhist monastics but based on more traditional Chinese conceptions of religious practice (e.g., abstention from meat to avoid offending the celestials). The appellation *chujia* 出家, “renunciant” or “one who has left the family,” was mainly used for those who had resolved to take vows and leave ordinary family life behind, such as girls determined to remain unmarried.

A tendency toward a more formal resignation from family life first appeared in the fifth century, probably due to the increasing number of Buddhist monks and the growing independence of their institutions. \*Kou Qianzhi (365?–448) thus became one of the first Taoists to live like a Buddhist monk in a quasi-monastic institution, the Chongxu si 崇虛寺 (Temple for the Veneration of Emptiness). Similarly, in the south, both \*Lu Xiujing (406–77) and \*Tao Hongjing (456–536) lived either in mountain centers or in the capital but did not have families to distract them from their main endeavors. Still, often their followers were not as dedicated but either remained in their villages or, as in the case of Tao's disciple Zhou Ziliang 周子良 (497–516), brought their families with them to the mountain.

A clear distinction between lay and monastic practitioners and a system of formal ordination procedures only evolved toward the late fifth century: in the south, when followers of \*Lingbao created sets of Taoist precepts (\**jie*) under Buddhist influence; and in the north with the growth and flourishing of the monastic \*Louguan (Tiered Abbey) center. Specific rules and imperial sponsorship for monasteries began to flourish only in the Tang, when Taoism

was favored at court and many flocked to the religion.



Fig. 15. Taoist novices at the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), Beijing. Reproduced from Zhongguo dao jiao xiehui 1983.

On the whole, medieval Taoist monasteries resembled closely to their Buddhist counterpart. Still, differences persisted. Official celibacy among Taoists, for example, was not required until the early Song, when monks and nuns had to be properly registered as such. Moreover, the main type of Taoist monastic institution that still survives today belongs to the school of \*Quanzhen, which arose only in the thirteenth century, strongly influenced by the Chan monasteries that dominated during the Song.

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▣ Hackmann 1919–20; Hillery 1992; Kohn 2001; Kohn 2003b; Lagerwey 1987b; Ozaki Masaharu 1986b; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 553–68; Schipper 1984; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1979

※ MONASTIC CODE; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

Monastic code

Monasticism appeared within Taoism around the fifth century. At that time it was only one of several possible modes of religious life, and the choice of celibate living (*chujia* 出家), either individual or communal, was not of great consequence to the all-important initiation into priesthood. In monastic codes dating from the Tang, like the *Qianzhen ke* 千真科 (Code of the Thousand Real Men; CT 1410), prescriptions for celibate and married (*zaijia* 在家) practitioners are given together. Communities (*guan* 觀) housed celibate priests, married priests with their families, and married priests living temporarily in celibate groups. This shows that at that time there was no monastic order within Taoism. The first and only monastic order appeared with \*Quanzhen, which organized its adepts into purely monastic communities subject to common discipline and rules.

*Texts.* All Quanzhen adepts are celibate and take the Ten Precepts for Cultivating the Truth (*xiuzhen shijie* 修真十戒), regularly used as celibacy precepts (and in other liturgical contexts) from the Tang period to this day. Quanzhen adepts, however, must also obey the specific rules of their monastery of residence. Unlike precepts, these rules are enforced by this-worldly powers, namely the abbot (*fangzhang* 方丈) and, for major crimes, the secular state. The earliest known monastic code that includes rules is the *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規 (Rules of Purity of Quanzhen; CT 1235), dating from the fourteenth century. While no set of rules enforced in all Taoist monasteries seems to have existed at any one time, the *Quanzhen qinggui* and similar works likely were used as models that strongly influenced subsequent compilations. Later sets of codes include excerpts cited in the \**Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce* (Jade Fascicles of Great Clarity on the Ultimate Way of the Celestial Sovereign), dating from the early fifteenth century, and the *Qinggui xuanmiao* 清規玄妙 (Mysterious Wonder of the Rules of Purity), compiled in the early nineteenth century by the \*Longmen master \*Min Yide.

The *Quanzhen qinggui* consists of thirteen different short texts of different origin. The first ones describe the ordination ceremony, the program of practice for a novice, and how a novice should conduct himself. They are followed by lyrical texts about Taoist life, which focus on communal practice and especially the group meditation with the bowl (\**zuobo*). Then comes the set of punishments, which were to be written on a board, or *guibang* 規榜, and hung in the assembly hall, the dining hall, or the travelling monks'

reception room so that everyone would know the local rules. A few more general descriptions conclude this short collection. Later codes, especially the *Qinggui xuanmiao*, contain more detailed entries on the Taoists' vestments and belongings, and on the hierarchical organization of the monastery. Nevertheless, these documents are far less detailed than the Buddhist codes—in particular, the *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規 (Rules of Purity of Master Baizhang; T. 2025) family of texts that flourished from the Song onward and its rich legacy—and cover fewer aspects of monastic life, especially in the ritual realm. There are also fewer existing editions, and none that were issued with imperial approval; this suggests that Taoism, even in its most official forms, gave less importance to standardization of its practices than did Buddhism.

*Rules of conduct.* The most salient feature of Taoist monastic codes is the complete independence granted to each monastery in determining its own rules. On the other hand, descriptive texts enjoyed large circulation; the *Qinggui xuanmiao*, for example, was edited on Mount Huagai (Huagai shan 華蓋山, Jiangxi) and found to be still in use in the early twentieth century by Heinrich Hackmann on Mount Lao (\*Laoshan, Shandong); it was also rewritten under the title *Xuanmen bidu* 玄門必讀 (Required Reading for the School of Mysteries) and used on the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan, Guangdong) in the same period. Such works gave travelling monks a formal common culture, especially with regard to the procedure for taking up temporary residence (*guadan* 掛單) in a monastery or temple, which under the Qing could last for theoretically unlimited periods in “public” (*shifang* 十方) monasteries, and for three days in the “private” (*zisun* 子孫) ones. The highly ritualized ceremony was intended to distinguish real monks and nuns from pretenders, ensuring that only ordained Taoists would gain access to temples or monasteries. Each community, however, decided on its own *guibang* or set of rules and punishments. For instance, on Mount Wudang (\*Wudang shan, Hubei), where several communities belonging to different orders coexisted, each maintained its own set of rules. At least fifteen *guibang* dating from the fourteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries are extant, either in mountain gazetteers, or noted down by Japanese or Chinese observers in the twentieth century.

Taken together, these different sets of rules allow a general picture of Taoist monastic discipline to emerge. The most common punishments were

kneeling down in prayer for the time it took for an incense stick to burn (*guixiang* 跪香), paying a fine (*fa* 罰), public censure (*gongze* 公責), demotion (*qiandan* 遷丹 or 遷單, *cuidan* 催丹), flogging (*zhang* 杖), expulsion (*gechu* 革出), ignominious expulsion (*zhuchu* 逐出), deferment to civilian justice, and death on a pyre (*huohua* 火化 or *fenxing* 焚形). These punishments may have been subject to different interpretations, were not all used in every monastery, and could also be combined. They strongly suggest, however, that discipline was not taken lightly. The provision for capital punishment, included in at least seven sets of rules, was applied in one notorious instance in 1946, when the last prior of the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing, An Shilin 安世霖, was condemned to death by a council of twelve monks and burned in the great courtyard.

The constraints of Taoist monasticism were as sharp as their ideal was lofty. No more than twenty large monasteries have existed during the modern period; most Taoists monks and nuns lived in small temples or travelled, and came to the larger establishments for training and monastic ordination. Under the Longmen system, which has dominated Taoist monasteries since the mid-seventeenth century, ordinands stay one hundred days (later reduced to fifty-three at the Baiyun guan) at a “public” monastery that hosts an ordination platform, and follow a very intensive and demanding course of preparation under specific rules.

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▣ Goossaert 1997, 259–301; Goossaert 2004; Hackmann 1919–20; Kohn 2001; Kohn 2004a; Kohn 2004b; Tsuzuki Akiko 2002

※ *jie* [precepts]; ETHICS AND MORALS; MONASTICISM; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

## Temples and shrines

To study Taoist temples and shrines is to raise the question of the relationship between Taoism and Chinese religion. This relationship is a topic of scholarly debate; some see Taoism as the written expression of popular cults, while others see it as an elite tradition that formed as a reaction against those

very cults. Actually, these views need not contradict each other. Most Chinese temples and shrines devoted to the cults of local deities or saints were never controlled by any established religion, neither Taoist, Buddhist, nor Confucian.

Early communal Taoism—the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao)—was for theological reasons strongly opposed to local cults, which it saw as dangerous and eventually destructive pacts with demons, and thus it actively supported their suppression. The Celestial Masters also permitted, however, limited forms of certain cults (ancestors, domestic gods), which suggests that those who sought to completely reform Chinese religion had to make compromises with prevalent beliefs from very early on. The \*Lingbao revelations ushered in a greater acceptance of dealings with the dead (ancestors and local gods all being dead people), thus rescinding the Celestial Masters' precept that the living and the dead should not come into contact with each other. In a further step to close the gap between pure Taoist and non-Taoist devotional practice, Lingbao also laid the foundation for the Taoist adoption of Buddhist-style icons, and from the fifth century onward we witness the spread of statues and iconic stelae (and devotional associations) for the cults of Laozi and various Celestial Worthies (*tianzun* 天尊).



Fig. 16. Pavilion of the Three Clarities and the Four Sovereigns (Sanqing Siyu dian 三清四御殿).  
\*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), Beijing.  
Reproduced from Zhongguo daojiao xiehui 1983.

During the Tang, the early Taoist opposition to local cults gradually evolved into cooperation, which came to fruition in the tenth to thirteenth centuries. During that period, many local saints were included in the outer, phenomenal part (*\*houtian*) of the Taoist liturgical pantheon. Some Taoist lineages even formed around local saints (such as *\*Xu Xun*), who became their spiritual ancestors. Taoists (and Buddhists) began to be employed in or even build temples devoted to such saints, and these temples, rather than the more purely Taoist abbeys (*guan* 觀), became the prime venue for Taoist activities throughout China. Yet the Celestial Masters' project was not forgotten, as Taoists always strove to recast the local cults they supported (and which supported them) in a Taoist light.

*Taoist institutions.* Taoist temples and shrines may therefore be divided into two broad categories: Taoist institutions, and the temples and shrines of local saints that were integrated into a Taoist liturgical and theological framework. In the first category, the earliest attested types are temples of immortals,



which appear in the epigraphic records of the later Han. These are indeed among the first well-documented temples of any kind in Chinese history, and predate—and were never part of—the Celestial Masters organization. They were apparently built by groups of devotees who prayed to immortals for protection in general, but also for initiation in immortality techniques. Such temples devoted to miraculous ascetics, men or women, appear frequently throughout Chinese history, and many came to resemble in every respect temples of local saints.

A second type of Taoist institution appears with the Way of the Celestial Masters, which commanded the building of meeting halls for its parishes (\*zhi). Also, each priest, as well as many wealthy devotees, had a chapel (\*jingshi) for meditation and prayer. Meeting halls and chapels contained no icons or offerings, but merely an incense burner and writing material. Beginning around the fourth century, groups of eremites and disciples gathering around the chapel of a master, or a site where immortals had practiced before leaving this world, slowly formed more or less permanent communities with lodgings, teaching halls, and shrines. These were institutionalized under the name of “abbeys,” a process aided by state recognition and financial support. The abbeys came to be considered monasteries just like their Buddhist counterparts.

With the gradual dissolution of the Celestial Masters’ parish system, the abbeys became the main type of Taoist institution. They housed married or celibate priests, in permanent residence or for training and ordination. The largest state-sponsored abbeys were centers of learning, with libraries and Taoist scholars compiling erudite works. The largest rituals, sponsored either by the state or by local communities, took place in abbeys. Like Buddhist monasteries, particularly under the Tang, the abbeys were centers for local religious life. They were built in cities, on major mountains, or on sites historically connected to Taoist hagiography (\*Louguan, \*Taiqing gong, and others). In accordance with Taoist theology, however, the abbeys housed no shrines except those devoted to the purest deities, such as the \*sanqing (Three Clarities), Laozi, and the various Celestial Worthies.

The \*Quanzhen order, which formed during the late twelfth century, soon came to control most of the preexisting abbeys, and introduced rules calling for stricter cohesion of the clerical community (see under \*monastic code). At the same time, the general evolution of Chinese society caused the focus of local life to move from monastic institutions (either Buddhist or Taoist) to

temples of local saints. In the modern period, some twenty-five Quanzhen monasteries serve as training and ordination centers, while most Quanzhen clerics live in temples of local saints (it should be noted that many institutions named *guan* or “abbey” have actually been converted to private hermitages or temples of saints). Similarly, while \*Zhengyi clerics control a few large institutions (e.g., those on \*Longhu shan, or the \*Xuanmiao guan in Suzhou), the great majority of them work for temples they do not own or control. Taoist clerical institutions active in the modern period are highly prestigious sites because of their long history and the charisma of the clerical community practicing there, but few of them remain. Their architecture and art, while reflecting Taoist themes, are not fundamentally different from those of other religious or secular buildings.

*Temples of local saints.* The second category of Taoist temples consists of those enshrining local saints, built and managed by lay communities but employing Taoist clerics either as resident priests (*zhuchi* 住持<sup>xa</sup>) on a contractual basis, or inviting them to perform rituals during festivals. Such temples (and lay communities) are not strictly Taoist, as is evident from certain non-Taoist practices (such as blood sacrifices) that are carried out in these communities. They are indissolubly linked to Taoism, however, since they absolutely require Taoist ritual for temple consecration and regular renewal of the alliance with the gods (through a \**jiao*, or Offering, ritual). Taoists legitimize these cults not only by providing liturgical services, but also by helping to incorporate the local god into their pantheon, through Taoist canonization (a process directed in the modern period by the Celestial Masters) and the writing of scriptures and hagiography that cast the god as an incarnation of a Taoist cosmic deity. The Taoist clergy wields no effective control over these temples, as is also the case with the Buddhist clergy and its temples today; yet Taoism continues to deeply influence the cultic life of most Chinese temples and shrines.

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▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 266–68; Dean 1993; Goossaert 2000b; Hachiya Kunio 1995; Kohn 2000a; Naquin 2000; Reiter 1983; Schipper 1991a; Steinhardt 1987; Steinhardt 2000

✕ MONASTICISM; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOIST LAY ASSOCIATIONS; TAOIST

SACRED SITES; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. II.10 (“Temples, Abbeys, Shrines”)

### Taoist lay associations

Lay associations are a major means by which Taoism interacts with society in modern China. Many types of lay religious associations have flourished throughout Chinese history; the role of clerics in organizing them has varied, and has tended to decrease in premodern and modern times. In any case, there is no Taoist (or Buddhist) clerical establishment that imposes its structure on the laity; rather, self-contained groups serve as independent vehicles to salvation, and relate freely to each other through a system of informal networks.

Many if not most Chinese of the first millennium belonged to the parishes (\**zhi*) of the \*Tianshi dao movement, whose comprehensive liturgical organization of society obviated any need for other religious structures. This framework seems to have gradually disappeared around the beginning of the second millennium. Meanwhile, pious lay associations supported the spread of Buddhism in China; such groups were variously called *yi* 邑, *she* 社 or *hui* 會, and these names continue to be used today. Votive inscriptions, the earliest detailed sources on such organizations, actually also refer to associations of Taoist devotees, composed of people belonging to the \*Zhengyi organization but gathering independently to finance merit-making activities, notably cults to icons and rituals for the dead, both practices strongly influenced by \*Lingbao formulations.

In the late Tang and especially the Song periods, the growth of local temple cults and later the rise of corporate entities (lineages, guilds, and so forth) made possible the rise of groups with a religious identity, related to the clergy but more independent from it than before. These groups founded temples for which they sought, and sometimes obtained, official recognition, and employed either Buddhist or Taoist clergy to run them. The temple served as the seat for one or more associations, and came to replace the earth altar (*she*) and clerical institutions as the focus of local religious identity.

In general, the various Chinese lay associations are based on village or neighborhood community, occupation, kinship, or common place of origin

for travellers and migrants; they are not denominational. Their leaders, in modern times, usually consider themselves to be Confucian, which is largely a matter of social standing. They provide education, welfare, and moral guidance in accordance with Confucian expectations, and also are at the center of the production and consumption of morality books (*\*shanshu*) and ledgers of merit and demerit (*gongguo ge* 功過格; Brokaw 1991). Many of them, however, have strong links to Taoist ritual and individual practice. These groups can therefore be dubbed “Taoist lay associations,” although they also reflect the ideal of the coexistence of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism).

The *\*Quanzhen* order likely played a role in the general trend of guilds, associations, and charities traditionally concerned with Buddhist piety (as documented in the *\*Dunhuang* documents and Fangshan 房山 stela colophons, for instance) turning to Taoist concerns and cults. The rise of *Quanzhen* was supported by many local *hui*, and their leaders, the *huishou* 會首, often appear in their inscriptions, as well as in the collected works of the masters, much more frequently than they do in any other part of the Canon. Moreover, lay *Quanzhen* groups organized around the spirit-writing cult of Lü Dongbin are among the most strictly Taoist of all lay religious associations found in modern China.

Taoist lay associations simultaneously play several roles. They organize festivals centered around the performance of Taoist rituals, a very costly affair. They also support the religious communities, although in the late imperial period they tended to favor shrines rather than abbeys, which were sometimes seen as the preserve of the gentry. Several associations were directly involved in liturgical activities, especially the performance of music and opera. Among the best examples are the well-studied Dongjing *hui* 洞經會 (associations for the performance of rituals centered around the recitation of the *Wenchang dadong zhenjing* 文昌大洞真經) in Yunnan, but similar groups could be found in every province.

Association members also conduct charitable and devotional activities, such as communicating with the gods through spirit writing (see *\*fuji*). Members usually engage in self-cultivation practices, for which Taoist masters provided guidance. One of the functions of the *Quanzhen* associations was to teach *\*neidan* meditation techniques to the public, but by the late imperial period all religious associations—as well as the sectarian movements, from which they should be distinguished—practiced some form

of psycho-physiological practice (*neigong* 內功). The great \**qigong* associations of the 1980s and 90s, where religious features are much less apparent, are the direct heirs of those groups.

Many such associations are still active. The historical sources for their study are not easily accessible, as no complete association archives are known to be extant, although some booklets and manuals are available. Most records are carved on stone stelae erected by these groups in their shrines. Pilgrimage associations also often erected stelae at both ends of their journeys and other places of activity.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Lei Hongan 1989–90; Noguchi Tetsurō 1983; Schipper 1977a; Schipper 1997a

※ TAOISM AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

## RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE

### Asceticism

In the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (Eliade 1987), asceticism is defined as “a voluntary, sustained, and at least partially systematic program of self-discipline and self-denial in which immediate, sensual, or profane gratifications are renounced in order to attain a higher spiritual state or a more thorough absorption in the sacred” (Kaelber 1987, 441). Typically associated with radical self-denial and the suppression of physical desires, asceticism tends to be dominant in religions that propose an eternal, unchanging, and pure soul trapped in a transient and defiled body. In Indian religions, for example, its techniques include long periods of fasting, sexual

abstinence, bodily tortures (lying on a bed of nails, hanging upside-down, or exposure to extreme heat, cold, or water, for example), as well as the control of various bodily functions and rules of hygiene. Similarly, in medieval Christianity, devotees practiced self-flagellation, wore hair shirts, and spent many hours kneeling on the stone floors of churches. This form of severe asceticism almost always involves an active hostility toward the body, and a sense of the physical self as sinful, dirty, defiled, and undesirable, a major obstacle to salvation which must be overcome.

In China, there are few known examples of severe asceticism. On the contrary, the dominant mode of Chinese culture is expressly anti-ascetic. Confucianism declares that the body is a gift every person receives from his or her parents, and that any harm or intrusive change it is subjected to constitutes a violation of filiality. Also, any form of radical hermitism is seen as a rejection of society and family, the mainstays of Chinese life, and cannot be tolerated. Body and family are essential aspects of the individual identity, and one can only realize virtue by cultivating them in a harmonious and beneficent way.

Taoism differs from both of these religious modes, and incorporates a form of “mild” asceticism (with the possible exception of \*Quanzhen during the early stages of its development; see Eskildsen 1990). This tendency is evident in the practices of its key forerunners, ancient immortality seekers and Buddhists. These devotees underwent various kinds of discipline, usually associated with hermitism and the simplification of bodily needs, in order to attain spiritual states; but in both cases the body was considered essential for this undertaking. It had to be transformed, and thus removed from society and disciplined, but not tortured. Buddhism in particular prides itself on cultivating the “middle path,” which means the rejection of both indulgence and severe asceticism. Also, Buddhist doctrine emphasizes that among all forms of rebirth, the human is the most valuable, because it alone allows the conscious experience of attachment and suffering which will lead to *nirvāṇa* or full liberation.

Taoist asceticism, then, manifests in a variety of practices, such as hermitism, dietary techniques, and methods of sexual control. Hermitism means separation from family and society in favor of a life in the wilderness. Taoist immortals are well known for this rejection of worldly life, and famous for their unkempt appearance and easy communion with nature. These features are documented from the earliest sources (e.g., the \**Liexian*

*zhuan*) to the present day, when a hermit Bill Porter encountered in the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi), upon being asked how he had fared under Mao Zedong, widened his eyes and asked: “Mao who?” (Porter 1993).

Dietary techniques range from total fasts, during which the intake of food is replaced by the ingestion of \**qi* (pneuma; see \**fuqi*) and the swallowing of saliva, to exchanging ordinary food for concocted drugs or natural foodstuffs. Again, we have documents from the earliest times (Guifu 桂父 or the Persimmon Man in the *Liexian zhuan*; see Kaltenmark 1953, 118–20) to today, as in the case of the hermit lady Porter met who lived only on walnuts. Sexual control (see \**fangzhong shu*) comes in two forms, either as celibacy or as *coitus inter-ruptus*. Both involve the retention of bodily fluids or vital *qi*, here in the form of \**jing* (semen) which instead of being ejaculated is redirected “to nourish the brain” (see \**huanjing bunao*).

While certain adverse reactions may occur in the early stages of the practice and a degree of hardship is to be expected, the practice of asceticism in Taoism is meant to refine and purify the body, which is described as becoming lighter, softer, and younger.

Livia KOHN

📖 Eskildsen 1998; Porter 1993; Vervoorn 1990

### Divination, omens, and prophecy

Means of diagnosing the present and predicting the future such as divination, reading omens, and prophecy have a long history in China, and play a role in both popular religion and in Taoism. Prophecy, in particular, played a major role in early Taoist messianic movements (see \*MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM) and in later Taoist traditions such as \*Shangqing.

Divination was among the traditions that influenced the formation of Taoism in the Han dynasty. The earliest documented instance of such prediction may be dated to the Shang court (ca. 1600–1045 BCE). These “oracle bones”—in reality, inscribed cattle scapula and tortoise plastrons—record inquiries addressed to the ancestors of the royal house of the Shang. The application of heat produced a crack in the bone or shell that was

interpreted as a divine communication (see Keightley 1978a). The idea of addressing divinations to assure or request good fortune is one that outlived the Shang. Li Ling reports that the bamboo slips found at Baoshan 包山 (Hubei; burial dated ca. 316 BCE) contain divinations addressed to anthropomorphic deities and celestial officials, as well as spirits of rivers and mountains, doorways, dwellings and directions (2000a, 286–93).

The Zhou period \**Yijing* consisted of sixty-four hexagrams made up of six solid (—) and broken (--) lines. An elaborate method of casting milfoil stalks determined a hexagram or hexagrams that embodied the natural potential for change of the moment of the divination. Because the milfoil casting was seen as an objective measurement of the situation at the moment of the casting, milfoil divination was in many ways a precursor of the omenological methods of the Han.

The development of methods of reading omens perhaps derived from astronomy and calendrical science, two disciplines of great importance to the legitimation of authority from at least the Zhou period. By the Han, these fields had developed numerous technical subdisciplines based on assumptions seen in the \**Huainan zi* (ca. 139 BCE) of a relationship of resonance between the heavens and the human world (Le Blanc 1985). One example of such a development is the practice of weather divination, described in the Han or pre-Han manual discovered at \*Mawangdui in 1973 (burial dated 168 BCE) called *Tianwen qixiang zazhan* 天文氣象雜占 (Miscellaneous Prognostications According to Heavenly Patterns and Pneuma Images). This text provides military divinations related to meteorological phenomena influenced by \**qi* (see Loewe 1994a). In the Han, a specialized office called Watcher of Pneuma (*houqi* 候氣) was composed of twelve experts who worked under the Grand Astrologer (*taishi ling* 太史令), alongside the Watchers of the Stars (*houxing* 候星) and the Watchers of the Wind (*houfeng* 候風; Bielenstein 1980, 22–23). The move from divination in the strict sense—i.e., practice that assumes a divinity—to omenology during the late Warring States and early imperial period coincided with the development of a more naturalistic conception of Heaven (*tian* 天) at that time (Csikszentmihalyi 2000, 61–67). During this period, critics of divination like Wang Fu 王符 (78–163 CE) accepted the existence of spirit messengers of Heaven, and argued simply that these messengers did not have time to answer the questions of human beings, a viewpoint that implicitly accepted the cosmological assumptions behind the reading of omens (*Qianfu lun* 潛夫



論, Zhuzi jicheng ed., 25.125–26). Many of these technical disciplines were integrated into later Taoist practices (Xiao Dengfu 1988).

Calendrical and other omens played a role in early Taoist messianic movements. Numerous prophetic texts sprung up in the battle for legitimacy that ended in the founding of the Later Han in 25 CE (Hendrischke 2000, 135–43), and this genre became the basis for the genre of apocryphal texts that thrived from the Later Han up through the Six Dynasties period (Dull 1966; Seidel 1983a; Yasui Kōzan 1987; see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA). The \*Yellow Turbans movement in eastern China planned its uprising for the first year of the sexagesimal cycle in 184 CE because of its auspiciousness (*Hou Hanshu*, 71.2299). As Barbara Hendrischke has shown, movements such as the Yellow Turbans and the \*Wudoumi dao (Way of the Five Pecks of Rice) in the southwest claimed to be authorized by Heaven. Related works such as the \**Taiping jing* detail messages from Heaven in the form of omens (Hendrischke 1985). This was the foundational period for Taoist messianism, which recognized the cyclical reappearance of avatars of \*Laojun (Lord Lao) throughout history (Seidel 1969; Schipper 1979b), as seen in such discovered texts as the \*Dunhuang \**Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi) and received texts such as the Six Dynasties *Laojun bianhua wuji jing* 老君變化無極經 (Scripture of the Endless Transformations of Lord Lao; CT 1195).

Two of the more significant influences of this stress on prophecy were on Taoist eschatology (see \*APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY) and cosmology. The Han belief in authority deriving from messages from Heaven, adopted in the apocryphal texts and adapted by early messianic movements, was developed in the revelation-based traditions of Shangqing and \*Lingbao Taoism. The messianic figure \*Li Hong became a central figure in Taoist eschatology, evolving from a revolutionary ideal to a messiah that would lead the chosen into a Heavenly kingdom (Seidel 1969–70). The astronomical emphasis of Han omenology and its underlying assumption of resonance between the stars and the human world also undergirds the Taoist emphasis on the understanding of the thirty-six Shangqing heavens (\**sanshiliu tian*), related visualization techniques, and ecstatic journeys through the heavens (\**yuanyou*) that are central to Shangqing meditation practice (Robinet 1993).

*Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI*

■ Andersen 1994; Csikszentmihalyi 2000; DeWoskin 1983; Harper 1999; Kalinowski 1989–90; Kalinowski 1991; Keightley 1978a; Keightley 1984; Li Ling 2000a; Li Ling 2000b; Loewe 1994a; Ngo 1976; Sakade Yoshinobu 2000; Shaughnessy 1997

※ *fangji*; *Yijing*; APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY; COSMOLOGY; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM; TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA

## Magic

“Magic” is commonly designated by the word *fashu* 法術 in Chinese and *jujutsu* 咒術 in Japanese (corresponding to Chin. *zhoushu*). In magic, supernormal power is acquired by means of physical and mental techniques, symbolic words and actions, or special implements, with the purpose of controlling natural phenomena or supernatural entities such as spirits (\**gui*) and deities, or one's own existence or vital force. Sometimes divination is also included among these techniques.

Before the rise of the Taoist religion, such techniques were widely used in China in the form of “shamanic arts” (or “arts of the spirit-mediums,” *wushu* 巫術) and also as “methods and arts” (*fangshu* 方術 or \**fangji*) acquired by the \**fangshi* (masters of methods). Taoism, calling them *fashu* 法術 (methods and arts) and *daofa* 道法 (ways and methods), absorbed some of these techniques as important ingredients in its own practices, and rejected others. For instance, in the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice (\*Wudoumi dao), one way to treat illness was to have patients drink water containing the ashes of a burned talisman (*fushui* 符水). According to \**Baopu zi* 17, which describes various types of magic (*fashu*), practitioners can avoid harm from wild animals or malignant beings if they wear “talismans for entering the mountains” (*rushan fu* 入山符) against their bodies, or if they use mirrors to frighten off mountain spirits. *Baopu zi* 5 gives a detailed description of how spells and the use of the breath can bind an object to do as one desires (see Harper 1998, 173–83). Nevertheless, Taoism also drew a distinction between itself and some forms of magic and divination. For instance, in the \**Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie* (The Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao), Taoist masters are forbidden to associate themselves with *fengshui* 風水 (“wind and water,” i.e., geomancy), astrology, and other popular divination

techniques. In addition, because of the importance it placed on ethics, Taoism did not participate in the practice of so-called “evil” or “perverse arts” (*yaoshu* 妖術, *xieshu* 邪術), or sorcery, to bring down sworn enemies.

In the traditional classification of the Taoist Canon into Three Caverns (\*sandong) and Four Supplements (*sifu* 四輔; see \*DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS) there is no indication of where works on magic are to be found. In the \**Zhengtong daoze* of the Ming period, relevant texts are located in the sections called Divine Talismans (*shenfu* 神符), Numinous Charts (*lingtu* 靈圖), and Techniques (*zhongshu* 眾術). In recent years, there have been attempts to replace the traditional classification scheme of the Canon with new ones. Examples are Zhu Yueli's *Daoze fenlei jieti* (Zhu Yueli 1996) and Zhong Zhaopeng's *Xinbian Daoze mulu* (Zhong Zhaopeng 1999). The former scheme contains discrete versions titled Magic (*fashu*) and Arts of the Numbers (*shushu* 數術, including astrology, choosing lucky days, *fengshui*, and divination tallies) within its first division, Philosophy (*zhexue* 哲學). The latter scheme includes the items Ways and Methods (*daofa*), Talismans (*fujue* 符訣), Divination Arts (*zhanbu shushu* 占卜數術) and Hemerology (*kanyu* 堪輿; on this term see Loewe 1982, 96–97) under the category Ways and Arts (*daoshu* 道術). When the writings of the *Zhengtong daoze* are classified in this way, it is easy to see how thoroughly some forms of magic and divination have been absorbed into Taoism. Several of these forms are briefly described below.

*Talismans* (\*FU). These are strips of paper, cotton, or wood on which diagrams or stylized graphs are written. Some, like the *bochūfu* 墓中符 in Okinawan funerary rites, are written on tiles. They have several functions, including evoking the deities, exorcizing evil, and curing sickness, and the style in which they are written varies according to the purpose. Even today in Beijing's \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), young monks are taught how to write talismans. It is said that when a priest writes a talisman, he blows his own breath into it (see \**buqi*). Taoist seals and sacred diagrams, like those that appear in the \**Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks) are basically another type of talismans.

*Spells* (*zhoufa* 咒法). A technique in which special magical words are uttered as commands to realize one's wishes or to change objects at will. They are also called “charm spells” (*jinzhou*), and often end with the phrase \**jiji ru lüling* (“Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances!”). Many Taoist texts include incantatory spells in verse (*zhouci*

咒辭).

“*Practices in the hand*” (\**shoujue*). This is a technique for controlling natural phenomena or regulating pneuma (\**qi*) within the practitioner's body by forming various shapes with the fingers of one or both hands. These formations are also often used during rituals or in conjunction with talismans and spells.

“*Walking along the guideline*” (\**bugang*). A technique for acquiring the power of the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*) by making a pattern of steps in the shape of that constellation. This has long been used in rituals in combination with the Pace of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步).

*Thunder Rites* (\**leifa*). A magical practice to endow oneself with the power of thunder. This was originally a folk practice, but its popularity grew in the late Northern Song dynasty and it was incorporated into Taoism. Combined with the techniques of inner alchemy (\**neidan*), it was prized as a way to generate a resonance between macrocosm and microcosm. The \**Daofa huiyuan* includes a variety of magical practices employing the power of thunder.

MIURA Kunio

▣ DeWoskin 1983; van Gulik 1954; Harper 1987a; Harper 1998, 148–83; Harper 1999; Robinet 1993, 29–37; Strickmann 2002

※ *zuodao*

## Meditation and visualization

Psychological research on meditation defines it as an effort to focus the mind on a particular object or objects and—following the lead of the Buddhist tradition—distinguishes two fundamental types: concentrative and insight meditation (Samuels and Samuels 1975; Shapiro and Walsh 1984). Concentrative meditation involves focusing the mind on a single object with the goal of attaining onepointedness; insight meditation is the practice of maintaining an open awareness to all stimuli in an indiscriminating fashion. Typically this training begins with the close control of attention in concentration, and only when one-pointedness has been fully attained, it

moves on to the open awareness of insight.

The Taoist tradition incorporates both types of meditation, and also strongly emphasizes visualization, which can be understood as a mixture of the two. Deities or celestial powers are visualized according to painted or textually described icons; then, once their presence has been fully established, meditators engage in interaction with them, opening themselves to their various divine stimuli.

These distinct types of meditation are practiced within particular Taoist traditions. Concentrative meditation, known as *\*ding* (“concentration”) or *shou* 守 (“guarding”; see *\*shouyi*), is closely associated with the *Daode jing* and its quietistic tendencies, as well as with alchemical and longevity techniques that enhance the physical energies of the practitioner. Insight meditation, known as *\*guan* (“observation”), was introduced through Buddhism and played a role in the integrated tradition after the sixth century; this practice involved merging one's individual consciousness with Emptiness and attaining oneness with the Dao. Visualization, known as *\*cun* (“actualization”), is the backbone of medieval religious practice, and central to both the *\*Shangqing* and *\*Lingbao* schools.

*Meditation and Taoist traditions.* The first evidence for Taoist meditation dates to the second century CE. The *Daode jing* commentary by Heshang gong 河上公 (see *\*Laozi Heshang gong zhangju*) proposes a concentrative focus on the breath for harmonization with the Dao; fragments of the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace) describe the enhancement of body energies through visualizing different colors within the major organs of the body (*Taiping jing shengjun bizhi* 太平經聖君祕旨 or *Secret Directions of the Holy Lord on the Scripture of Great Peace*; CT 1102; trans. Kohn 1993b, 193–97). In the third century, the first formal visualization texts appear, forerunners of Shangqing practices. These mainly consist of the *\*Laozi zhongjing* and the *\*Huangting jing*. In addition, instructions on how to visualize interior deities and how to spiritually multiply one's body with the help of a magical mirror are also contained in *\*Ge Hong's \*Baopu zi* of the early fourth century.

The Shangqing scriptures with their manifold forms of visualization emerge in the mid-fourth century. The practices they describe include not only concentration on the *\*bajing* (Eight Effulgences) and visualization of gods in the body, but also active interaction with the gods, ecstatic excursions

to the stars and the heavens of the immortals (\**yuanyou*), and the activation of inner energies in a protoform of inner alchemy (\**neidan*). The world of meditation in this tradition is incomparably rich and colorful, with gods, immortals, body energies, and cosmic sprouts vying for the adept's attention.

Similar techniques are adopted in the Lingbao and \*Tianshi dao traditions in the fifth century. From this time onward an early Buddhist influence is also evident, so that texts like the \**Xisheng jing* advocate a rudimentary form of insight practice in the dispassionate observation of body, self, and world and the cultivation of an empty state of consciousness called no-mind (*wuxin* 無心). This tendency is strengthened in the sixth and seventh centuries, when encyclopedic works such as the \**Wushang biyao* (CT 1138) and the \**Daojiao yishu* (CT 1129) present a variety of techniques and give sophisticated instructions on the practice of different kinds of *guan* or “observation,” including the observation of Emptiness, partial Emptiness, and Being, along the lines of the Madhyamaka two-truths theory (see \*Chongxuan).

The high Tang, in the eighth century, can be considered a heyday of Taoist meditation. Works by masters such as \*Sun Simiao (\**Cunshen lianqi ming*), \*Sima Chengzhen (\**Zuowang lun*, \**Tianyin zi*), and \*Wu Yun (\**Shenxian kexue lun*) describe in detail the unfolding of a meditative consciousness as the practitioner proceeds through a variety of systematically integrated practices. These lead from concentration exercises through visualizations of body energies and celestial deities to a state of total absorption in the Dao and insight-observation of the world. It is also around this time that texts like the \**Qingjing jing*—devotional works with strong meditative elements often associated with the divine Laozi—are first compiled, reflecting a trend that gains further momentum toward the end of the dynasty.

Under the Song, the integration of various forms of meditation practice continues, but two new areas of emphasis unfold: inner alchemy (*neidan*), with its circulation and refinement of inner energies in a rhythm based on the \**Yijing*; and close engagement with starry deities, such as the Star Lords of the Northern Dipper (\**Beidou xingjun*) and the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台, three pairs of stars in *Ursa Major*), and warrior protectors, such as the Dark Warrior (Xuanwu 玄武; see \**Zhenwu*) and the Mother of the Dipper (\**Doumu*). Both practices rely heavily on visualization but also make use of concentration exercises, and aim for an immortal state of mind akin to the no-mind of insight meditation.

Later dynasties see a continuation of this tendency, with the caveat that under the Ming inner alchemical practices are increasingly mixed with Chan Buddhist practices and that both Taoism and Buddhism are adopted by growing numbers of literati, and thus exert a stronger influence on Confucianism. Also, in the Qing, the first specialized texts on inner alchemy for women (*\*nüdan*) are written, and new forms of physical meditation, such as *\*taiji quan*, are being developed. In the twentieth century, Taoist meditation has been largely absorbed by the *\*qigong* movement, which—in accordance with its popular tendencies—mainly employs concentrative exercises but also favors the circulation of energy in an inner-alchemical mode.

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▣ Kohn 1989a; Kohn 1989b; Lu K'uan Yü 1964; Maspero 1981, 272–86, 346–64, 364–72, 431–41; Robinet 1976; Robinet 1989c; Robinet 1993; Roth 1991a; Zhang Zehong 1999c

※ DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; INNER DEITIES; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.2 (“Meditation”)

## Mysticism

Mysticism is commonly defined in the West as an experience that is ineffable, transient, felt to be true, and impossible to consciously induce. From an Eastern perspective, it is more fruitful to think of mysticism as a religious quest, an effort undertaken to attain a certain state, which typically proceeds in stages known as *purgative* (emptying of old concepts), *illuminative* (gaining new insights), and *unitive* (attaining oneness or union). This process guides the adept toward the attainment of a cosmic self. The goal of the practice, then, is a newly integrated personality, a self more cosmic yet also more human than the one left behind, free from desires and emotions, fully one with the Dao. This goal and the steps leading to it are often described in Western theoretical discussions or works of mystical philosophy, typically in four central points, just as in the “perennial philosophy” identified in the West: (1) that material reality is only the visible

aspect of some deeper and more real ground of existence; (2) that human beings cannot perceive this ground with their senses but have the faculty to intuit it; (3) that both human beings and the world consist of two levels, a deep, real self and a superficial, desire-centered ego; (4) that the key to real life and truth is the shedding of the ego and recovery of the deeper ground of existence, both psychologically and in relation to the world through mystical union (see Happold 1970; Katz S. T. 1983).

In Taoism, mystical realization is traditionally described as the attainment of immortality, defined both as a transcendent state in paradise, serving as a celestial bureaucrat in one of the many heavens (see \*OTHERWORLDLY BUREAUCRACY), and as a psychological or mystical state on earth, characterized by a high degree of mental calm and sagely behavior. In either case, the individual is dissolved as a personalized entity and becomes in mind and body a replica of the universe, part of primordial energy, spirit, and the Dao. As such he or she attains true immortality and can live as long as heaven and earth do. Within this framework, there are two distinct yet interrelated patterns, an *ecstatic* and an *enstatic* mode of immortality. The ecstatic mode emphasizes the psychological aspect of this process, finds expression in much shamanic and flight imagery, and envisions the mystical process as one of becoming lighter and brighter. The enstatic mode is more physically oriented, gives rise to images of fullness, stability, absorption, and stillness, and emphasizes union and oneness, the merging with darkness and the unconscious.

*Mysticism and Taoist traditions.* Historically three types of Taoist mysticism can be distinguished. First, there is the tradition of the *Daode jing* (with its numerous related texts) and the *\*Yijing*, which favors the enstatic mode and combines quietistic, concentrative practice with a strong emphasis on physical exercises. The aim of this practice is the complete alignment of the body with the rhythm of the universe. The body is understood as a microcosmic replica of the country (see \*macrocosm and microcosm), and the ordering of oneself—in a sense that is close to Confucian understanding—is parallel and prerequisite to the ordering of the state and the world. The sage in the *Daode jing* is ideally the ruler, who rests in non-action (*\*wuwei*) and lets the currents of the world flow freely through him. Having attained a purity of cosmic dimension, both sage and world attain a calm and tranquil oneness with the Dao.



Second, there is the more ecstatic mode found in the *\*Zhuangzi* and its various successors. This style of mysticism focuses more on an intellectual, mind-oriented practice, which is not altogether unlike Buddhist insight meditation and merged with Buddhism in the middle ages, also influencing the way Buddhism was received in China. The basic assumption here is that human beings lost their original oneness with the Dao because they developed consciousness. Consequently, the “chaotification” or complete reorganization of consciousness is the avowed aim of this tradition. Its main technique is a form of meditation called “sitting in oblivion” (*\*zuowang*), the “fasting of the mind” (*\*xinzhai*), and in later times “observation” (*\*guan*).

Third, there is the practice of visualizations (*\*cun*) and ecstatic excursions (*\*yuanyou*) of the *\*Shangqing* school, which traces its origins back to shamanic models and has adepts engage in visionary journeys to the far ends of the world and up into the sky, allowing them to perfectly attune themselves to the rhythmical movements of the entire cosmos. After this stage has been perfected, adepts place themselves at the center of the cosmos by becoming one with the axis around which everything revolves. They identify themselves with the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*), the central controlling agency of the universe. Permanent residence among the stars is thus ensured.

In the heyday of Taoist mysticism, during the Tang dynasty, these three types are merged to form one integrated system. Adepts underwent a set of stages that began with the body—its purification and alignment with the rhythm of the seasons—and then went on to reorganize the conscious mind, in order to eventually transcend the world and take up residence in the heavens. Representative texts of this trend are *\*Sun Simiao's \*Cunshen lianqi ming*, and *\*Sima Chengzhen's \*Fuqi jingyi lun, \*Zuowang lun* and *\*Tianyin zi*.

This integrated model of Taoist mysticism was later taken over by inner alchemy (*\*neidan*), which made it the basis for its own vision of mystical union. In this system, the immortal embryo (*\*shengtai*, Embryo of Sainthood) created through revolutions of ever subtler energies within the body takes on the role of the cosmic self, which can come and go throughout the universe at will in an ecstatic mode, or merge completely with the central power of the world in ecstasy. Taoist mysticism has survived in this form since the Song dynasty and is still practiced today, in a more rudimentary and medically reinterpreted form, both in monasteries and among *\*qigong* practitioners.

▣ Kohn 1990b; Kohn 1992a; Robinet 1989b; Roth 1995

### Seasonal observances

Although the annual schedule of feasts and fasts according to the lunar calendar honored at Taoist abbeys may vary from one to the next, all are united in upholding major seasonal observances. The roots of such observances are closely intertwined with a code of practice ostensibly dating to the Zhou 周 period. Both the “Quli” 曲禮 chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites; trans. Legge 1885, 1: 61–119) and chapter 25A of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han) outline Zhou forms of homage prescribed according to a hierarchy of social status, from the Son of Heaven to the population at large. The account in the latter text adds that each level is established by canonic ritual so as to prohibit “excessive cults” (\**yinsi*).

The \**Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community; 1b), a manual conveyed in the name of the \*Lingbao codifier \*Lu Xiuqing (406–77), includes a passage remarkably similar to the *Hanshu* account. The restrictions governing the population at large specify not only whom to honor but also when: ancestors on the auspicious days of the five *la* 臘, the God of Soil (*she* 社) in the second month, the God of the Stove (\**Zaoshen*) in the eighth month. A comparable set of instructions appears in an analogous fifth-century text dedicated to reforming contemporary practice, the \**Santian neijie jing* (Scripture of the Inner Explication of the Three Heavens, 1.6a). Both texts advocate a restoration of ritual standards ascribed to the \*Zhengyi covenant of the Celestial Master movement.

The *Daomen kelüe* also speaks of the Three Assemblies (\**sanhui*) associated with the establishment of the Celestial Master parishes (\**zhi*). These meetings were scheduled on the seventh day of the first month, the seventh day of the seventh month, and the fifth day of the tenth month. After household registers were examined and revised, parishioners were given instruction and sent home to teach members of the household. The dates given the three assemblies mark the occasions when the parishes themselves were established, eight at a time, according to a *Zhengyi qi zhi tu* 正一氣治圖

(Chart of the Parishes of the Life-force of Orthodox Unity), cited in the sixth-century *\*Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials, 23.4a–9b; Lagerwey 1981b, 103–4).

The legacy of the Three Assemblies appears to be closely linked to the tradition of paying homage to the Three Offices (*\*sanguan*) on the fifteenth of the first, seventh, and tenth months. These three dates, known collectively as *\*sanyuan*, serve as the anchors of the calendar year for all Taoist communities. An early account documenting the custom of honoring *sanyuan* is contained in the pre-Tang *\*Chisong zi zhangli* (Master Red-Pine's Almanac of Petitions, 2.4b–5b). According to the late recension of this text in the Taoist Canon, the fifteenth of the first, seventh, and tenth months (*shangyuan* 上元, *zhongyuan* 中元, *xiayuan* 下元) are the days set aside for inspection by the Officers of Heaven, Earth, and the Water (Tianguan 天官, Diguan 地官, Shuiguan 水官), respectively. Readers are advised to pray for good fortune while engaging in a retreat on these three days. The sequence of Three Assemblies subsequently recorded in this text differs slightly from the fifth-century texts cited above in specifying the date of the first assembly on the fifth of the first month.

Precisely when and how increasingly complex annual cycles of feasts and fasts evolved from a fundamentally agrarian custom of marking seasons remains to be determined. Three calendars listing days to be commemorated twelve months of the year are contained in the Taoist Canon. One exemplar is incorporated in the thirteenth-century *\*Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection, 25.1a–5b). It is recorded as a list of days on which one observes abstinence (*zhuri jieji zhi chen* 逐日戒忌之辰), with directives on when to abstain from food, alcoholic beverages, and/or conjugal relations. The introduction to the calendar itself closes with the admonition that failure to observe the taboos is tantamount to committing suicide. Among days to be commemorated is not only the birth date of Xuanyuan daojun 玄元道君 (Lord of the Dao of Mysterious Origin), i.e. Laozi, on the fifteenth of the second month, but also that of the Buddha on the eighth of the fourth month. The equally eclectic nature of such calendars in the modern-day *tongshu* 通書, or almanac, suggests its heritage may be traced to this early calendar of unknown provenance.

A derivative calendar appears as the opening component of the *Xu zhenjun yuxia ji* 許真君玉匣記 (Record of the Jade Case of Perfected Lord Xu; CT 1480; Kalinowski 1989–90, 102–3), associated with the patriarch of the

\*Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way), \*Xu Xun (trad. 239–374). It is titled *Zhushen shengdan lingjie riqi* 諸神聖誕令節日期 (Dates of Festivals for the Birthdays of Various Deities). All listings are designated as birthdays, including those marking the conventional dates for paying homage to the Officers of Heaven, Earth, and Water. A number of entries are devoted to various Buddhas and bodhisattvas as well as deities of regional prominence. Although some passages echo the calendar in the *Xiuzhen shishu*, abstinence is not the sole form of observation recommended. Readers are advised in closing to mark birthdays by giving alms to the *sagha*, offering paper money, reading scripture, and reciting the name of the Buddha. The quantity of merit thereby accruing is said to be a hundred-thousand-fold beyond that of any ordinary day. An appended segment with an anecdote set in Jinan 濟南 (Shandong) in the year 1455 may perhaps have some bearing on the provenance of the calendar itself.

A far more intricately devised calendar is contained in another text within the 1607 supplement to the Taoist Canon. It appears as the first unit under the heading of “Chaoxiu jichen zhang” 朝修吉辰章 (Section on Auspicious Days for Cultivation of Reverence) in the *\*Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce* (Jade Fascicles of Great Clarity on the Ultimate Way of the Celestial Sovereign, 7.1a–20b) compiled by \*Zhu Quan (1378–1448) in 1444. This calendar marks not only days of birth but also the days of ascent and descent for a vast host of deities. Some occasions are to be observed by holding an assembly, whereas the entry for the fifteenth of the seventh month marking Zhongyuan is notable for specifying a *\*jiao* (Offering) ritual overseen by Taoist masters (*\*daoshi*). In another remarkable contrast to the two other calendars, the eighth of the fourth month here is not identified as the birthday of the Buddha but as the day on which the Most High Lord Lao (Taishang Laojun 太上老君; see \*Laozi and Laojun) headed West to “convert the barbarians” (*huahu* 化胡). All three calendars merit collation with contemporary counterparts honored at various Taoist abbeys, as well as with the dates of commemoration recorded in hagiographies such as the sixteenth-century *\*Soushen ji* (In Search of the Sacred).

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▣ Bodde 1975; Bokenkamp 1997, 186–229; de Groot 1886; Lagerwey 1981b, 103–4; Lagerwey 1987c, 18–24; Nakamura Hiroichi 1983; Nickerson 1996a; Schipper 1993, 23–31, 65; Stein R. A. 1979; Thompson 1987b; Yuan

## Taoist music

If ritual lies at the heart of the complex Taoist heritage of China, then music is its very soul. Extensive studies of the heart and soul of Taoist practice have only recently begun to appear in significant quantity. The fruits of this fairly new field of research in Taoist studies reflect in part a renewed interest in documenting the performance practices of major abbeys throughout the continent of China as well as in the outlying communities of Hong Kong and Taiwan. Historical studies of the musical component of Taoist practice are comparatively few in number. It is an area of research that, like contemporary field work, requires close attention to time and place. The study of music as a component of any form of religious practice is fundamentally a study of who performs what, when, where, and how.

The way in which any school of religious teachings views musical expression inevitably shapes the way in which music may figure within any form of practice. Early schools of Taoist teachings generally sought to reform the cacophonous musical settings characteristic of many community rituals. As increasingly diverse forms of Taoist ritual have evolved, so, too, has the role of music taken on new dimensions in these settings over time. Conservative approaches have in some locales been replaced by a tolerance of musical variety in Taoist ritual that even permits the incorporation of Western instruments such as the electric organ.

The role of the patron in defining the musical component of ritual performance cannot be underestimated, from authority figures of state to local community leaders. An instrumental ensemble often serves as a critical link uniting clergy and the lay community in ritual settings. Who plays what for Taoist ritual staged at any site is clearly determined by the resources available. Associations of professional and amateur instrumentalists have thus time and again been in a position to shape and reshape repertoires of ritual music. Many Taoist masters, moreover, have gained recognition in their own right as outstanding performers of folk as well as ritual music. The fact that the process of ordination itself has long entailed training in music has done much to both nurture and sustain the vitality of musical expression in

Taoist ritual.

*Early history.* Passages in the received version of the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace) allude to the therapeutic value of music according to the resonance of the five pitches (*wuyin* 五音) within corresponding organs of the body. Comparable reflections of correlative thought may be found in any number of writings. Statements of concern in such texts regarding the inherent hazards of disharmony find more concrete expression in early writings seeking to reform certain contemporary modes of musical expression. For example, in *j.* 9 of the *\*Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity), *\*Ge Hong* (283–343) derides those who beat drums and dance in support of their faith in spectres. Similar behavior is condemned as well in the *\*Santian neijie jing* (Scripture of the Inner Explication of the Three Heavens), dating a century later.

The more subdued form of ritual practice counselled by these early southern treatises can also be documented in the north. It is epitomized by a body of incantations allegedly conveyed to *\*Kou Qianzhi* (365?–448) by Lord Lao (*\*Laojun*). According to the *\*Laojun yinsong jiejing* (Scripture on Precepts of Lord Lao, Recited [to the Melody in the Clouds]), the ritual of ordination entailed tonal incantation but those unschooled in that practice were allowed to chant in a monotone style.

Incantation is also the dominant form of musical expression favored in the early teachings ascribed to both the *\*Shangqing* and *\*Lingbao* movements. Reference to the well-known *\*Buxu ci* (Lyrics for Pacing the Void) can be traced to a Shangqing scripture dating to ca. 364–75. A ten-verse sequence is recorded in the *Yujing shan buxu jing* 玉京山步虛經 (Scripture of the Jade Capitol Mountain on Pacing the Void; CT 1439), a component of the Lingbao corpus codified by *\*Lu Xiujing* (406–77). The incantation itself is meant to accompany circumambulation of the incense burner and may have been devised on the model of the Buddhist form of psalmody known as *fanbai* 梵唄. The limping style of circling the censer, known as *Yubu* 禹步, or the Pace of Yu, is thought to have evolved from a mediumistic practice common to the *Chu* 楚 region (approximately corresponding to modern Hubei, Anhui and Hunan). By the Tang, the musical setting for “Pacing the Void” became a fixed component of the category of court entertainment known as *yanyue* 燕樂 (banquet music).

Precisely when instrumental accompaniment came to be integrated into

Taoist practice remains to be determined. According to the early eighth-century *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Excerpts from the Essential Liturgies and Observances; CT 463), a *Taizhen ke* 太真科 (Code of the Great Perfected) speaks of a suspended bell (*zhong* 鐘) and chime (*qing* 磬). These two percussion instruments are reportedly struck prior to an assembly not only to alert the masses but also to evoke a host of numina. Reed instruments apparently did not come to be incorporated into Taoist ritual performance until the Tang. Plucked and bowed string instruments were added even later. Of all the so-called *faqi* 法器 (ritual instruments), percussion instruments have always held a dominant position.

Like the term *faqi* (lit., “dharma instruments”) itself, the use of some instruments can be dated to the introduction of Buddhism into China. A prime example is the hollowed-out block of carved wood known as the *myu* 木魚 (wooden fish), which is conventionally struck to set the tempo for chanting scripture. Aside from borrowed instruments, it also became common practice during the Tang to retitle tunes from the Buddhist repertoire performed at court according to current Taoist nomenclature. Such is the case for tunes ostensibly composed by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) himself. But for the composition of new music for performance at the shrine in Xi'an (Shaanxi) honoring Laozi as the imperial ancestor, the emperor turned to \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735) and other renowned Taoist masters.

*From Song to modern times.* The role of emperor as composer of liturgical music gained new prominence in the Song during periods of heightened imperial patronage of Taoist institutions. Numerous compositions ascribed to both Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) and Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) are contained in the *Yuyin fashi* 玉音法事 (Jade Tune Ritual; CT 607). First compiled during Huizong's reign, the version of this unusual anthology in the Taoist Canon appears to have been derived from a Southern Song copy of the text. It includes a peculiar form of curved-line notation that calls to mind equally enigmatic Tibetan and Japanese Buddhist notational systems.

Massive anthologies of ritual compiled from the Song to Ming also attest to highly evolved and sometimes conflicting traditions of ritual music. One particularly rich resource setting forth the central musical roles of the high priest, or *gaogong* 高功 (see \*[daozhang](#)), and chief cantor, or \**dujiang*, is based on the legacy of Liu Yongguang 留用光 (1134–1206), headquartered at Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). Compiled by his disciple Jiang

Shuyu 蔣叔輿 (1162–1223), the *\*Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* (Standard Liturgies of the Supreme Great Yellow Register Retreat) draws on ritual codes ranging from Lu Xiuqing to *\*Du Guangting* (850–933). It reflects centuries of continuity in the written and oral transmission of Lingbao teachings that inform yet today the ritual musical practices of many Taoist communities.

Another remarkable anthology with musical notation in the Taoist Canon dates to the early Ming. The *Da Ming yuzhi xuanjiao yuezhang* 大明禦製玄教樂章 (Musical Stanzas on Mysterious Teachings Composed under the Imperial Aegis of the Great Ming; CT 981) includes notation according to the so-called *gongche* 工尺 system. Among selections for which pitch is noted in this manner are lyrics in tribute to Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 (Highest Emperor of the Dark Heaven). Mount Wudang (*\*Wudang shan*, Hubei), home to this guardian of special significance to the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403–24), is renowned for its tradition of Taoist ritual music.

The musical heritage of Mount Wudang is well-documented in one of the first studies of its kind, the *Zhongguo Wudang shan dao jiao yinyue* 中國武當山道教音樂 (Taoist Music at Mount Wudang in China). Prepared under the editorship of Shi Xinmin 史新民, this 1987 publication is an early product of the team of researchers working on a series entitled *Zhongguo minzu minjian qiyue qu jicheng* 中國民族民間器樂曲集成 (Anthology of Ethnic and Folk Instrumental Songs in China). It is in this series of provincially organized monographs under way that appendices on both vocal and instrumental music documented at Buddhist and Taoist sites will be found.

Additional sites where Taoist musical practice has drawn scholarly attention include Mount Lao (*\*Laoshan*, Shandong), Macao, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Lijiang 麗江 (Yunnan), home to a Naxi Dongjing hui 洞經會 (an association for the performance of music; Rees 2000). Musicologists generally identify various regional forms of practice with either the *\*Quanzhen* lineage of the north or the *\*Zhengyi* (Orthodox Unity) patriarchy of the south. Advocates of the former rely upon the *Quanzhen zhengyun* 全真正韻 (Correct Tunes of Quanzhen), an anthology of uncertain date that includes notation for percussion instruments alone (Ren Zongquan 2000). Whereas the Quanzhen heritage of musical practice is relatively free of folk traditions, the various legacies of Zhengyi practice typically draw on disparate forms of regional vocal and instrumental practice.



The influence of regional musical practice is particularly well-attested in coastal communities of the south. Elements of Taoist ritual performances in Shanghai, for example, recall the operatic tradition of Kunqu 昆曲 as well as the locally popular ensemble practice known as Jiangnan sizhu 江南絲竹 (Silk and Bamboo of Jiangnan). Similarly, the singing of ballads in the tradition known as Nanguan 南管 (Southern Pipes) may be heard in Taoist ritual performances of Fujian communities. The fact that ordained Taoists have long been at home with liturgical and folk musical practice alike has no doubt encouraged flexibility in the ritual music repertoire. Similarly, lay musicians adept at both Buddhist and Taoist liturgical music in addition to diverse popular traditions will also no doubt continue to play a role in stimulating new forms of Taoist musical practice. Its very survival is closely tied to the ease with which it continues to adapt to the changing demands of society.

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■ Cao Benye 1991; Cao Benye and Liu Hong 1996; Chen Guofu 1963, 291–307; Chen Guofu 1981; Chen Zhentao 1991; Gan Shaocheng 1996; Jones 1995, 25–32, 230–31, and 248–56; Kaltenmark 1979b, 21–23, 44; Lagerwey 1987c, 50–51 and 265–90; Lei Hongan 1989–90; Lü Ch'ui-k'uan 1988; Lü Chuikuan 1994; Schipper 1989a; Shi Xinmin 1987; Takimoto Yūzō and Liu Hong 2000; Takimoto Yūzō 1992; Tian Qing 1997, 54–80; Tsao Benyeh and Shi Xinmin 1992; Witzleben 1995, 15–16 and 19–21; Wong Isabel 1987; Zhou Zhenxi and Shi Xinmin 1994

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE THEATRE

## TAOISM AND CHINESE RELIGION AND THOUGHT

## Taoism and Chinese mythology

Taoism has a rich mythology that inherits much from Chinese mainstream and Buddhist traditions, as it is both embedded in and separate from them. In particular, it shares the political dimension of Chinese myth in its concern for sage rule, heroic conquest, and perfect social harmony founded in Great Peace (*\*taiping*). On the other hand, it differs significantly from mainstream patterns in that it focuses less on the interests of the Chinese empire as a whole than on the definition of the Taoists' role within it. Going far beyond the mundane concerns of this world, it provides a vision of the higher and truer realm of the Dao that transcends even the most enlightened sage ruler. In addition, a number of traditional Chinese cosmological views, such as immanence, cyclicity, and disregard of creation (see *\*COSMOLOGY*), are significantly altered in the Taoist universe, which adds elements of transcendence, teleological linearity, and a strong concern with origins.

On the whole Taoist mythology, though diversified by historical and sectarian developments, is more coherent and integrated than its mainstream Chinese counterpart. There have been fewer efforts to rewrite it into ethical and political charters; it has largely kept out of the way of literati scorn; and it found a strong supporting system in the religious vision of Buddhism, both a rival and a source of inspiration. Still, Taoist mythology is no match for Greek or Indian mythology, disjointed as it is because of sectarian schisms and its rather late emergence. Taoist religion was only organized between the second and fifth centuries CE. Furthermore, in China fictional narrative has tended to develop from historiography, giving their narratives more of a spiral than a linear structure. Thus the extensive mythological epics, instead of appearing at the beginning of the tradition, coalesced at its end, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by which time the tradition in the West had long been significantly transformed.

Several distinct phases and types of Taoist myths can be distinguished. The earliest myths, already known and transmitted under the Han, describe the nature and abodes of the immortals (*\*xianren*), their mysterious paradises (see *\*Kunlun*, and *\*Penglai*), and the practices and magic of the *\*fangshi*. Next, in the third and fourth centuries, the practices and motifs of outer alchemy (*\*waidan*) contributed substantially to the growing store of Taoist

symbols, which included gourds (Girardot 1983, *passim*; Stein R. A. 1990, 58–77), mirrors (see under *\*jing* and *jian*), and talismans (*\*FU*), as well as mica, jade, and other substances. With the emergence of the medieval schools, a formal cosmology and sacred Taoist geography emerge, describing heavens, grotto-heavens (*\*dongtian*), immortals' continents, underworld realms, and divinities dwelling within the body. Later Taoists took a growing interest in hagiography and the inner world, which was explored especially in inner alchemy (*\*neidan*). Tantric influence further expanded the pantheon with colorful and military elements.

Compared to aspects of Taoism, its mythology has hardly been studied at all. This is partly because even mainstream Chinese myth, which as been largely ignored by the traditional upper classes and only brought into the foreground in the revolutionary climate of the 1920s, has never quite been taken seriously by scholars. There are now at least some efforts underway to understand its history, cultural patterns, and inherent structures. For Taoist mythology, however, not even that can be said, and both its history and meaning remain largely unexplored.

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▣ Birrell 1993; Girardot 1983; Girardot 1987a; Kohn 1998b; Verellen 1994

✂ DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; TAOISM AND EARLY CHINESE RELIGION

### Taoism and early Chinese religion

Early Chinese religion is an inherently plural phenomenon, because prior to the unification of the Qin in 221 BCE, radically different regional traditions developed in relative isolation from one and other. The unification of the Qin and Han was most notable for the interactions between these previously separate traditions and the many attempts at developing a synthetic structure that would allow their integration. One of the most influential structures, at that time, was that of the transcendent Dao, a universal framework that provided the framework for integrating local practices and customs. Accordingly, the elevation of Dao to its central position in Taoism was a reflection of the attempt to integrate elements from a number of distinct

traditions into a synthetic system suitable for a new age.

Among the strains of early Chinese religion were the official systems of state worship, experts in immortality and transcendence from the coastal provinces, Chu 楚 specialists in communication with the spirits, and masters of what Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895–1976) called the “religion of the *li* [i.e., ritual],” (1938, 13–17). Elements of each of these strains became part of the Han synthetic structures that were the basis for the religious movements that formed the foundation of Taoism.

The “official religion” of the Shang, Zhou, and the early imperial period was influential not only on the organization of Taoism, but also on elements of its sacred geography such as the bureaucratic structure of the underworld. The connection between rulership and communication with the ancestors in the Shang, and with Heaven (*tian* 天) in the Zhou, are both instances of authority deriving from privileged contact with the supernatural world. In imperial China, the link between the ruler and Heaven was augmented by the emperor's authority over interpreting omens that were messages from Heaven. Anna Seidel has shown how the use of talismans (\*FU) in the Six Dynasties period was part of an attempt to recreate the order of the Han dynasty (Seidel 1983a). In a similar way, elements of imperial control such as registers and bureaucratic procedures were projected onto the spirit world and became important element of Taoist liturgy (see \*OTHERWORLDLY BUREAUCRACY).

Different traditions of “spirit transcendence” (*shenxian* 神仙) from the eastern areas of Qi 齊 and the southern regions of Huainan 淮南 and Chu were a basis for later Taoist alchemical practices. The masters of methods (\*fangshi) from these areas were patronized by Qin and Han emperors on the basis of their claims to be able to create elixirs of immortality and transmute cinnabar to gold. Qing Xitai has connected “spirit transcendence” practices in Han texts like the lost *Taiyi zazi huangye* 泰壹雜子黃冶 (Great Unity and Various Disciples’ Golden Smelting) with later Taoist methods for attaining longevity (1994, 3: 295). Related medical traditions that stressed the maintenance of an equilibrium between the constituents of the body—essence, life energy, and spirit (\*jing, qi, shen)—seen in Han texts like the \*Huainan zi and the \*Huangdi neijing, are embellished in later Taoism alchemical traditions.

Communication with the spirits in the service of healing was associated

with both the *wu* 巫 (“shaman”) and the *yi* 醫 (“physician”) doctors of the early period. Lin Fushi has documented Han sources showing that shamans were able to channel the spirits of the dead, perform exorcisms, and cure illness (1988, 56–67). Zhao Zhongming has linked Taoist notions of immortality such as “ascending to immortality” (*dengxian* 登仙) to early descriptions of shamans (1993, 84–94). It is in the context of healing practices that the category of revealed texts began to develop in the early empire, and this category was central in later Taoist traditions like \*Shangqing and \*Lingbao (Csikszentmihalyi 2002).

Ritual in early China is most closely associated with the teachings of Confucius, and early Confucians developed a large body of theory that explained the efficacy of ritual in self-cultivation. One school of early Confucianism in particular, associated with Mencius (Mengzi 孟子, ca. 370–ca. 290 BCE), links ritual self-cultivation with the development of *qi* associated with certain virtues. Mark Csikszentmihalyi (1998) has argued for the influence of this Confucian school on Han dynasty \*Huang-Lao Taoism. The emphasis on *xiao* 孝 (filiality) in Song and Yuan Taoism may also be seen as a reflection of Confucian values on Taoism.

These examples only begin to demonstrate the way in which particular traditions developed in the decentralized world of early Chinese religion were unified in the synthetic atmosphere of the Han and then integrated into early Taoist movements. More detailed examinations of these dynamics are available in the work of Anna Seidel (1969, 1982, 1987e), Fukui Kōjun (1958), and Xiao Dengfu (1988).

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▣ Csikszentmihalyi 2002; von Falkenhausen 1994; Li Ling 2000a; Li Ling 2000b; Seidel 1969; Seidel 1982; Seidel 1987e; Xiao Dengfu 1988

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

### Taoism and early Chinese thought

The relation of Taoism to early Chinese thought must be considered on two levels: 1. the place of the sources of “classical Taoism” (the \**Neiye*, *Daode*

*jing*, and \**Zhuangzi*) within the context of pre-Qin intellectual history; and 2. the influence of other aspects of early Chinese thought upon the evolution of later Taoism. The former topic has been widely discussed in both Asia and the West; the latter has barely begun to be explored. Accurate interpretation of early Chinese thought requires undoing centuries of reifications of classical “schools” and even of well-known “thinkers,” including the fictitious Laozi (Graham 1986b). We must also carefully avoid misunderstandings that have resulted from uncritical acceptance of the biases of late-imperial Confucians.

Classical Taoism apparently sprang from ideas of individuals and groups of southerly Chinese states in late Zhou times, when other intellectual traditions were evolving across the Chinese landscape: the Mohist organization, various Confucian schools, several Legalist theorists, and the murky groups who produced the ideas known as Yin-Yang and \**wuxing*.

Confucianism was a humanistic value-system based on the teachings of Kong Qiu 孔丘 (Kongzi 孔子, trad. 551–479 BCE), of the northeastern state of Lu 魯 (in modern Shandong). The gaps between Confucian and Taoist values reflect the fact that the two traditions arose in different regions among members of different social classes, and responded to different sociocultural conditions. The teachers of various Confucian subtraditions idealized the traditional Zhou aristocracy and its values as means of correcting the problems of their age.

Mohism was the only early Chinese value-system actually embodied in a cohesive social organization. Mozi 墨子 (ca. 470–ca. 400 BCE) despised the Zhou aristocracy, and trained his followers as missionaries to recruit a communal society dedicated to carrying out his sociocultural goals. He rationalized his social activism by utilitarian ethics and theistic claims. His organization's authoritarian structure and ideological rigidity gave it coherence, but discouraged many potential participants. Mo's universalistic social vision may have contributed to similar tendencies in post-Han Taoist traditions such as \**Tianshi dao* and \**Lingbao*.

Mozi, like Confucius, was apparently from Lu, and Confucians and Mohists shared a fundamental focus—active involvement with societal affairs to reshape the polity, and individual morality, into directions more wholesome than those in which most rulers were leading their lands. These issues were apparently not so compelling to the inhabitants of such southerly

lands as Chu 楚 (approximately corresponding to modern Hubei, Anhui and Hunan). Chu, long a separate country with distinct cultural and political traditions, competed with the northern states of the Zhou confederation, until eventually conquered by Qin 秦 in 221 BCE, resulting in China's first unification. Historically, classical Taoism seems to have emerged from Chu and its southerly neighbors. While Sima Qian's 司馬遷 (145?–86? BCE) identification of Laozi in his *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 63.2139–43; trans. Lau 1982, x-xi) as a native of Chu is historically dubious, recent research has produced a steady stream of evidence linking the *Daode jing* to that non-Zhou state (Kirkland 1996b). The *Neiye*, which influenced the *Daode jing*, shows little trace of the main sociopolitical issues over which the Confucians and Mohists contended, any more than such issues interested Zhuangzi.

Elsewhere, apparently in the far northeast, other minds were evolving the explanatory system known as the Yin-Yang school (*yinyang jia* 陰陽家). No one knows any historical details about its originators. All that we know is that such ideas emerged quite independently of any of the individuals or communities that produced the classical Taoist texts, and had little influence on Taoism before Han times. During the first century of the Han, the thinkers who contributed to the *\*Huainan zi* began to integrate such ideas into the Taoist worldview, just as Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 195–115 BCE) and later Han Confucians integrated Yin-Yang thought, and later the separate *wuxing* explanatory system, into the Confucian worldview (Kirkland 1995a; Queen 1996). The modern belief that the ideas of Yin and Yang originated within classical Taoism is quite erroneous.

The main exponents of Legalist principles were the Qin official Shang Yang 商鞅 (ca. 385–338 BCE), the Han 韓 official Shen Buhai 申不害 (ca. 400–ca. 340 BCE), and the Han scion Han Feizi 韓非子 (ca. 280–ca. 233 BCE). Shen developed the political concept of non-action (*\*wuwei*; Creel 1974), and Han Feizi, though a student of the Confucian thinker Xunzi 荀子 (ca. 335–ca. 238 BCE), adapted Taoist cosmology for political purposes: to him, the ruler should be thought of as a transcendent being, far above all human concerns. Two chapters of Han Feizi's text—the “Jie Lao” 解老 or “Explicating the *Laozi*” (j. 20; Liao 1939–59, 1: 169–206) and the “Yu Lao” 喻老 or “Illustrating the *Laozi*” (j. 21; id., 1: 207–27)—explicate *Daode jing* passages. Other blends of Taoist, Legalist, and *yinyang/wuxing* ideas appear in other texts of late classical and early Han times (Yates 1997; Chang L. S.

and Yu Feng 1998; see \*Yinqueshan manuscripts and \*Mawangdui manuscripts).

Perhaps what most distinguished Taoists from other early Chinese thinkers was Taoists' faith in nonpersonalized spiritual realities, and in the transformative power of the individual who has fully cultivated them. Confucians, like Mohists, accepted the idea of *Tian* 天 (Heaven), but seldom regarded it as vital to personal self-cultivation, and only Mencius (Mengzi 孟子, ca. 370–ca. 290 BCE) advocated cultivation of \**qi* (life-energy). Generally, the Confucians argued that one should transform society by cultivating moral virtues and urging rulers to do likewise. Early Taoists were more focused on bio-spiritual cultivation, and sometimes suggested that such cultivation by rulers would transform the world. The newly-discovered \*Guodian manuscripts of the *Daode jing* have little further sociopolitical program. The notion that Taoism arose as a reaction against Confucianism is erroneous, for those manuscripts lack the condemnation of Confucian ideas found in the received text. Some scholars now believe that the final redactor of the *Daode jing* was responding to the concerns of intellectuals in the Jixia 稷下 academy of Qi 齊 (modern Shandong) when he added to the Taoist message a response to other schools. What they shared with Zhuangzi was cynicism regarding the hope that collective individual/societal effort can effect desirable change (Kirkland 1996b). They did not distrust “human nature,” as Mozi and Xunzi did, but they were often aware of the socially constructed nature of cultural and psychological “realities.” They insisted that we should rely instead upon natural realities, the subtle salutary forces that humans neither created nor controlled. Thus, the *Neiye* advocated the cultivation of vital essence, life-energy, and spirit (\**jing*, *qi*, *shen*); the *Zhuangzi* advocated reverting to a “Celestial Mechanism” (*tianji* 天機; see \**ji*) that is independent of psycho-cultural constructs; and the *Daode jing* advocated abandonment of self-concern and a return to the life-force that is the origin and life-matrix of all things. All three suggest that a properly cultivated person can exert a subtle transformative power, acting as a conduit for the natural salutary forces that should guide and empower peoples' lives (Kirkland 2001).

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▣ Graham 1989; Hsiao Kung-chuan 1979; Kirkland 2001; Schwartz 1985



## Taoism and the apocrypha

Apocrypha (*weishu* 緯書, *chenwei* or *chanwei* 讖緯) are prophecies and mythical interpretations of the classics designed to legitimate a rising new ruler. They develop first around the end of the Former Han dynasty, when the Heavenly Mandate (*tianming* 天命) was obviously failing and a renewal was expected. Wang Mang (r. 9–23), the usurper of the Han throne, made heavy use of them, as did his successor, Han Guangwu (r. 25–57), and several emperors after him.

*Origins.* As Anna Seidel (1983a) has shown, the idea of legitimating signs from heaven goes far back in Chinese history and is already apparent in the earliest sources. In the beginning such signs were wondrous objects—marvelous stones, precious gems, unusual jades—found within a kingdom and brought to the ruling house as heavenly markers (see \**lingbao*). An early example is the *Hetu* 河圖 (Chart of the [Yellow] River; see \**Hetu* and *Luoshu*), which is first mentioned in the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents; trans. Legge 1879, 554) and was, as far as we can tell, a precious stone that served as part of the regalia of the Zhou ruling house.

In a second stage of development, the precious stones were also appreciated for their unusual markings, interpreted as charts or maps presented by heaven to the ruler. These divine maps contained the essence of the realm in symbolic form and thus provided the ruler with celestial control over his land. From the diagram stage, the sacred sign unfolded further to include a divine message spelled out in language and thus graduated to being a sacred text or scripture. The text might be there to elucidate the chart or might in itself contain the power of rulership and universal control. In a fourth step, finally, the sacred sign as scripture grew into a whole series of texts, which then constituted the bulk of what we call apocryphal literature.

Around the first century BCE, when sacred signs are first thought to have appeared as actual texts, the Confucian classics were reinterpreted as wondrous indications of heaven's favor and given a highly mythical reading. As a result, the “apocrypha” comprise two different branches, *chen* (or *chan* 讖, “prophecies”) and *wei* (緯, lit., “weft”). The first continues the sacred

signs of old and includes newly found wondrous objects, cosmic charts, and revealed texts. The second consists of mythical interpretations of the Confucian classics (*jing* 經, lit., “warp”) and the ancient signs of old, including also the *Hetu*. Both were transmitted predominantly by the *\*fangshi* or magical practitioners, people who engaged in spiritual practices and fortune-telling and had an active relationship with the divine. The reinterpretation of the Confucian classics, however, was also undertaken by minor officials and intellectuals of the New Text school (*jinwen jia* 今文家). Being charged with high political sentiment, Han-dynasty apocrypha have for the most part been lost due to repeated proscriptions. Their remaining fragments were collected by Yasui Kōzan and Nakamura Shōhachi (1971–88).

*Influence on Taoism.* The impact of the apocrypha on Taoism is manifold. Sacred signs from heaven were continued in Taoist *\*FU* (talismans, tallies, and charms), understood to be direct representations of celestial power. Taoist rituals of initiation and ordination paralleled imperial rites of investiture, both consisting of the transfer of royal or religious regalia from one generation to the next. Moreover, the wielding of power with talismans, along with the acquisition of an administrative role in the otherworld and the juridical way of thinking that went with it, are characteristic of Taoist ritual and can be directly linked to ancient forms of imperial authority, its symbols and execution. The same holds true for the typical form of Taoist communication with heaven through petitions: as heaven was thought to communicate with humanity through formal writings, it was only natural that religious practitioners should adopt the same style of correspondence. Some key features of the religion's ritual can therefore be traced not only to imperial forms of authority, but also to their interpretation and application in the apocrypha.

The *Hetu* and other early divine signs—such as the *Luoshu* 洛書 (Writ of the Luo [River]); see *\*Hetu* and *Luoshu*)—also became key Taoist materials, as talismans and the focus of sacred scriptures, while charts and maps of the universe were central to the acquisition of Taoist power. The *\*Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks), for example, a highly symbolic representation of the five sacred mountains (*\*wuyue*), conveyed spiritual powers to its possessor, granting a divine view of their structure and providing the key to their utmost reality.

Scriptures as revealed directly from heaven, moreover, have been the backbone of Taoist revelations ever since the early middle ages. They have a clear origin in the apocrypha, as in the case of the first version of the \**Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace) that was presented as a divine sign of the end of the Former Han's mandate by a *fangshi* from Shandong during the reign of Han Chengdi (r. 33–7 BCE). Not only in form, but also in content did the apocrypha influence Taoism, as many features of the heroes of the Confucian *wei* continued in the religion. Thus the divine Laozi takes on the bodily signs of the mythical emperors Yu 禹 and Shun 舜, having three openings in his ears and four pupils in his eyes; he is described as reappearing under different sage names in every dynasty, picking up on a series of sage advisers to mythical rulers spelled out in the apocrypha. Also, the apocrypha contain lists of gods and demons, which may be seen as the precursors of Taoist registers (\*LU) and demon-manuals. They even describe certain divinities of the body, a feature essential to later Taoist worldview.

Both in doctrine and practice, Taoism thus inherits an ancient tradition that begins with royal insignia and the ruler's communication with heaven, and is actively continued in the apocrypha and by the *fangshi* of the Han.

Livia KOHN

▣ Bokenkamp 1994; Chen Pan 1993; Dull 1966; Kaltenmark 1947; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 362–66; Ngo 1976; Robinet 1997b, 44–45; Seidel 1983a; Yasui Kōzan 1979; Yasui Kōzan 1987; Yasui Kōzan and Nakamura Shōhachi 1966; Yasui Kōzan and Nakamura Shōhachi 1971–88

※ *lingbao* [the term]; *Hetu* and *Luoshu*; FU [talismans]; LU; revelations and sacred texts; syncretism

## Taoism and Confucianism

The relationship of early Confucianism and Taoism was more complex than many modern minds imagine. Looking back through 2000 years, with lenses shaped by modern Confucian and Western biases, we have commonly assumed that Taoism arose mainly as a reaction against Confucianism. Indeed, many writers have simplistically presented Confucianism and Taoism

in a dualistic caricature. A more accurate appraisal requires careful analysis of the social, cultural and political realities of early China.

Modern assumptions that Confucianism was founded by Confucius (traditional dates 551–479 BCE) and Taoism by Laozi are in error. Confucius, for his part, maintained that his ideals were not his own formulations, but only a restatement of the values bequeathed by the wise and virtuous men of earlier eras. There is some reason to believe that certain behavioral ideals, stressing honor and propriety, had in fact been cherished by members of the ruling clans of the various statelets of Confucius' day. Those patterns of *noblesse oblige* were transformed by Confucius from a social ideal, requiring aristocratic status, into a moral ideal that any conscientious man should develop and practice. Yet all Confucians considered social responsibility a primary concern. Even the more “cosmic” or “mystical” dimensions of classical Confucianism—e.g., those expounded in the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (Centrality and Commonality)—retain a social focus, insisting that the ultimate reason for a person to cultivate Confucian ideals is to lead a sociopolitical transformation. Despite the disparities between other proponents of classical Confucianism, such as Mencius (Mengzi 孟子, ca. 370–ca. 290 BCE) and Xunzi 荀子 (ca. 335–ca. 238 BCE), their core concerns were resolutely humanistic. Confucians always insisted that their ideals are to be attained in everyday life, through moral cultivation and the fulfillment of one's proper roles in society.

Contrary to modern misconceptions, early Taoists shared much with early Confucians. By the end of the classical period, several thinkers—artificially segregated by later writers into various “schools”—integrated Taoist ideals with Confucian ideals. In fact, both Mencius and Xunzi also did so. To understand such facts, one must consider that the thinkers of pre-Qin China did not classify themselves as “Confucian” or “Taoist,” and surely did not assume any contradiction between the two traditions. All such thinkers—including the compilers of the *\*Neiye*—insisted that it is possible and morally necessary for individuals to develop or transform themselves in ways that most people do not, thereby enhancing personal well-being and the well-being of others around us. No such thinkers gave priority to state concerns, as did the Legalists, or to social activism devoid of self-cultivation, as did Mozi 墨子 (ca. 470–ca. 400 BCE). None saw our lives as being beyond our ability to transform and perfect. They did all generally share a belief that our lives should somehow accord with *tian* 天 (Heaven), but none succumbed to the

theistic moralism of Mozi: for the thinkers that we now call Confucian and Taoist, the individual is never to become a slavish follower of any external authority (whether political or supernatural), but rather a thoughtful practitioner of meaningful ideals that any serious mind can understand. Confucians seem to have assumed that such minds were found only in men; Taoists, though mostly male, seem not to have shared that assumption, and some (especially contributors to *Daode jing*) commended seeking sensible lessons in women's life-experiences.

Both Confucians and Taoists, nonetheless, assumed that the world should have a human ruler, and that he should live by, and promote, the ideals propounded by the thinker in question. While \*Zhuangzi may have considered government irrelevant, he did not condemn its existence. So while some Taoists may have been less interested in existing Chinese social and political institutions than Confucians, they did not denounce monarchy or aristocracy, and would have not understood or condoned modern ideals of egalitarianism or radical individualism. To all of them, no one is encouraged to discover or practice any “new” truth.

Where Confucians and Taoists parted ways is that the former viewed the world primarily in terms of inherited sociopolitical norms, while the latter focused on humans' continuities with the invisible dimensions of reality that Confucians were often reluctant to discuss. Some modern interpreters, including scholars, simplistically maintain that Confucians advocated activism while Taoists commended non-action (\**wuwei*). In reality, Confucius advocated *wuwei* by rulers, as did both the *Daode jing* and such Legalists as Shen Buhai 申不害 (ca. 400–ca. 340 BCE). Modern writers also generally neglect the fact that Mencius saw the cultivation of \**qi* as part of a gentleman's self-cultivation (see *Neiye*). Such matters deserve attention as we reappraise Chinese traditions.

*Russell KIRKLAND*

▣ Kirkland 1995a; Kirkland 1996a; Kirkland 2001; Kusuyama Haruki 1983a; Seidel 1989–90, 275–78

※ SYNCRETISM; TAOISM AND EARLY CHINESE THOUGHT; TAOISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM

## Taoism and Neo-Confucianism

The overall attitude of Neo-Confucians to Taoism has never been studied in the same way as the generally implacable opposition of Cheng-Zhu 程朱 followers to Buddhism, or even the more flexible attitudes of cultural leaders like Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1037–1101; SB 900–968) to the attractions of Chan. This in part no doubt reflects the fact that it was explicitly not considered as anything like as serious an issue as the need to define the Confucian stance over against the foreign religion. Both Chinese traditions, after all, had come to share much in common, from a conventional morality to a metaphysics based on the concept of *\*qi*. Earlier, Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824; IC 397–40) had indeed criticized the “non-action” (*\*wuwei*) of Laozi, in part perhaps as a protest against a dynasty temporarily rendered inert by its problems, and which had been forced to draw heavily on the existing ideological capital it had invested in state Taoism. His attitude is but partially reflected in eleventh-century writers like Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72; SB 808–16), who carps at the Taoist devotions of Tang figures, but himself displays a remarkable competence at composing Taoist prayers when required by the emperor to do so.

Those such as the Cheng brothers (Cheng Hao 程顥, 1032–85, and Cheng Yi 程頤, 1033–1107; SB 169–79) concerned with the establishment of new Confucian methods of self-cultivation likewise criticize the methods used by Tang Taoists like *\*Sima Chengzhen*, but their theoretical pronouncements on Laozi and his thought fall short even of the ringing but hardly incisive tones of Han Yu. Where we do find an anti-Taoist stance is in situations in which Confucian interests are threatened. Taoist involvement in Tang ideology is retrospectively attributed to imperial failings in the historiography of Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–98; SB 338–45), while Taoist priests of the Song like *\*Chen Jingyuan*, who in 1091 was appointed to state service for his bibliographical erudition, attracted disparagement. Of Taoism as a communal religion we find hardly a word of criticism; rather, cults such as that of *\*Magu* seem to have been well supported by all but the most hardline Confucian masters.

The increasing trend from *\*waidan* to *\*neidan* alchemy also tended to render opposition from Confucian circles somewhat muted, since it patently

did not lead to any cases of alchemical poisoning of the sort that occurred in the late Tang. Eventually we find even the great Southern Song Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; SB 282–90) taking an interest in the \**Zhouyi cantong qi*, if not exactly endorsing it (see \*[Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi](#)). In certain contexts, it is true, Neo-Confucians do tend to repeat the very old criticism that any pursuit of immortality is unnatural, “stealing from nature,” but overall Zhu Xi’s account of Taoism (\*DAOJIAO) does not amount to a vigorous denunciation, and propagators of his synthesis of the Neo-Confucian legacy such as Chen Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223; SB 95–97) would seem to sustain the same underwhelming verdict: “All they want is to be pure and quiet and to engage themselves in things outside of the mundane world so as to improve their own being. . . . As such, the doctrines of Taoism have not deluded people too much,” in the translation of Wing-tsit Chan (1986, 168).

The same pattern continues under later dynasties, but becomes more complex. The historical Hai Rui 海瑞 (1514–87; DMB 474–79) was dismissed from office for protesting Taoist involvement at court, but by his day some Taoists in local society were making even more explicit than in the past their support for Confucian morality, as in the case of the \**Jingming dao*, while the practice of distributing morality books (\**shanshu*) allowed Neo-Confucians an expedient excuse for promoting morality through the medium of religion; local pride might likewise excuse supporting the building of religious institutions as well. Apparent deliberate syncretism or hybridism too was in the air in the late Ming, as in the case of and his “Three in One” (*sanyi* 三一) movement—this, however, might equally be regarded as a stroke of genius by a sectarian leader who, knowing better than meddle with the normal mix of millenarian Buddhism, coopted all three officially tolerated traditions at once to create a cult that could not simply be dismissed as subversive. Interestingly, his teachings—for example those on meditation—show that Neo-Confucianism too had elements of practice to contribute to religious synthesis which could be combined effortlessly with *neidan*-derived exercises. Even so, the publication of Taoist texts during the Qing suggest that there was a strong market for *neidan* works among ostensible adherents of Neo-Confucianism.

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▣ Barrett 1992; Dean 1998; Liu Ts'un-yan 1971; Seidel 1989–90, 275–78;

Sunayama Minoru 1993

※ SYNCRETISM; TAOISM AND CONFUCIANISM

### Taoism and Chinese Buddhism

Buddhism in China jostled for cultural space with Taoism from the start, and as a result over the centuries the two religions interacted constantly, affecting each other in a complex pattern of exchanges going far beyond any simple borrowing. Since the foreign religion was obliged to develop a strong polemical and historiographic voice to explain itself to non-Buddhists, East Asian scholarship has tended to take at face value Buddhist pronouncements about Taoist “plagiarism” and as a result references to Taoism as a “pseudo-Buddhist” religion may be found in Western scholarship of a generation ago; we now know that this was not the whole truth.

The earliest material evidence for Chinese Buddhism in the second century CE already places the Buddha in exactly the same milieu that produced the beginnings of organized Taoism, in that archaeological evidence shows the image of the Buddha occupying a place reserved for the lord of the dead—a role occasionally played by Laozi, too. This cannot but have supported the speculation already evident at the same time that Laozi and the Buddha were in fact the same, in that after his departure westward Laozi had merely adopted an expedient guise to pass on a version of his message to an Indian audience. The notion that an attractive novelty from abroad was merely the reintroduction of something from the Chinese past recurs in the early stages of China's more recent encounter with the West, and may explain the categorization in the third century CE of both Buddhism and the old Chinese esoteric lore eventually absorbed into the Taoist legacy under the rubric of *neixue* 內學, “esoteric studies.” By the fourth century, we see clear signs of the absorption of Buddhist material into \*Shangqing scriptures, in the case of the *Sūtra in Forty-two Sections* (*Sishi'er zhang jing* 四十二章經), and soon thereafter in the \*Lingbao texts a veritable recasting of all available elements of Buddhism into a new Chinese religious form, securely attributed to a primordial epoch at the dawn of the universe we live in, long before the Buddha appeared in India.



By “available” is indicated the fact that Taoism always tended to absorb what elements of Buddhism became common currency in Chinese religion; it is important to note, however, that Buddhism found itself equally under pressure to deal in the common currency too. Thus it has been demonstrated that a Chinese Buddhist apocryphal text, the *Hu shenming jing* 護身命經 (Sūtra on Protecting Life; T. 2866), shows an awareness of the Lingbao reformulation of Buddhism; but a later Buddhist apocryphon on the same theme seems in turn to be reflected in a further generation of Buddhist-inspired Taoist literature of the Tang. That literature, too, despite its quite extensive incorporation of lightly altered Buddhist materials, was also able to inspire Buddhist responses which, as Robert Sharf (2002) has shown, should not be underrated for their religious value.

Nor should the accusations of plagiarism voiced by the Buddhists obscure the fact that this trading in a common currency took place at a number of different levels, of which the interchange of blocs of textual material was perhaps only the most obvious. Sometimes titles were traded, with a partial or complete replacement of content, as with the Chan use of the Taoist alchemical title *Cantong qi* 參同契 (Token for the Agreement of the Three; see \*[Cantong qi](#) and \**Zhouyi cantong qi*); sometimes terminology was traded, picking up new nuances on the way, as perhaps with the term \**chongxuan* (Twofold Mystery) whose philosophical overtones in seventh century Taoism may have been affected by Buddhist use. Indeed, the pioneering work of Kamata Shigeo demonstrates elegantly how a study of this interaction may allow us to separate what was common currency from what was not: the notion of “emptiness” (*kong* 空), for example, was quite clearly intelligible to Taoists, even if in the long run they preferred a metaphysics based on \**qi*, while the new Yogācāra philosophy imported in the seventh century was not.

But even where concepts did become common currency, tensions were not thereby eliminated. The notion of *karma*, for example, appeared already in the Buddhist sources for the Lingbao scriptures, and became in time a component of Taoist ethical thinking. Yet from the time of \*Lu Xiuqing (406–77) until at least the end of the Tang a protracted debate seems to have been carried out between Buddhists and Taoists over whether the notions of causality (*yinyuan* 因緣) could be reconciled with spontaneity (\**ziran*). Were Taoist gods, and indeed the Taoist universe, in some sense “immoral,” in that they appeared at the dawn of time “spontaneously,” rather than as the result of the aeons of moral effort needed to perfect Buddhahood?

In part such debates, notably over the notorious *\*Huahu jing* (Scripture of the Conversion of Barbarians), which encapsulated in polemical form the notion that Laozi was the author of Buddhism, emerge as the result of competition for patronage which was itself the product of the establishment of both religions as partners of the state in the fifth century. The role of the state in the creation of Chinese Buddhism and Taoism was in many ways crucial: the state required, for example, a well-defined canon to ensure against the corruption of subversive ideas; well-defined standards of clerical behavior to ensure the against the corruption of the clergy; and indeed a well-defined clergy, so that their particular privileges should not spread to a wider group. To a large extent Buddhism, with its celibate monks and well-organized canon was therefore taken as the model, though a “closed” canon defined by catalogue was actually unusual in Buddhism, and the essentially non-hierarchical Buddhist clergy to some degree had to accept a more Taoist, hierarchical model in the form of “monk-officials” who acted as overseers; the emergence of the Buddhist novitiate in China as occupying more than a brief, transitional status may also betoken Taoist influence. By contrast, Buddhism never accepted a non-celibate clergy after the pattern of the Taoist Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*); where non-celibates played the role of Buddhist monks, this was perhaps usually a matter of supply and demand, where the religious needs of an expanding population exceeded the ability of properly ordained monks to provide. This in itself marked a long-term trend toward a Taoist model, where Buddhists moved from genuine monastic self-sufficiency toward an income based on the provision of religious services. The richly detailed vision of the afterlife which Buddhism brought from India gave it some competitive edge in the funeral business, though it is noteworthy that in such popular, non-canonical texts as the *Scripture of the Ten Kings of Hell* (*Diyu shiwang jing* 地獄十王經) investigated by Stephen Teiser (1994) room has been made in this collective kingship for the “Taoist” Lord of Mount Tai (*\*Taishan*), and a more Chinese conception of posthumous bureaucracy is everywhere in evidence. The attempts of the founder of the Ming dynasty to regulate the lives of those providing funerary services, the *yingfu seng* 應赴僧 or “monks on call,” represented no doubt a belated attempt to recognize and control the reality of what the Buddhist clergy eventually became, just as in the tenth century what had been a perennial problem as to how to control the married Celestial Master clergy within a state system predicated on monasticism was solved by subcontracting

responsibility for guaranteeing their quality to the Zhang 張 family of Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan).

In short, over time the institutional factors which served to preserve doctrinal distinctions were themselves subject to a certain amount of change. That change might be seen as tending toward syncretism, but before reaching that conclusion, it is worth considering other factors which served to keep Taoism and Buddhism apart, namely the self-images of the traditions maintained by their adherents themselves, independent of state policies, no matter whether the latter sought to create ideological consensus or to divide and rule. These self-images took some time to emerge, for the assumption of underlying unity expressed in the *Huahu jing* was a powerful one. Yet ultimately the Buddhists at least by the early sixth century had begun to articulate a relationship which was not even coordinate or “separate but equal,” as in the distinctions between *nei* 内, “esoteric,” versus *wai* 外, “exoteric,” but clearly involved the subordination of Taoism (with Confucianism) as “worldly,” rather than “beyond this world” (*chushi* 出世), in its implications. Thus, as in the case of Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) and other prominent Buddhists of his day like the poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), a place could be found for Taoism insofar as it was content to be considered a this-worldly teaching, but the assignment of this relative value cannot be said to amount to syncretism.

Little has been done to assess the Taoist perspective on the relative value of Buddhism, but those who have examined for example the use of the *Heart Sūtra* in \*Quanzhen Taoism have not thereby concluded that within that movement non-Taoist elements were perceived in a completely coordinate rather than subordinate way. In the long run, perhaps, there were shifts here also: the resolute Chineseness of Chan Buddhism, for example, may have undercut the ethnocentric strain in Taoist anti-Buddhism, while the essentially Indian scholastic distinction between the worldly and the otherworldly may have become muted in Chan rhetoric, with its emphasis on the elimination of all dichotomies. This could explain why, for example, a handbook included in the supplement to the Ming canon, the \**Soushen ji* (In Search of the Sacred), includes Buddhist cults as such, in the form popularly practiced, not as recontextualized within Taoist circles. And formerly, where Taoist and Buddhist meditation schemes had always looked similar (whether through contact, or through convergence on universal psychological norms), the eventual language of \**neidan* practice, from the start a multivalent

kaleidoscope of images as much as a technical system of descriptive language, absorbed Buddhist terminology in such a way as to render late texts like the *Secret of the Golden Flower* (\**Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*) at the very least religious hybrids much more challenging than any reformulation of Buddhism within the Lingbao corpus. Once again, however, this last case may involve institutional factors as well: where Buddhist and Taoist notions of self-development had, because of the late Ming rise in a print culture, become very widely available to any literate person without the mediation of religious professionals, the market expected no less than the most exciting that both traditions had to offer in any new publications.

The preceding two or three paragraphs have inevitably been more speculative than is usual in a work of reference. For we have hardly marshalled all the historical evidence necessary to understand the interaction between Buddhism and Taoism, yet any general statement concerning their relationship must move beyond mere recitations of fact to look at the broader patterns that make sense of those facts. But let us sum up what we know. Chinese Buddhism and Taoism grew up together in an environment in which a strong sense of religious identity was probably available only to a minority—to the properly-ordained Chinese Buddhist monk who had absorbed an accurate knowledge of the religion from a foreign master; to the priest or “libationer” (\**jijiu*) within a movement which still maintained the reforming zeal and hostility to popular religion of its late Han founders. Yet the fifth century state, in both North and South China, required rigid definitions of identity for its own purposes, if it was to use either religion as some sort of surrogate in ordering society.

The consequences were immediate. Every major persecution of Buddhism—in 446 under the Northern Wei, in 574 under the Northern Zhou and in 845 under the Tang—was at least partly attributable to rivalry with Taoism. When the Buddhists finally gained their chance to fight back, winning the support of the Mongol Khubilai khan in 1281, the counterblow, aimed at Taoist literature through the burning of all texts and woodblocks in the canon save those for the *Daode jing*, caused such losses that reconstructing the history of Taoism has become no easy task. Yet that deadly rivalry throughout stimulated not religious isolation and purism, but constant, mutual interaction. The reconstructive task before us is therefore not a single, but a double one.

▣ Aoki Takashi 1993; Barrett 1990; Fukui Fumimasa 1983; Kamata Shigeo 1968; Lagerwey 1981b, 21–28; Robinet 2004; Seidel 1984; Seidel 1989–90, 287–96; Sharf 2002; Strickmann 2002; Zürcher 1980

※ SYNCRETISM; TAOISM AND THE STATE; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. V (“Taoism and Chinese Buddhism”)

### Taoism and popular religion

*Previous models.* Scholars have provided a variety of formulations to account for interactions between Taoism and popular religion. Taoism, along with Buddhism and the state cult, has been defined as “institutionalized” and contrasted with “unorganized and diffuse” popular religion. The two, nonetheless, must then be seen as involved in a constant, dialectical process of mutual borrowing (Stein R. A. 1979). If one places more emphasis on the rhetoric of a number of early Taoist texts, in which popular cults and practices are described as “profane” (*su* 俗) and forbidden to Taoist adherents, the relationship must be seen as antagonistic. Taoists treat their deities—celestial functionaries communicated with by means of written documents—as fundamentally superior to the gods of popular cults, who receive sacrifice and communicate with their devotees through spirit-mediums (Strickmann 1979).

Views based more on modern practice, particularly in southern Taiwan, have emphasized relations among three kinds of religious practitioners: spirit-mediums (*\*tâng-ki* or *jitong*), Taoist priests (*\*daoshi*), but also “Red-head ritual masters” (*hongtou fashi* 紅頭法師; see *\*hongtou* and *wutou*). The ritual masters are seen as occupying a mediating position. The three may form a hierarchy, as defined by the polar opposition of “alienation” (spirit-mediums) and “self-realization” (priests; see Lagerwey 1987c). Alternatively, the contemporary situation may be envisioned according to a substructure/superstructure model. The whole arrangement is founded on the “popular complex” personified by the medium, and also including the ritual master, who similarly is tied to the local temple. On the other hand, Taoist ritual provides a superstructure that legitimizes and organizes the activities of

local, popular religion—a superstructure principally provided by the classical liturgies of the Taoist priest, but that again involves the ritual master and his “vernacular Taoist” rites (Schipper 1985e). Proponents of this view see Taoism as drawing energy from the “shamanic substrate” of popular religion, while at the same time reshaping it. This reshaping occurs through textualization—giving popular deities Taoist identities and writing scriptures for them—and through ritual, structuring popular festivals by means of the temporal organization of Taoist liturgy, in particular the *\*jiao* (Dean 1993; but see Katz P. R. 1995a). Attempts have also been made to distinguish “popular Taoism,” whose historical roots lie in popular religion, from “organized Taoism,” characterized by its reception of state patronage (Sakai Tadao and Fukui Fumimasa 1983).

*The problem of the popular.* What all such approaches elide, however, is the question of what exactly, in the Chinese context, constitutes “popular religion.” Or, even more to the point, how does one determine the ways in which Taoism related and relates to the religion of the people if no attention is given to determining what constitutes the problematic category of “the people” (see Wang Jing 2001)? Most accounts simply deem as popular what Taoists often prohibited, in particular local cults and attendant practices of sacrifice and mediumism. This, however, is to ignore questions of social, economic, and educational stratification that normally have informed the study of popular culture (see, e.g., Bourdieu 1984; Johnson 1985a).

Any attempt to characterize interactions between Taoism and popular religion along a single elite/popular spectrum is fraught with difficulties. The viewpoints summarized above involve a variety of contrasts: official/non-official, elite/common, literate/non-literate, organized/diffuse. These comprise a still non-exhaustive set of binary oppositions any one or more of which may be highly relevant when determining—in a given historical, social, and local context—what comprises the popular. However, since the popular is thus always oppositionally defined (see Bennett 1986), and Taoism frequently straddles both sides of such binarisms, popular religion and its relationship with Taoism cannot be reified. Perhaps the whole question needs to be reformulated: To what degree does it make sense to contrast Taoism, a religion defined in terms of organizational, ritual, and scriptural traditions—i.e., in terms of historical continuity—with popular religion, a sociological category whose principal referents concern class and other social

distinctions?

*Taoism's beginnings.* With these caveats in mind, one may proceed to examine the history of Taoism and its relationships with popular religion (as variously construed). When the Way of the Celestial Masters emerged as the basis and core for the developing Taoist tradition, it drew on pre-Taoist practices that were closely linked with popular religion. The grave-securing writs (*zhenmu wen* 鎮墓文) written on bottles that have been found in tombs of the Later Han dynasty likely were created by “village elders, exorcists and specialists in funerary rites” (Seidel 1989–90). The writs issue the commands of a Celestial Emperor (Tiandi 天帝) that are to be delivered by his Envoy (*shizhe* 使者) and transmitted to a minor spirit-bureaucracy of the tomb (Seidel 1987e). Thus the entire otherworldly documentary/bureaucratic framework of the Celestial Masters—as represented, for instance, by their penitential “hand-written documents of the Three Offices” (*sanguan shoushu* 三官手書; see [\\*sanguan](#)) and the later petitions (*zhang* 章) to “celestial officials” (*tianguan* 天官)—was anticipated by the grave-securing writs, the products of Han-dynasty village religion. Early Taoism also drew extensively on still-older traditions of mortuary exorcism and the recalling of souls, personified by a variety of shaman-exorcists, most notably the so-called *fangxiang* 方相. Both literate and non-literate forms of magico-religious practices, such as various forms of divination and other techniques often associated with “masters of methods” (*\*fangshi*), were similarly integrated into Taoist practice (Nickerson 1994; Nickerson 1996b; Nickerson 1997).

Messianic groups who embraced apocalyptic visions of the future influenced Taoism's origins. In one text from about 185 CE, the *\*Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi), populist notions are clearly expressed. The people's sufferings are described in detail; the deified Laozi promises to descend to earth, save his followers, and “shake” the ruling Han regime (Seidel 1969–70). While such overt, antistate apocalypticism was renounced by the Celestial Masters after *\*Zhang Lu's* surrender to Cao Cao 曹操, it appears again in Celestial Master texts like the probably early fifth-century *Zhengyi tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue* 正一天師告趙昇口訣 (Oral Instructions Declared by the Celestial Master of Orthodox Unity to Zhao Sheng; CT 1273) which specifically calls for the downfall of the Jin dynasty as part of its apocalyptic program.

*Early prohibitions on sacrificial and mantic practices.* As has been

frequently noted (e.g., Stein R. A. 1979), Taoists, precisely because they relied upon traditions of practice they claimed to have superseded, were compelled to try to distinguish themselves from their popular predecessors and competitors. They did so by prohibiting a variety of popular practices. The \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing* prohibits “sacrifices and food offerings” as means of “commerce with deviant forces” (Bokenkamp 1997, esp. 119–20; Rao Zongyi 1956, 34). The \**Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie* (The Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao; CT 786, 2a–20b, and other versions), a list of prohibitions for Taoist libationers (\**jijiu*) from the ca. mid-fourth century, likewise enjoins against “giving cult to other spirits” (spirits other than one's own ancestors), as well as several varieties of astrology and geomancy. By the fifth century, such prohibitions were further expanded and codified, as well as placed within a larger context of mytho-historical narrative, in the \**Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community) of \*Lu Xiujing (see also the roughly contemporaneous \**Santian neijie jing* or *Scripture of the Inner Explication of the Three Heavens*). On a more practical level, Taoist opposition to the local cults of southeastern China meshed with actual state suppression. Such suppression was supported by Taoists rhetorically and, in all likelihood, more tangibly as well: scriptures of the period provide instructions for talismans and other protective measures for “attacking shrines” of local deities (*famiao* 伐廟).

*Rapprochement.* Nonetheless, already in early medieval times, Taoism was including in its rites a number of prohibited practices, and the popular cults themselves were beginning to employ Taoist priests. The petition texts of the \**Chisong zi zhangli* (Master Red-Pine's Almanac of Petitions), a compendium of Celestial Master ritual practice, evince the early development of a relationship of complementarity, even of de facto collaboration, between Taoism and the formerly banned diviners and mediums (most of these petitions can be dated to Six Dynasties or even earlier times). Taoist priests even cast horoscopes themselves. On the other hand, Lu Xiujing's criticisms of the “inferior” Taoist priests of his day suggest that the local cults were beginning to make use of Taoist ritual, willingly provided by peripatetic priests. Finally, one might note the incorporation within the Taoist pantheon of a variety of recipients of popular worship. Such deities were first demonized—often by associating them with the Six Heavens of \*Fengdu (on the Six Heavens see \**santian* and *liutian*)—and then offered advancement in the Taoist otherworldly administration if they used their powers in service of



the Dao and its faithful (Nickerson 1996b, chapter 8). This anticipated the subsequent large-scale adoption of popular deities within the Taoist pantheon. The stage was already set for the emergence of yet more thoroughgoing convergences beginning in the late Tang and the Song.

*Transition in the Song.* These subsequent developments concern in particular the evolving relationship between Taoism and local cults. Interactions between Taoist priests and popular practitioners were similarly transformed. Especially important is the emergence of new lineages of lay Taoist practitioners (as opposed to formally ordained priests) known as “ritual masters” (\**fashi*). The wide diffusion by Southern Song times of such exorcistic and therapeutic lineages—such as the \*Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart) and the Wu leifa 五雷法 (Five Thunder Rites; see \**leifa*)—is attested not only in ritual manuals such as the \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual) but also in detailed anecdotes collected in Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Heard and Written by Yijian). The rituals of these new lineages, performed both by the lay ritual masters themselves and by priests, often involved spirit-mediums, especially to speak on behalf of deceased ancestors (during funerary rites) or aggrieved spirits—in healing/exorcism rituals (Davis E. 2001). With the ritual master as a tertium quid between the Taoist priest and the spirit-medium, the forms of cooperation and complementarity that were nascent in the early medieval period became even more fully elaborated.

*Taoism and popular religion today.* The triad of medium, ritual master, and priest that forms the basis for the notion of “shamanic substructure and Taoist superstructure” in contemporary religion had thus already formed in the Song. Today, that pattern is elaborated in numerous ways. Turning again to southern Taiwanese evidence, we see spirit-mediums acting on their own as diviners, diagnosticians, and healers during séances at temples and spirit-shrines (*shentan* 神壇). However, they also commonly assist Red-head ritual masters in the performance of a variety of rites and ensure the presence of the deities they serve at large-scale temple festivals, including the *jiao* that are overseen by Taoist priests. In turn, the priests may, by a simple change of headgear, themselves perform red-head rituals. Indeed, as further data are collected, in particular in the People's Republic, the situation is likely to appear even more fluid. The relatively well-structured relations characteristic of Taoist and popular practitioners in southern Taiwan may well prove to be

very localized phenomena.

Taoism's dependence since its inception upon the energies of popular religion's shamanic substrate ensured the maintenance of close ties between the organized religion and its sometime rivals. Moreover, that dependence has produced a historical trajectory according to which Taoism grew ever closer to the “religion of the people.” Indeed, discussions of “Taoism and popular religion” are perhaps most often really about the various ways that Taoist and popular religious adherents have sought, and continue to seek, access to supernatural benefits and authority. These modes of communication can be placed along a spectrum defined by immediate access—as through spiritpossession—and mediated communication, typified by the written petitions and memorials of the priest. However, immediate forms of communication are employed by many others besides spirit-mediums and their devotees, and many practitioners other than priests use texts in their commerce with the divine bureaucracy. The opposition between immediate and mediated access to the supernatural cannot be neatly correlated with any of the elite/popular binarisms described above (with the possible exception of the contrast between oral and written cultures). Instead, the ritual and the social categories once again tend to crosscut one another.

*Peter NICKERSON*

▣ Bennett 1986; Cohen 1987; Davis E. 2001; Dean 1993; Feuchtwang 1992; Johnson 1985a; Lagerwey 1987c; Lagerwey 1996; Little 2000b, 255–73; Ma Shutian 1997; Nickerson 1996b; Okuzaki Hiroshi 1983; Robinet 1997b, 62–65; Sakai Tadao and Fukui Fumimasa 1983; Schipper 1985e; Seidel 1969–70; Seidel 1987e; Seidel 1989–90, 283–86; Stein R. A. 1969b; Stein R. A. 1979; Zhang Zehong 1999b; Zong Li and Liu Qun 1987

※ *fuji; yinsi*; SYNCRETISM; TAOISM AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP; TAOISM AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOISM AND MEDIUM CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR SECTS

### Taoism and popular sects

Popular sects are voluntary religious associations run and patronized by lay people unaffiliated with the major institutional religions of China. While

earlier religious movements, including the early Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), may be loosely classified as popular sectarian, as a technical term “popular sectarianism” is usually applied to a wide variety of lay religious associations flourishing in early modern and contemporary China. The founders of these groups frequently were religious virtuosi who in a syncretic manner fashioned a new, popularized system of doctrine and practice out of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism). They recorded their teachings in a genre of religious literature called \**baojuan* (precious scrolls).

In many (though not all) sects, diverse elements drawn from these sources were rearranged around a shared eschatological vision that focuses on the Unborn Venerable Mother (Wusheng Laomu 無生老母) as the ultimate origin and destination of humankind. Oblivious of their divine origins, humans sadly have become mired in the desires and illusions of the world and are no longer aware of the bliss that awaits them once they return to their Mother. This return has now become an urgent concern, as the world is about to reach a cataclysmic end at the conclusion of the current third epoch of a three-stage cosmic cycle. In this millenarian atmosphere, emissaries of the Mother appear to call upon humans to remember their true nature and make their way back to the Mother's paradise, thereby to survive the imminent end of the world. Elements of this sectarian eschatology can again be traced back to the Three Teachings: the three-stage cosmic cycle is of Buddhist provenance, while in the Unborn Venerable Mother we may see an echo of the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu), or perhaps more generally of the Dao as the mother of all things, to which all things return (cf *Daode jing* 1). Despite these derivations, as a charter myth and central organizing vision the Mother theme is specifically sectarian in nature and supplies a consistent core structure to which a diverse assortment of other concepts can be attached.

While most sects insist on the validity of all Three Teachings, the nature and composition of their borrowings from them vary from sect to sect. In many groups it is their Buddhist features that are most noticeable, but Taoism also has had a major impact on the popular sectarian tradition. Particularly strong is the influence of \**neidan*, whose techniques and vocabulary were emulated and popularized for example by the Way of Yellow Heaven (Huangtian dao 黃天道), founded in the middle of the sixteenth century by Li Bin 李賓 (?–1562). For this sect, which repeatedly referred to its way as that

of “Complete Perfection” (Quanzhen dao 全真道; see \*Quanzhen), the return to the Mother was accomplished through the concoction of a Golden Elixir (\**jindan*), described in language clearly derived from the *neidan* manuals current at the time. Another group with strong Taoist characteristics is the Way of the Prior Heavenly Realm (Xiantian dao 先天道), whose writings integrate *neidan* terminology with the sectarian Mother mythology. In particular, this sect teaches a form of *neidan* called Mysterious Practice in Nine Stages (*jiujie xuangong* 九節玄功) which will lead its practitioner to “transcend the profane and enter the sacred” (*chaofan rusheng* 超凡入聖). While in some precious scrolls alchemical terminology appears to serve more symbolic than practical purposes, modified forms of *neidan* have played an important role in the religious life of several sects, including the aforementioned Way of the Prior Heavenly Realm and the Teaching of the Three-in-One (Sanyi jiao 三一教) founded by \*Lin Zhao'en (1517–98). In the latter group we have clear evidence that the founder's version of *neidan* held and still holds a central place among the religious practices of his followers.

Another area of overlap between Taoist and sectarian practices is spirit writing (see \**fujī*). By the nineteenth century several popular sects, particularly in the Way of the Prior Heavenly Realm, had come to adopt spirit writing as their preferred mode of communication with the divine realm. The precious scrolls were replaced as the main carriers of sectarian doctrine by spirit-written texts, whose format resembled that of writings produced by Taoist planchette cults. Close contact with the milieu of these planchette cults led to greater sectarian emphasis on certain deities and immortals traditionally associated with spirit writing, chief among them the immortal \*Lü Dongbin. His image can be found in the shrines of many modern-day popular sects such as the Way of Pervading Unity (Yiguan dao 一貫道) and the Society of Goodness (Tongshan she 同善社), where he is venerated as an emissary and spokesman of the Venerable Mother. Nowadays, popular sects continue to interact actively with the Taoist tradition, borrowing, adapting and transforming those Taoist elements that promise to assist their followers on their path toward salvation.

*Philip CLART*

▣ Berling 1980; Dean 1998; Lin Wanchuan 1986; Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang 1992; Overmyer 1976; Overmyer 1999; Topley 1963

※ *baojuan*; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS;  
TAOISM AND MEDIUM CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## Taoism and local cults

Few problems in the study of Chinese religion deserve greater attention than the complex process of interaction between Taoism and local cults. Unfortunately, few problems have also been as controversial. Over the past three decades, research on this topic has tended to focus on two diametrically opposed viewpoints. On one side are scholars who study Taoism, many of whom tend to view it as a “higher” or “elevated” form of Chinese popular religion which could structure cult worship through a Taoist liturgical framework (Dean 1993; Lagerwey 1987c; Schipper 1985d; Schipper 1985e; Schipper 1993). On the other are scholars who study local cults, most of whom downplay or underestimate the important role Taoism could play in the growth of such cults. Some have even argued that lay believers could not worship the deities summoned by *\*daoshi* in their rituals (Hansen 1990, 26). Each of these views is grounded in an element of truth. Taoists often present their religion as being superior to local cults, and many Taoist deities are seldom worshipped by members of local communities. Yet, both views fail to appreciate the degree whereto Taoism and local cults shaped each other, indeed depended on each other.

The complex relationship between Taoism and local cults may well derive from the fact that Taoism, being a religion indigenous to China, inevitably absorbed yet also modified numerous popular beliefs and practices during its historical development. Matters are further complicated by the fact that the chief rival of Taoism throughout Chinese history was not Buddhism, or even the state; rather, it was the “nameless religion” of the masses (Strickmann 2002, 4). This state of affairs resulted in Taoism and local cults being simultaneously in competition with and yet also highly similar to each other. Even in recent decades, some scholars and most laymen (including government officials) equate the terms “Taoism” and “popular religion.” Faced with such a situation, Taoist leaders have consistently made concerted efforts to define their religion as “orthodox” or “correct” (*zheng 正*), while following the state in labelling local cults as *\*yinsi* (“licentious” or “illicit” cults). In doing so, they attempted to portray themselves as being both

morally and ritually superior to those same cults they attempted to absorb, reform, or aid the state in suppressing. Despite these efforts, however, Taoism was never fully able to achieve its goal of reforming or even eradicating those local cults it considered to be “heterodox.” Far more common are cases of *daoshi* absorbing and attempting to redefine local deities as “orthodox” Taoist gods, sometimes even grudgingly accepting the hated representations of those local cults they had once attempted to destroy.

*Incorporation of local cults.* The above processes may well have shaped the development of the \*Tianshi dao/\*Zhengyi dao, established in Sichuan by \*Zhang Lu and his followers during the waning years of the Han dynasty. The choice of the latter autonym, which means “Way of the Orthodox Unity,” appears to be linked to this movement's efforts to establish its liturgical orthopraxy in a region teeming with numerous local cults supported by both Han and non-Han peoples (Kleeman 1998). Zhang and his successors attempted to absorb local beliefs and practices—including various healing, exorcistic, and mortuary rites, music, ecstatic possession, and so forth—simultaneously identifying themselves as a separate and superior movement which aimed at reforming many popular practices deemed “excessive” or “heterodox.” Thus, Taoist leaders promoted a “pure bond” (*qingyue* 清約) between practitioners and the gods, whereby Taoist deities and popular gods who converted to Taoism would forgo “bloody [i.e., meat] offerings” (*xueshi* 血食) in favor of vegetarian ones, while Taoist specialists would not accept payment for ritual services (Bokenkamp 1997, 10–15; Kleeman 1994b; Nickerson 1996a, 348).

This sense of liturgical orthopraxy appears quite clearly in a number of the earliest Tianshi scriptures. For example, the “Dadao jia lingjie” 大道家令戒 (Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 148–85), composed during the middle of the third century, claims that when Laozi appeared in a revelation to the first Celestial Master \*Zhang Daoling in 142 CE he stated: “What are demons—the term *gui* 鬼 is also used in Taoist texts to refer to popular deities—that the people should only fear them and not place faith in the Dao?” The text continues to reprimand the contemporary Taoist faithful for consulting spirit mediums (*Zhengyi fawen Tianshi jiaojie kejing* 正一法文天師教戒科經; CT 789, 14a and 17a; Bokenkamp 1997, 171 and 178).

These ideas are developed in greater detail in medieval Taoist scriptures

such as the *\*Santian neijie jing* (Scripture of the Inner Explication of the Three Heavens), ascribed to the fifth century. This text claims that Zhang Daoling formed a covenant with the Three Offices (*\*sanguan*, of Haven, Earth, and Water) and the stellar deity Taisui 太歲 (Jupiter) “so that they then entered the orthodox system of the Three Heavens (see *\*santian* and *liutian*) and no longer oppressed the faithful” by requiring bloody offerings or lavish temples (Schipper 1993, 61).

*Attempts at reform.* The extent whereto Taoism was actually able to reform local cults is another matter entirely. While medieval Taoists frequently attacked *yinsi*, such efforts rarely had any lasting impact, particularly since many Taoist coverts persisted in worshipping local deities with meat offerings, despite the exhortations of their leaders (Stein R. A. 1963; Stein R. A. 1979). Medieval Taoist leaders strongly opposed such practices, formulating agendas expressed in polemical scriptures such as the *\*Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community), compiled in the fifth century by *\*Lu Xiujing*. According to this text, the world had entered a degenerate age in which people worshipped the souls of the unruly dead, particularly soldiers who had fallen in battle. Lu proposed numerous liturgical and organizational reforms to combat such decay, but the deities included in various registers (*\*LU*) transmitted to ordinary Taoist believers were full of “spirit generals” who seem in many ways little different from the slain soldiers mentioned above (Nickerson 1996a, 348, 352, 356). In addition, the ecstatic and occasionally erotic visions of young *\*Shangqing* Taoists such as *\*Yang Xi* (330–86) and Zhou Ziliang 周子良 (497–516) appear little different from the shamanic rituals Taoist leaders so often derided (Bokenkamp 1996b; Kroll 1996c).

One of the most interesting and widely researched examples of the interaction between Taoism and local cults involves the cult of the plague-fighting deity *\*Wen Qiong*, which was highly popular throughout south China from at least the Song dynasty. The Taoist Canon contains a hagiography about Wen written by the *\*Shenxiao* Taoist, Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾 (fl. 1274), entitled *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* 地祇上將溫太保傳 (Biography of Grand Guardian Wen, Highest General of the Earth Spirits; CT 780). According to this text, Wen was a Tang-dynasty military leader who later worked as a butcher before accepting a position as a spirit-medium in the *\*Dongyue dadi* temple at Mount Tai (*\*Taishan*, Shandong). Wen was

later miraculously transformed into a deity, and ended up serving in the temple's chthonic bureaucracy. The bulk of the hagiography is devoted to describing Wen's exploits as a Taoist deity who works to “support the orthodox Way” (*fuchi zhengdao* 扶持正道) by helping Taoist specialists destroy all manner of *yinsi*. Wen is also lauded for refusing popular temples, official titles, and meat offerings, choosing instead to be worshipped in Taoist *\*jiao* rituals.

Huang Gongjin's hagiography of Wen Qiong clearly expresses Taoist conceptions of liturgical orthopraxy. According to this work, local deities could support Taoism by joining its pantheon while also rejecting popular practices such as official titles and meat offerings. However, these Taoist ideals appear to have had little influence on local cults. This is not to deny the important role that *daoshi* played in the spread of Wen's cult throughout south China by founding or restoring many of his earliest temples (Katz P. R. 1995a, 117–41). Yet, if one examines non-Taoist sources one finds a very different image of Wen Qiong from that contained in Taoist hagiographies. For example, a temple inscription composed in 1355 by the scholar-official Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–81), as well as hagiographies in various Ming-dynasty *soushen* 搜神 (“searching for the sacred”) collections, mention Wen's links to Taoism but place greater emphasis on his role as a literatus. Another very different representation of Wen may be found in late imperial fiction and modern folktales, which portray him as someone who defies the Taoist heavenly bureaucracy by preventing *\*wenshen* (plague spirits) from poisoning local wells (Katz P. R. 1995a, 97–106). Late imperial sources about temples and festivals to Wen also reveal that he usually received meat offerings (Katz P. R. 1995a, 143–74).

Another fascinating example involves the cults of the Wutong 五通, demonic spirits who could make worshippers fabulously wealthy but who often demanded sexual favors in return. Taoists, Buddhists, local elites, and the state all attempted to eradicate or reform these cults, largely without lasting success (Boltz J. M. 1993a; Cedzich 1985; Cedzich 1995; von Glahn 1991).

In considering the relationship between Taoism and local cults, it might be useful to compare Taoist attempts to influence the latter to the early Christian practice of converting popular local deities into saints while transforming their hagiographies (as well as iconographies and rituals) to fit the criteria of Christianity (see for example Brown 1981; Hertz 1983). As the Christian



Church tried to absorb ancient European and Near Eastern cults of various nature and tutelary spirits and mold such deities into more acceptable saints, so Taoist movements from the Han dynasty onward strove to convert those local gods whose cults could not be eradicated into deities conforming to Taoist norms. However, the evidence collected to date suggests that Taoism proved less successful than Christianity in this effort. The reasons for this have yet to be fully understood, but appear to be linked to the frequent inability of “institutional religions” in China such as Taoism to effectively influence local society (Yang C. K. 1961, 301–40), and the active “reception” and reinterpretation of Taoist doctrine by non-Taoist worshippers (Katz P. R. 1997).

*Paul R. KATZ*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1993a; Dean 1993; Hansen 1990; Kanai Noriyuki 1983; Katz P. R. 1995a; Kleeman 1994b; Kleeman 1998; Schipper 1985d; Schipper 1985e; Stein R. A. 1963; Stein R. A. 1979

※ *yinsi*; TAOISM AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION; TAOISM AND POPULAR SECTS; TAOISM AND THE STATE

### Taoism and medium cults

The beginnings of Taoism were closely bound up with medium cults, both as sources for or analogues of Taoist practice and as objects of criticism and attack. According to the *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han) and the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms), \*Zhang Lu was a practitioner of “demonic arts” (*guidao* 鬼道), which he learned from his mother. While the exact nature of *guidao* is difficult to determine, it appears to have involved the evocation of minor deities or spirits, followed by the reception of the spirits’ oracles through the speech of spirit-mediums (Stein R. A. 1979, 60–61; but see Cedzich 1987 and Cedzich 1993 on the meaning of *gui* in the early \*Tianshi dao or Way of the Celestial Masters).

Even more intriguing than these outsiders’ accounts are references in an early Celestial Master text, the 255 CE “Dadao jia lingjie” 大道家令戒 (Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao), to the

practice of *jueqi* 決氣: “breaking through,” “distinguishing voices coming from,” or “comprehending voices in” pneumas (*Zhengyi fawen Tianshi jiaojie kejing* 正一法文天師教戒科經; CT 789, 12a–9b; Bokenkamp 1997, 151–52). It would appear that, in the early decades of the Way of the Celestial Masters, communications were received from the beyond and transmitted vocally. (These might either be valid, divine transmissions or merely the deceptions of ghosts.) A strong argument may be made that the “Lingjie” was itself a communication from Zhang Lu received via this method (Bokenkamp 1997, 149–85, esp. 151 and 162 n. 11). But some kind of typological distinction between *jueqi* and popular mediumism must have been made. Other features typical of medium cults, such as the provision of sacrificial offerings in order to facilitate communication with the spirits who spoke through mediums, were prohibited in the Celestial Masters’ \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing* (Rao Zongyi 1956, 34).

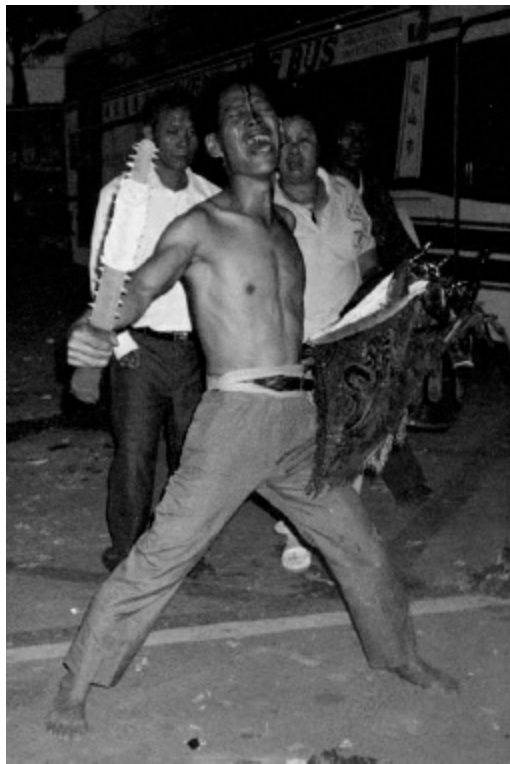


Fig. 17. Medium during pilgrimage tour to Wuzhi shan 五指山, Hsinchu, Taiwan (November 1994). Photograph by Julian Pas. See also [fig. 72](#).

A similar ambiguity pervades Taoism's relationship in later times with the mediums and the god-cults in which they officiated. By the fourth and fifth centuries, Taoism had come to define itself in terms of its opposition to the

medium cults and their deities. We shall probably never know precisely how \*Yang Xi created the late fourth century \*Shangqing scriptures during his midnight meetings with the celestial Perfected. We are given to understand from the scriptures themselves that this involved the descent of Yang's immortal informants into his oratory and their revelation to him of scriptural material and other instructions (which it was then Yang's duty to transcribe on the spot). This is certainly reminiscent of mediumistic and other shamanic communications with the divine in China—e.g., as depicted in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985) and elsewhere (although one might note the absence of an audience; see Rouget 1985). It perhaps resembles even more closely divination with the planchette, a form of automatic writing (see *\*fuji*).

The Shangqing school's own origins may owe more than a little to a medium cult. In his commentary on the *\*Zhengao* (11.9b), \*Tao Hongjing reports that during his time there existed on Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu) a popular cult to the three Mao brothers (see under \*Maojun), the transcendent sources of some of the Shangqing revelations, and that there were numerous temples dedicated to the trio. Popular worship of the Mao brothers involved blood sacrifice and spirit-possession; rites at one of the temples on Mount Mao were directed by a female medium or “invocator” (*zhu* 祝). Tao attempts to deal with this difficulty—the connection of the medium cult with the “pure” religious regime of the Taoism of Mount Mao—by constructing a chronology in which the (Taoist-style) ascent to transcendent immortality of the Mao brothers came prior to the establishment of popular worship (which was instituted in response to the witnessing of that ascent). However, it is quite likely that, out of piety, Tao reversed the order of events, and that the ascription of transcendent status and revelatory capacities to the Mao brothers by the Mount Mao Taoists actually postdated, and perhaps was inspired by, the preexisting medium cult (Schipper 1985e).

Nonetheless, Shangqing Taoism, like other Taoist movements of Southern Dynasties times, fulminated against the “gods of the profane” (*sushen* 俗神), and Shangqing writings themselves provided instructions for the destruction of popular temples (e.g. *\*Dengzhen yinjue*; 3.21b). The dual tendencies of conflict and assimilation that characterized Taoist/popular religious interactions were nowhere more apparent than in the way Taoists dealt with medium-cults (and, though there is less surviving evidence, in the way the medium cults dealt with the Taoists).

The trend toward the assimilation by Taoism of popular cults, deities, and practices—especially from Song times onward—is dealt with elsewhere in this volume (see \*TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION, \*TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS, \*DEMONS AND SPIRITS), and spirit-medium cults were no exception to, and indeed were a major component of, this trend. This historical tendency continued, as evinced by studies of late imperial Taoist history and scriptural production, as well as by recent ethnographic evidence. Already established popular cults might begin their incorporation within Taoism through the composition of songs of invocation by local ritual masters (though to speak of incorporation is in many cases to speak from the perspective of Taoism alone, not that of the often largely independent cults themselves; see Katz P. R. 1995a). Subsequently, some cult deities might have full-scale Taoist scriptures composed for them, which often gave those gods esoteric identities as astral deities in the Taoist pantheon. Such scriptures could, however, simply be kept among the manuscript collections of local Taoist priests. Cults with promoters having close connections to the imperial government, on the other hand—at least up to the time when the Ming Taoist Canon was compiled—would be represented in the Canon by a full variety of scriptures, not only liturgical texts, but also historical accounts and records of mediums’ pronouncements (Dean 1993, esp. 18, 30–32). Today, for instance in southern Taiwan, one may witness \**jiao* conducted by Taoist priests—even those of some standing—at popular temples established and controlled by charismatic spirit-mediums.

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▣ Cedzich 1993; Cheu Hock Tong 1988; Nickerson 1994; Schipper 1985e; Stein R. A. 1979; Strickmann 1977

※ *fuji; tâng-ki*; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION; TAOISM AND POPULAR SECTS

### Taoism and ancestor worship

Ancestor worship in China has generally been considered the province either of “diffuse” Chinese religion or, more specifically, Confucianism. Indeed, the archaic ancestral cult as practiced until the Eastern Zhou was codified in

Confucian classics such as the *Yili* 儀禮 (Ceremonials) and, in modified form, continues to be practiced among Chinese families and extended kin-groups today. However, by the mid-Eastern Zhou the ancestral temple had lost its role as the center of the ancestral cult (in favor the tomb) and new modes of dealing with and caring for the dead became central concerns (von Falkenhausen 1994). Thus it is not inappropriate to speak of Taoism and the cult of ancestors—in terms of the rites developed within Taoism to ensure the welfare of the deceased, as well as relations between Taoist mortuary rites/rituals of salvation and ancient, Confucianized forms of ancestor “worship.”

*The early period.* The attitude of the early Taoist religion toward the traditional ancestral cult was ambiguous at best. The \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing* claims that the Dao created sexual intercourse because of the importance of “the continuation of ancestral sacrifice and the survival of the species”; but “heaven and earth lack ancestral shrines” (like transcendent immortals, they do not reproduce). Elsewhere the same text claims that making food offerings to the dead and praying at ancestral shrines is prohibited by the Dao and that violators will be penalized (Bokenkamp 1997, 84 and 119). Other scholars have taken the early Taoist admonition—“the spirits do not drink or eat” (see, e.g., \**Daomen kelüe*, 1b)—to include even offerings to ancestors. Therefore early Taoist adherents may have felt negligent and even guilty toward their deceased forebears.

However, concern for ancestors (and for their care and feeding by traditional means) was impossible for the early Taoists to eradicate, even had they wanted to. Instead, a stance of accommodation was adopted. \*Lu Xiujing's *Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community) allows offerings to the family dead, but only five times each year, on the five *la* days (*wula* 五臘, i.e., 1/1, 5/5, 7/7, 1/10, and in the twelfth lunar month—day not specified—in the Chinese calendar; see \*[Chisong zi zhangli](#), 2.17b–18a). At the same time, or even before, the basic rite of the early Taoist Church, that of “petitioning celestial officials” (*zou tianguan* 奏天官) had been turned to soteriological ends, as evinced by the \**Chisong zi zhangli* (Master Red-Pine's Almanac of Petitions). This medieval ritual manual includes model documents such as the “Petition for Release From Punishment” (“*Jie zhe zhang*” 解謫章, 6.1b–2b), in which the descendants of the deceased through the mediation of a Taoist priest seek to “release the departed, that he might

leave the paths of darkness [in the underworld] forever, and ascend and be transferred to the Hall of Blessings (*futang* 福堂,) [in the heavens].”

*Lingbao rites.* With the emergence of the \*Lingbao scriptures and their codification by Lu Xiuqing, new rituals for the salvation of ancestors were developed. The Yellow Register Retreat (\**huanglu zhai*) is mentioned as one among twelve Taoist Retreats in one of Lu's writings (*Wugan wen* 五感文; CT 1278). Though the ritual script does not appear in the Taoist Canon as an independent text, the Retreat is described in the \**Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials; Lagerwey 1981b, 163–65). An altar is established surrounded by gates for each of the ten directions, with a large incense burner and a nine foot tall lamp installed in the center. Framed by the “opening” and the “closing” of the incense burner, the principal actions include the request by the Master of Rites for transcendent officials “to assist in the ritual for saving the souls of the dead of nine generations of the host [the ritual's sponsor]”; the “Confession to the Ten Directions,” in which the Master declares the host's willingness to take refuge with the deities of each such direction; and the presentation of silk and gold to assure the ancestors’ release and ascent.

This sequence was to remain the heart of Taoist rites for the dead, as elaborated by \*Du Guangting (850–933) and further developed during the Song. The changes that are particular to the Song concern various actions designed to convey the Master (or spirits under his direction) to the underworld, then conduct the deceased to the ritual area. This was done to ensure their transformation into gods or beneficent ancestors (Davis E. 2001, 227–36). The Song rites for the dead may in turn be traced all the way to the present, for example in the Merit rituals (\**gongde*) conducted today by Taoist priests in southern Taiwan.

*Other features.* Two other facets of recent Taoist involvement with the ancestral cult might be briefly mentioned. The rite called Destruction of Hell (\**poyu*) was one of the Song Taoist innovations alluded to above. In intent and basic format, at least, it is clearly related to the Red-head (*hongtou* 紅頭; see \*[hongtou](#) and *wutou*) ritual master's rite of Attack on the Fortress (*dacheng* 打城; see \*Death and the afterlife). It should also be pointed out that, during the Attack, on the altar set up for the deceased are sometimes placed ancestral tablets belonging to the family or families sponsoring the ritual. Also occasionally seen are various paraphernalia for conducting the

marriages of female relatives who died unmarried (*minghun* 冥婚, or so-called “ghost marriages,” which allow women to receive ancestral offerings as part of the agnatic groups of their “husbands”). The ritual masters assist in straightening out lines of descent and alliance within the traditional ancestral cult, allowing wandering souls to take their proper places on family shrines.

Finally, representing a virtually complete fusion of Taoist death ritual and the ancestral cult, reference might be made to a forty-nine day rite carried out after the death of a Taoist master in Gaoxiong, Taiwan and observed by the author of the present entry. The concluding act of the ritual occurred when the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see \*[daozhang](#)), who had been conducting the ritual of Merit during the final days, placed the deceased Taoist master's spirit-tablet on his family's ancestral shrine.

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▣ Davis E. 2001, 171–99; von Falkenhausen 1994; Kleeman 1994b

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## TAOISM AND CHINESE SOCIETY

### Taoism and the state

The late-twentieth-century rise in historical research on Taoism has had its most radical impact on our understanding of the relationship between Taoism and the state. While in the past the words would probably have conjured up images of \*Zhuangzi refusing to become a bureaucrat, now, thanks to the works of Anna Seidel (1938–91), a strong conceptual link between Taoism as a religious tradition and bureaucracy is accepted as fundamental to our understanding of its role. Specifically, we now know that the rise of bureaucratic state organization in preimperial China soon started to affect

conceptions of the unseen world of the spirits, so that by the second century CE, when the imperial bureaucracy began to lose its hold on a troubled and restless society, it was to this unseen empire that intermediaries like the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) started to appeal, using the terminology of bureaucratic written communications. Despite the undoubted presence of an anti-imperial, anarchic strain within the Taoist tradition from preimperial times, the tension between religion and the state at this point, as at many later points, arose not from a radically different vision of society, but from an identical alternative based on the better ordered empire of the gods. Though images of royalty and empire are not uncommon in other religions, Taoism is unique in extending its imagery from the highest levels of rulership to embrace the ranks of officialdom and the culture of scribal administration.

This explains an even greater tension, first noticed by Rolf A. Stein (1979), between Taoism, often as an ally of bureaucracy, and local religion during the Six Dynasties. This tension has been traced into the Tang and even the Song by Judith M. Boltz (1993a) and others, though thereafter it became muted as popular religion itself to a large degree absorbed what has been termed the “imperial metaphor.” But the Tang-Song period of alliance against local cults only became possible once official doubts about the priesthood's capacity to supplant them had been allayed. This happened in the early fifth century, when the alternative policy of leaving them alone, either at the risk of seeing their organizations fall prey to religious adventurers (the cause of serious rebellion in South China, 399–411; see \*Sun En) or so as to forego their value in the reorganization of an agrarian society already devastated by war (as in the North), was abandoned.

It was this period that saw Taoism emerge as an organized, state-recognized religion with a defined canon and clerical regulations like those of the Buddhist clergy, which though in a sense autonomous had always ceded to kings in India the important role of ensuring the quality of its membership and enforcing its adherence to its own rules. We do not, however, see the institution of formal offices (what might be termed *daoguan* 道官 or “Office for Taoism,” though this is a much later usage) to oversee the Taoist clergy in the same way as among the Buddhists at this point. The earliest Taoist known to have exercised such a supervisory function is Meng Jingyi 孟景翼, appointed the greater of two *dao Zheng* 道正, “Regulators of the Dao,” in 503, almost a century later than the appearance of monk officials (\**Daoxue zhuan* 7, in the reconstruction of Bumbacher 2000c, 219–223).



This, however, may simply reflect gaps in our sources: certainly in North China \*Kou Qianzhi (365?–448) exercised some sort of recognized leadership over Taoism, though he fulfilled no named government function known to us. The Northern Wei and its successor states maintained from the late fifth century onward specific subdepartments of government to oversee the Buddhist clergy, and to judge from the example of Wang Daoyi 王道義 (ca. 470) given in the *Weishu* (History of the Wei; trans. Ware 1933, 241), they also took on responsibility for Taoists. The northern tradition of state intervention in religious affairs was to culminate under the Northern Zhou in 574 in the conversion of the \*Xuandu guan monastery into the \*Tongdao guan, a state controlled institute used to create the encyclopedic \**Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials), the embodiment of Taoism refashioned in the interests of the state.

Though state ideology swung back to a much greater interest in the use of Buddhism for ideological purposes under the Sui, indicated by the reappearance of a Xuandu guan in their new capital much overshadowed in importance by a new metropolitan chief Buddhist monastery, and though the early Tang exercised great caution in matters of religion, the Northern Zhou had demonstrated the possibilities of a synthetic “state Taoism.” Gradually during the seventh century the Tang started to create their own synthesis, making particular use of the supposed descent of the ruling family from Laozi, and after the more Buddhist interlude of the Zhou regime under the Empress Wu returned to this task during the reign of Xuanzong (r. 712–56).

This period, especially the latter part, saw so much state activity in support of Taoism that special commissionerships became necessary for senior Taoists to serve as intermediaries between the regular bureaucracy and the Taoist community. At the same time some bureaucrats became Taoist priests, and some priests were awarded bureaucratic rank, though sporadic occurrences of the latter honor may be found both before and after this point. Taoist examinations, based on the preimperial texts anciently classified as \**dao*jia were instituted, and remained throughout the dynasty (see \*TAOISM AND THE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS). This period of innovation, however, was followed by rebellions against the dynasty and so by retrenchment and regularization, the only presumed change being the introduction of a new regulatory office, the *daolu si* 道錄司 or “Office for the Registration of Taoists,” during the ninth century, though this is an extrapolation from the creation of such an organ for Buddhists.

The shift in Chinese society that took place from the late Tang to early Song affected relations between Taoism and the state in complex ways. The decline of the aristocratic clans with their roots in Six Dynasties culture from which the Tang rulers had sprung made it less necessary for the ruling house to stress its divine origins, while the new bureaucracy which asserted its legitimacy through education in Confucianism proved less susceptible to control through imperial assertions of divine authority. Even so, it would appear that Taoism and Buddhism continued to receive the patronage of that elite, rather than local religion. The world of popular cults, however, had changed as well, attracting the patronage of powerful forces in local society outside the bureaucracy which, together with changes in communications, helped them to spread, sometimes transregionally. Simultaneously the annexation of elements from the “higher” religions to the lower, or alternatively the popularization at the lower level of forms of the higher religions, often blurred the boundaries of former times. The emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), in a celebrated episode in 1119–20 which saw Buddhism forced to adopt a Chinese nomenclature, may have been trying to reconcile Buddhism and Taoism so as to promote the latter in a form that could reach into the new local religious environment as a national ideology in times of danger. The subsequent collapse of the Northern Song, however, strengthened the alternative policy of extending state patronage to popular forms of religion which had secured backing powerful enough to assure respectability. Supervision of the Taoist clergy now extended to the prefectural level, each of which had a *daozheng si* 道正司, “Office for the Regulation of Taoists.”

The eventual conquest of China by the Mongols brought to the whole empire for the first time a ruling house untouched by Chinese political traditions, which tended to see religious groups not as a problem for bureaucratic control but as potential agents of imperial power within a much looser structure of government. This unparalleled opportunity for patronage, however, excited fierce competition between Buddhists and Taoists, resulting in the famous decision of Khubilai to destroy the Taoist Canon in 1281 (see \*[Da Jin Xuandu baozang](#)). Mongol preference for non-Chinese supervision over Chinese subjects, however, ensured that it was Tibetan Buddhists who profited most from this.

Government control came back with a vengeance following the establishment of the Ming dynasty in 1368, especially since the Hongwu

Emperor (r. 1368–98), having risen from poverty, had an unusually clear awareness of the power of religion in local society. An incessant reformer, he abolished his first government office for control of Taoism, the Xuanjiao yuan 玄教院 (Institute for the Mysterious Teaching), in 1382 in favor of a system in which a central *daolu si* stood at the apex of a hierarchy of local offices stretching all the way down to the district level, whilst each monastery was obliged to maintain a register of any travelling Taoists who might visit. This proved appealing enough to the now more autocratic state to last to the close of the Chinese empire. It did not, of course, prevent emperors from succumbing to the influence of individual Taoists, and indeed the Ming showed a greater penchant for this than most. Only the Manchus, with their background of shamanism and strong links with Tibeto-Mongol Buddhism, combined with a desire to show themselves masters of Chinese Confucian culture, literally could find little room for Taoism at court, apart from one hall for the worship of Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 (Highest Emperor of the Dark Heaven; see \*Beidi).

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▣ Barrett 1996; Boltz J. M. 1993a; Hymes 2002, 171–205; Seidel 1983a; Stein R. A. 1979

※ TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOISM AND THE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS

### Taoism and the civil service examinations

In 741, Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) established the Examination on Taoism (*daoju* 道舉) and the Chongxuan xue 崇玄學 or School for the Veneration of the Mystery. Ironically Empress Wu (r. 690–705), who was more inclined toward Buddhism, was the first ruler to propose incorporating Taoism into the civil service examinations when she proposed adding a question on the *Daode jing* to them in 675. In 693, she rescinded the regulation, but Xuanzong restored it in 733 as he became more deeply involved in Taoism and more earnest in using it as a dynastic ideology.

By 741, Xuanzong had come to the conclusion that he needed to establish a national school system in Taoist studies to further his political ends. So he

founded Chongxuan xue in both of his capitals—Chang'an and Luoyang—and delegated to the governors of the 331 prefectures the task of instituting schools with the same title in their districts. The quota of students for the schools in the capitals was one hundred each, while that for prefectures was a portion of those allocated for all schools (sixty, fifty and forty for large, medium and small prefectures). The curriculum consisted of instruction in four texts: the *Daode jing*, \**Zhuangzi*, \**Wenzi*, and \**Liezi*. In 742, the emperor ordered the addition of a fifth text, the \**Gengsang zi*; however, it never became part of the course of study because his scholars demonstrated clearly that it was a forgery. In a decree of 743, he set a limit of three years for Taoist students to graduate, a far more stringent limit than that set for those enrolled in the Directorate of the Sons of State (Guozhi jian 國子監) where instruction centered on the classics, histories and other fields and the maximum tenure was nine years. Those in charge of capital schools and prefectural governors sent graduates of the Chongxuan xue to the capital late in the year to compete in the examination on Taoism during the following spring.

Until 754, the subjects for the Examination on Taoism were the same four texts that served as the curriculum of the Chongxuan xue. In that year Xuanzong dropped the *Daode jing* from the examination and replaced it with the \**Yijing*. The format of the Examination on Taoism was the same as that for the *mingjing* 明經 examination on Confucian classics. It had four parts. First, candidates had to fill in passages that examiners had deleted from ten quotations taken from each text. Four to five correct answers out of ten was a passing mark. An oral examination followed. Third, the candidates had to answer ten questions on the interpretation of the classics. Six satisfactory answers was a passing mark. Finally, they wrote three essays on contemporary problems. In a decree of 743 the emperor reduced the passing grades in the Examination on Taoism to three or four for fill-ins and five for interpretative questions. Apparently even that act of favor was insufficient to attract the number of students that he desired. So in 748 he granted two further boons to recruit men of Taoist learning. He authorized those with knowledge of the four Taoist classics to recommend themselves, that is they could apply directly to prefectural governors for permission to sit for the examination. Candidates for other civil service examinations had to obtain a recommendation from local notables in their districts before they could apply. Xuanzong also reduced the number of questions that graduates of the

Examination on Taoism had to answer on the Placement Examination (*xuan* 選). The Placement Examination was the final ordeal that graduates of all examinations had to undergo before they received appointments to office. It evaluated the candidates' character, eloquence, calligraphy, and judgment. By that act the emperor apparently thought that Taoist studies would become a preferred course for men seeking office.

In 743, Xuanzong changed the name of the Chongxuan xue in the capitals to Chongxuan guan 崇玄館 (Institute for the Veneration of the Mystery) and established posts at each for a Grand Academician (*da xueshi* 大學士). Tang institutes were both schools and bodies of scholars who provided counsel to the throne, executed research, and compiled literary collections. They were the most prestigious educational and scholastic organs of the court. Consequently, it was the custom of emperors to appoint the highest-ranking ministers to the posts of Grand Academician, and Xuanzong was no exception. The most important task the Chongxuan guan performed during his reign was to copy the *Yiqie daojing* 一切道經 (Complete Taoist Scriptures), a large library or repository of Taoist texts in 3,744 scrolls that the emperor had had assembled and personally proofread (see \*[Yiqie daojing yinyi](#)). His ultimate objective was to have the copies sent out to the capitals of ten circuits where Envoys of Inquiry (*caifang shi* 採訪使) there would, in turn, have them recopied. The project, commissioned in 749, was unprecedented and testifies to the emperor's intention of propagating Taoism and preserving its scriptures.

In 763, Tang Daizong (r. 762–79) abolished the Examination on Taoism and dispersed the students of the Chongxuan guan. In 768, however, he restored the schools in the capitals and apparently resurrected the examination because two questions for it dating from 802 and 803 have survived.

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▣ Barrett 1996, 65–73; Benn 1977, 255–98

※ TAOISM AND THE STATE

Taoism and local communities

The relationship between Taoism and local communities has been extremely varied and complex, marked by different forms of interaction influenced by both socioeconomic and political forces affecting a particular locale, as well as the organizational nature of the Taoist movement which existed at that locale. Despite the importance of this topic in terms of better understanding China's social and religious history, it has yet to be thoroughly and comprehensively researched. Much of the data have been collected by historians studying the origins of Taoism in Sichuan and ethnographers working in southeastern China and Taiwan, and interpretations of these data have often been shaped by agendas involving the assertion of the ritual superiority of Taoism over local cults.

Based on the data currently available, the relationship between Taoism and local communities appears to have been marked by five forms of interaction: 1. Taoist theocracies ruling over local communities; 2. Taoist organizations playing a leading role in controlling the socioreligious activities of local communities; 3. Taoist villages serving the ritual needs of nearby communities; 4. Taoist masters and their disciples living amid local communities and serving the ritual needs of individuals or the community as a whole; 5. eremitic traditions of Taoism which existed apart from local communities.

*Modes of interaction.* Theocratic states established by members of the \*Tianshi dao existed in southwestern China during the second and third centuries CE. This region was divided into twenty-four parishes (\*zhi), each of which was led by a libationer (\*jijiu). Inside these parishes, local chiefs (zhang 長) organized “charity lodges” (yishe 義舍) to administer individual neighborhoods. Household registration was undertaken, and people were governed according to a legal code, although punishments were relatively lenient. Those who broke the rules in the code were pardoned three times, after which they were forced to perform public works such as repairing local roads. The best-known examples of such a theocracy are the Hanzhong 漢中 community led by \*Zhang Lu (Bokenkamp 1997, 34–37) and the Cheng 成 (later Cheng-Han 成漢) kingdom founded during the early fourth century by Li Te 李特 and his son \*Li Xiong (Kleeman 1998; see \*Dacheng).

The second mode of interaction, Taoists leading local communities in terms of their socioreligious activities, can be most clearly seen in \*Quanzhen Taoism. Numerous scholars have studied this movement, but almost

exclusively in terms of its doctrinal and political history. However, Vincent Goossaert (1997, 354–67) has used 487 examples of Quanzhen \*EPIGRAPHY to document how Taoist monks and nuns belonging to this movement founded and/or led ritual associations at popular temples which were taken over by the movement. Scholars who research the socioreligious history of late imperial Beijing have also found evidence for Taoists founding and leading ritual organizations at that city's \*Dongyue dadi temple (see the papers published in the journal *Sanjiao wenxian* 三教文獻: *Matériaux pour l'étude de la religion chinoise*, 1, 1997). Nonetheless, such a situation does not seem to have prevailed at all Taoist sites: for example, ritual associations at the \*Yongle gong were led by lay members of the community, although Quanzhen Taoists did participate in their affairs (Katz P. R. 1996).

A fascinating example of the relationship of Taoism with local communities is the case of Taoist villages (*daoshi cun* 道士村), where Taoism and local community largely overlap. However, we know little about the history of such villages or the ways in which Taoists residing there interact with individuals or communities who hire them to perform rituals. Most of the data on such villages collected so far come from central Zhejiang (Xu Hongtu 1995a), and have only been collected during fieldwork on ritual operas published in the *Minsu quyì congshu* 民俗曲藝叢書 (*Monograph Series of Studies in Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore*). This phenomenon merits further study in the future.

By far the best-known form of interaction between Taoism and local communities involves individual \**daoshi*, \**fashi*, and their disciples who live in local communities but do not lead them. These men marry and have children, with their sons frequently becoming their disciples. Such Taoists, usually members of the \*Zhengyi, Lüshan 閩山, or Sannai 三奶 traditions, are frequently hired to perform rituals for individuals or the entire community, particularly exorcistic rites and communal Offering (\**jiao*) and Retreat (\**zhai*) rituals. However, these Taoists are not in charge of the ritual associations which sponsor such rites. In spite of the large body of scholarship existing on this form of interaction between Taoism and local communities, particularly in Fujian and Taiwan (see for example Dean 1993; Lagerwey 1987c; Schipper 1974; Schipper 1977a; Schipper 1985e), and the additional research undertaken on this topic for the Song dynasty (Boltz J. M. 1993a; Hymes 1996; Hymes 2002; Katz P. R. 1995a; Skar 1996–97), the extent whereto such a relationship existed during other periods of Chinese

history, and in which parts of China, is still relatively unknown (see for example Stein R. A. 1979).

Finally, there are examples of eremitic Taoists who chose to live beyond the reach of local communities (see \*asceticism). A great deal has been published on those individuals who during their lifetimes were frequently unaffiliated with any particular Taoist movement (see for example Baldrian-Hussein 1996–97; Despeux 1990; Katz P. R. 1996; Strickmann 1994). In addition, the members of two of the most renowned Taoist organizations, the \*Shangqing movement of medieval China and the Quanzhen movement, also practiced eremitism, again frequently atop mountains (Eskildsen 1990; Eskildsen 1998; Goossaert 1997, 130–301). However, one must remember that eremitism was rarely a permanent way of life for practicing Taoists, and that after completing a period of eremitic self-cultivation and descending from the mountaintop many Taoist men and women travelled the land, performed rituals, and converted others to Taoism (for a similar analysis of eremitism in the Near East, see Brown 1982). In the case of Shangqing Taoism, it is interesting to note that while this movement has long been studied in terms of its scriptural and ritual achievements, there are relatively little data on its members playing leading roles in local communities. When we turn our attention to Quanzhen Taoism, however, we soon find that the members of this movement could be both hermits and active proselytizers/organizers at different stages of their careers. Some hermits did not even have to leave their mountains to encounter the general public, as many Taoist mountains could also attract large numbers of pilgrims.

*Paul R. KATZ*

▣ Davis E. 2001; Dean 1993; Goossaert 1997; Hymes 2002; Kleeman 1998; Lagerwey 1987c; Schipper 1974; Schipper 1977a; Schipper 1985e; Schipper 1997a; Seidel 1969; Stein R. A. 1963; Stein R. A. 1979; Strickmann 1994

※ TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

### Taoism and secret societies

“Secret societies” is a Western term derived from the pejorative nineteenth-



century discourse on Freemasonic and Jewish groups, which were ascribed state-undermining intentions. In relation to China, it is mainly used to refer to organizations such as the Triads (Tiandi hui 天地會) and the Gathering of Brothers and Elders (Gelao hui 哥老會), while its application to new religious groups or “sects” is less common. The term was first associated with the Triads by Gustave Schlegel (*Thian ti hwui: The Hung-league, or Heaven-earth-league*, 1866) and was adopted by William Stanton in his book on the Triads in Hong Kong (*The Triad Society*, 1900). It then entered Japanese and Chinese usage as *himitsu kessha* 秘密結社 and *bimi shehui* 秘密社會, respectively, through Hirayama Shū’s 平山周 plagiarism of Stanton's book (*Shina Kakumeitō oyobi himitsu kessha* 支那革命党及秘密結社 [The Chinese Revolutionary Party and the secret societies], 1911).

The danger of using this term as an analytical label lies in its undue emphasis on the purported secrecy of rituals and groups or networks. The nature of secrecy in early Triad lore is the same as, for instance, in the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) tradition and various new religious groups—namely, the exclusive transmission of a body of lore by a teacher to selected adepts through a blood covenant (*meng* 盟). This lore is believed to confer power, and therefore its transmission must be carefully regulated. In mature Triad ritual and in the rituals of the groups known since the late nineteenth century as the Gathering of Brothers and Elders, the transfer of esoteric knowledge became less central and initiation focused on the establishment of a collective network. Nonetheless, initiates were not allowed to reveal the Triad lore to outsiders, and only in this sense the qualification “secret” is appropriate.

The Triads worship five former Buddhist monks of the Shaolin 少林 (Small Forest) Monastery (variously located in Gansu or different southern provinces, but not to be confused with the Shaolin Monastery in Dengfeng 少林, Henan) as their founding patriarchs. They are not vegetarian, however, and in the covenant ritual participants drink liquor mixed with human or—more often—cockerel blood to confirm a sacred oath of mutual support and brotherhood. Therefore, the Triads cannot be considered Buddhist in any meaningful way. Some scholars have also suggested that Triad practices are linked to Taoist ritual, since one central implement used in the initiation rite is a bushel with exorcist objects inside. However, this implement is used in many Chinese rituals, not only in Taoist traditions *per se*; in fact, its non-Taoist uses can be traced back to before the Tang period.

The basic structure of the Triad initiation ritual is inspired by the journey of man through the landscape of life and death, a theme also developed by Taoist traditions but by no means their exclusive possession or creation. A second major source of Triad lore is eighteenth-century demonological and messianic traditions, which were neither Taoist or Buddhist. They defined the apocalyptic threat as the advent of violent demons who would cause war, plague, and other disasters, who were to be vanquished by ritual means (such as talismans, \*FU), and would be followed by the coming of a prince in the form of divine general (*shenjiang* 神將) leading divine armies (*shenbing* 神兵).

*Barend ter HAAR*

■ ter Haar 1998b; ter Haar 1993; Murray 1994; Overmyer 1976; Ownby 1996

### Women in Taoism

Women appear in several guises in Taoism: as wives of the Celestial Masters, as practicing adepts, as companions for sexual practices (*\*fangzhong shu*), and as divinities. They are called “female masters” (*nüshi* 女師), “female officers” (*nüguan* 女官) in the Way of the Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*), “female Taoist masters” (*nü daoshi* 女道士) in the Song period, and Maidens of the Dao (*daogu* 道姑) from the Song onward. Their status in Taoism has reflected their rank in Chinese society, where the rule was submission to men—especially the husband—and the mothers of male children enjoyed the highest respect. Women rarely took part in rituals, and they had limited powers and few possibilities to write. Their ability to communicate with the divine was recognized, however, and they were entrusted with revealed texts.

Women, therefore, essentially appear as divine beings in Taoism, in varying degrees according to the different schools, and have been especially venerated as mothers. Taoism is sometimes said to favor the female principle because of the importance it gives to the Yin principle, but this is not entirely correct. On the one hand, the image of the mother is venerated, but on the other, the image of the woman—like that of the Yin principle—is ambiguous.

*Women in Taoist history.* The first important phase of the history of women in Taoism is the fourth century, when the \*Shangqing school recognized a woman, \*Wei Huacun (251–334), as the school's matriarch. The most famous Taoist women were associated with this school, within which they transmitted scriptures and methods, and served as initiators and tutors. The status of women in Taoism reached a peak during the Tang period, particularly in the eighth century, when women formed one third of the clergy. Two daughters of Tang Ruizong (r. 684–90, 710–12) and sisters of Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) became Taoist nuns in Chang'an monasteries; their ordination rite was described by \*Zhang Wanfu (Despeux 1986; Benn 1991).

Women also played an important role in the \*Quanzhen school, which was founded at the end of the twelfth century. The list of its seven founders (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)) includes a woman, \*Sun Bu'er (1119–83), whose cult became increasingly important during the Yuan, Ming and Qing periods. This prestige did not last long, however, as references to Taoist women become less frequent in the late Yuan and early Ming periods. The image of women is more complex in Qing sectarianism, which witnessed a revival of the tendency to honor women as matriarchs.

*Female divinities and immortals.* Cults of female deities developed mainly in the southern and coastal regions of Anhui, Hunan, Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangxi, and Guangdong. Cult sites in these provinces were centers of intense religious activity and pilgrimage sites that attracted both male and female devotees. The growth and reputation of the cults depended on their recognition by official Taoist institutions, learned circles, and the imperial court, which occurred from the eighth century onward.

The most famous female divinity in Taoism is the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu). Despite her unrivalled beauty, she was originally described as a demon. Her worship peaked during the Tang period, and was later replaced by cults radiated through sectarian movements and small congregations that often practiced spirit writing (see \**fuji*). In the Ming and Qing periods, the Queen Mother descended to the altar and took the name of Unborn Venerable Mother (Wusheng laomu 無生老母). In this form she is still venerated by women, especially in popular milieux.

Apart from the Queen Mother, Taoism includes several other female divinities. The most famous is Immortal Maiden He (He xianqu 何仙姑),

whose name appears in the list of the Eight Immortals (*\*baxian*); her cult was established between the Tang and Song dynasties. The cult of *\*Mazu*, the fishermen's goddess, appeared in Fujian at the end of the tenth century. Chen Jinggu 陳靖姑, known as the Lady of the Water's Edge (*\*Linshui furen*), protected women, children, and mediums in Fujian. Zu Shu 祖舒 (fl. 889–904), who came from Guangxi, was the matriarch of the *\*Qingwei* school, a tradition that emphasized therapy and exorcism. Finally, Cao Wenyi 曹文逸, who was invited to the capital by Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125), wrote a commentary to the *Daode jing* and a long poem on *\*neidan* entitled *Lingyuan dadao ge* 靈源大道歌 (Song of the Great Dao, the Numinous Source; trans. Despeux 1990, 83–93).

Hagiographic collections generally include biographies of both men and women, but two works dealing exclusively with the lives of women were composed in two periods that were important for the history of women in Taoism. The first text is the *\*Yongcheng jixian lu* (Records of the Immortals Gathered in the Walled City; CT 783, and YJQQ 114–16), compiled by *\*Du Guangting* (850–933). The second is the *Houji* 後集 (Later Compilation; CT 298) portion of Zhao Daoyi's 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307) *\*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages), which contains 120 biographies, including almost all those of the *Yongcheng jixian lu* and fourteen additional biographies for the Song period.

*Practices and texts.* Women have played an important role in Taoist sexual practices. In the school of the Celestial Masters, adepts practicing the collective rituals of “merging pneumas” (*\*heqi*) led a religious life ruled by a strict moral code. In the Shangqing school, sexuality was transposed into the realm of the imaginary, and practitioners often joined in meditation with female deities.

A body of literature describing techniques of inner alchemy for women (*\*nüdan*) appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It consists of about thirty documents of unequal length, the earliest dating from 1743 and the most recent from 1892. These texts are generally attributed to male and female divinities and were transmitted through spirit writing. The *\*Daozang xubian* (Sequel to the Taoist Canon), edited in 1834 by *\*Min Yide*, contains the *Nü jindan jue* 女金丹訣 (Instructions on the Golden Elixir for Women), transmitted by Sun Bu'er and received in 1799 in Wulin 武林 (Zhejiang) by

one of Min's disciples, Shen Qiyun 沈契雲 (1708–86); and the *Xiwang mu nüxiu zhengtu shize* 西王母女修正途十則 (Ten Principles of the Queen Mother of the West on the Correct Path of Female Cultivation; trans. Wile 1992, 193–201), transmitted in 1795 by Li Niwan 李泥丸. Another compilation containing *nüdan* texts, the *Daoshu shiqi zhong* 道書十七種 (Seventeen Books on the Dao), was edited by \*Fu Jinqian in the early nineteenth century. Most of these texts were republished in He Longxiang's 賀龍驤 *Nüdan hebian* 女丹合編 (Collected Works on Inner Alchemy for Women), a supplement to the 1906 edition of the \**Daozang jiyao*. Also worthy of mention are the *Nüzi dao jiao congshu* 女子道教叢書 (Collectanea on Taoism for Women), compiled by \*Yi Xinying (1896–1976), and the commentaries to some treatises on female alchemy by \*Chen Yingning, who was active in the 1930s.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Cahill 1990; Despeux 1986; Despeux 1990; Despeux 2000b; Despeux and Kohn 2003; Little 2000b, 275–89; Overmyer 1991; Zhan Shichuang 1990

※ Huang Lingwei; Sun Bu'er; Wei Huacun; *nüdan*; *Yongcheng jixian lu*

### Taoism in the People's Republic of China

In the half century since the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the fate of Taoism, like that of the Chinese state and nation, has taken many twists and turns. Its history may be divided into four main periods. In the first period, from 1949 to 1956, Taoism wavered between life and death. According to the estimations of individuals involved, in 1949 there were almost 10,000 Taoist temples in China, inhabited by approximately 50,000 Taoist priests, with many others living scattered throughout the country. When the People's Republic of China was founded, citizens were guaranteed the right to freedom of religious belief in articles 5 and 53 of the “Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference” (1949). However, under the influence of the Soviet views on religion and “leftist” religious policies, the land on which Taoist temples were built was confiscated, the abbots of some temples were accused and

denounced as landlords, and popular belief in Taoism came under pressure from public opinion. During this time it was difficult to preserve Taoism, and Taoist priests suffered many hardships.

In the second period, from 1957 to 1965, the number of Taoist temples and priests decreased dramatically. In 1957, the first nationwide, cross-sectarian Taoist organization in Chinese history, the Chinese Taoist Association (\*Zhongguo daojiao xiehui), was established with government approval. Yue Chongdai 嶽崇岱 (1888–1958), the first chairman of the association, was received by the government and the president; on the occasion of national political consultations, his photograph and one of his speeches were printed in the *People's Daily* (*Renmin ribao* 人民日報), the organ of the Chinese Communist Party, on April 4, 1957. Just when Taoism was opening a new page in its history, however, the Chinese “antirightist” campaign began. Yue Chongdai was denounced as a “rightist” and committed suicide. Although the Chinese Taoist Association continued to exist under the direction of his successor, \*Chen Yingning, by then only 637 Taoist temples remained in all of China, and the number of Taoist priests living in temples had dwindled to no more than 5,000. The overwhelming majority of the Taoist priests lived outside the temples, and had left the clergy to become laborers or peasants.

In the third period, from 1966 to 1977, during the “Great Cultural Revolution,” Taoism, like other religions, was subjected to persecutions: temples were closed, books were burned, monks and nuns were forced to return to secular life, and some Taoist leaders were denounced as “class enemies.” On the surface it appeared that Taoism had vanished from the territory of the People's Republic of China.

In the fourth period, from 1978 until today, the People's Republic of China has corrected the “leftist” policies that had thrown the country into disorder. In 1982, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party promulgated the “Basic Viewpoints and Basic Policies toward Religious Questions in China during the Socialist Period,” and in that same year the State Council announced that the first twenty-one Taoist temples had been reinstated and reopened. In the past two decades, Taoism in the People's Republic of China has undergone a comprehensive recovery, and finds itself today in the most advantageous period of its development over the last hundred years. By the end of 1997, according to unofficial estimates, 1,557 Taoist temples had been reopened all over China; approximately 26,000

Taoist priests inhabited these temples; and more than 50,000 Taoist priests of the \*Zhengyi school were active throughout the country. Eighty-three Taoist organizations on the provincial, municipal and communal levels had been established nationwide, two Taoist academies providing university level education had been founded, three Taoist periodicals (*Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教, *Shanghai daojiao* 上海道教, and *Sanqin daojiao* 三秦道教) are published for general or private circulation, and after an interlude of more than sixty years the \*Quanzhen institution of issuing admonitions (*fangjie* 放戒) and the Zhengyi institution of conferring registers (*shoulu* 授籙) have been reinstated. Moreover, unified national regulations have been established to guide the administration of Taoist temples and the activities of Zhengyi Taoist priests working outside the temples.

Compared with earlier times, Taoism in the People's Republic has already developed a number of new characteristics. In particular, the religious doctrine now stresses compatibility with secular developments and progress, and current social institutions are upheld. On the organizational level, cross-sectarian unity and alliances are now emphasized; in the area of religious activities, the tradition and purity of Taoist religious practice is preserved; and in the education of Taoist followers, new pedagogical methods are used and curricula are employed.

*CHEN Yaoting*

■ Chen Yaoting 1988; Dean 1986; Dean 1989b; Dean 1993; Hachiya Kunio 1995; Hahn 1986; Hahn 1989; Jan Yün-hua 1984; Lagerwey 1991; Lai Chit-m 2003; Li Yangzheng 2000; Lü and Lagerwey 1992; Pas 1989a; Pas 1989b; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 481–520

## TAOISM AND CHINESE CULTURE

Taoism and Chinese literature

Taoist collections contain representative samples of nearly every generic form known to Chinese literature. This entry outlines several of the most fully-studied and clearest influences of Taoist narrative on Chinese letters.

*Hagiography.* As a type of composition whose purpose is to recount an event or series of events, narrative was identified with history in early China. Even narrative passages occurring in the works of philosophers were generally regarded as historical illustration. During the Han, writers increasingly turned their attention to figures on the margins of society, recluses, alchemists, wonder-workers, and paragons of the various *xian* (“immortal” or “transcendent”; see *\*xianren*) cults. Taoist hagiography grew symbiotically with this genre of literature which came to be known as *zhiguai* 志怪 from *\*Zhuangzi*'s citation from an otherwise unknown work that he credited to “one with his intentions set on the strange” (*zhiguai zhe* 志怪者). The earliest Taoist collection of this sort is the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals), attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–8 or 6 BCE). Early works devoted to a single figure begin with the accounts of the career of Laozi in the *\*Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi).

Following the Han, the list of hagiographic collections is extensive. Some works, such as the *\*Shenxian zhuan* of *\*Ge Hong*, are Taoist in orientation, while others, such as Gan Bao's 干寶 (ca. 340) *\*Soushen ji* (In Search of the Sacred) or Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Heard and Written by Yijian; Chang Fu-jui 1968), indiscriminately mix accounts of Taoists with those of other wonder-workers, ghosts, oddities, holy places, and the like.

While such works are quite diverse in content, they share a common aim, the documentation of anomalies, spiritual occurrences, and extraordinary people that fell beyond the purview of imperially-sponsored history. Their goal, in short, was to collect evidence of the supernatural in the human world. In this respect, they share the evidential and didactic aims of Taoist hagiography found in scriptural works or in collections. *Zhiguai* and hagiography tended to borrow from or respond to one another, so that, for instance, *\*Yang Xi*'s communications from the Perfected amplify on the biographies appearing in the *Shenxian zhuan*, as *\*Tao Hongjing* notes. Gu Kuang 顧況 (ca. 725–814; IC 486–87), even lists Taoist works containing significant hagiographic sections—the *\*Zhengao* and *Zhoushi mingtong ji* 周



氏冥通記 (Records of Mr. Zhou's Communications with the Unseen; CT 302; trans. Mugitani Kunio and Yoshikawa Tadao 2003, part. trans. Bokenkamp 1996a)—with other *zhiguai* in his preface to Dai Fu's 戴孚 *Guangyi ji* 廣異記 (Record of Widespread Anomalies). Canonical biographical works, such as the \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, compiled by Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307), draw heavily on and are indistinguishable from this *zhiguai* tradition. (See also the entry \*HAGIOGRAPHY.)

*Fantastic travel.* Following in the tradition of the *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Mu, Son of Heaven; trans. Mathieu 1978), the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; trans. Mathieu 1983), and the *Yuanyou* 遠遊 (Far Roaming) poem of the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Kroll 1996b), a number of Taoist scriptures locate the sources of knowledge and spiritual power beyond the borders of the known world. Several scriptures, beginning with those of the \*Shangqing and \*Lingbao traditions, open with a brief account of the revealing deity's travels in search of the text. Earliest to find imitation in secular works, though, were narratives revealing separate worlds hidden within holy mountains found in texts like the \**Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure). Tales of this sort began to appear in *zhiguai* collections as well as the writings of literati during the Jin, Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 (Tao Qian 陶潛, 365–427; IC 766–69) *Taohua yuan ji* 桃花源記 (Record of the Peach Blossom Font; Bokenkamp 1986d) being the most notable early example.

As the earth is associated with Yin and the proper domain of the feminine, goddesses often inhabit cavern paradises while the questing humans are male. The erotic potential of this scenario is often explored in secular works like the anonymous Tang-period *You xianku* 遊仙窟 (A Jaunt into the Grotto of the Transcendents; trans. Levy 1965). Less scandalous, but no less enticing, tales feature Taoist spirit journeys. A \*Dunhuang manuscript entitled *Ye Jingneng shi* 葉淨能詩 (Poem on Ye Jingneng) tells of the Taoist Ye guiding Tang Xuanzong on journeys to Chengdu to view the lamps during the moon-festival and even to the palaces of the moon. The work bears a close relationship to the canonical *Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 唐葉真人傳 (Biography of the Perfected Ye of the Tang Dynasty; CT 779), concerning the historical \*Ye Fashan (631–720), but the tale appears in a number of other forms, including the rhapsody.

Another popular, though less than desirable, destination was the underworld. Early secular tales of the hells and those who were able to safely visit them draw specificity from scriptural accounts. Eventually, such tales found Buddhist expression in the indigenously-composed *Fo shuo yulanpen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經 (Scripture of the Avalambana Spoken by the Buddha) and the Dunhuang tale of Mulian's 目連 rescue of his mother.

*Demonography.* Texts like the *\*Nüqing guilü* (Demon Statutes of Nüqing) and the *\*Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss) present both lists of the demons of pestilence and misfortune and the stuff of drama, recording the *dramatis personae* for the many demon-quelling rites found in the Taoist religion. Tales loosely based on ritual scenarios were popular throughout Chinese history. Taoist accounts emphasize the difficulty of recognizing demons in their fiendish disguises since, once identified and named, demons tend to lose their power. This aspect of Taoist demonology features in many a plot even where Taoists themselves do not appear. This is particularly the case with that widespread story-type, tales of delicious but dangerous fox-fairies. Demon-quelling Taoists appear frequently as well. Hong Mai's *Yijian zhi* has drawn scholarly attention for the information it reveals on religion in Song society as well as for its fascinating portrayals of the Taoist war on the forces of disorder. Evidence of this theme in literature ranges from Taoist tales of Wu Meng 吳猛 (?–374?) to such secular works as the *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 (Investiture of the Gods; IC 384–86) and the entertaining account of *\*Zhang Daoling's* exploits found in Pu Songling's 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異 (Strange Tales from Leisure Studio; IC 563–65).

*Morality tales.* Another narrative type born of scriptural *exempla* is the morality tale. Even in the early Lingbao scriptures, the ten precepts (Bokenkamp 1989, 18–20) are presented in a scripture meant to be widely circulated which contains a long narrative based on the popular *Vessantara-jātaka* from Kang Senghui's 康僧會 (late third century) *Liudu jijing* 六度集經 (Collection [of Tales] on the Six Pāramitās) as well as an account of the Celestial Worthy's promulgation of the precepts in a former world-system. Such morality tracts eventually developed into a popular literary form. For example, the *\*Wenchang huashu*, an account of the transformations of the god *\*Wenchang* revealed through spirit writing (see *\*fuji*) in 1181, with its poetic introductions and prose core, had a marked influence on the

development of the early Chinese novel.

It would be a mistake to view explicitly moralistic literature as the only heritor of the Taoist morality tale. Buddhist and Taoist versions of this form were so widely-imitated that even late imperial pornographic novels frequently end with a moralistic *deus ex machina*, either in the form of a moralizing priest or a death-bed conversion.

*The picaresque.* Taoist scriptural literature possesses yet another highly influential mode of narrative which might be labelled the “picaresque.” Comparable to later morality tales, such works as the *\*Han Wudi neizhuan* (Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han), an account of the Han emperor's unsuccessful attempts to learn the secrets of transcendence from the Queen Mother of the West (*\*Xiwang mu*), focus on the frailty of humans in their quest for the divine. The figure of the “banished Transcendent” (*zhexian* 謫仙), represented in this tale by *\*Dongfang Shuo* (ca. 160–ca. 93 BCE), became highly popular in the tale literature of Tang and later times, leading to such novels as the *Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji* 西遊記; IC 413–18). One pronounced feature of the banished Transcendent is that he or she is at first unrecognized. This becomes a common *topos* in the “evidentiary tales” (*yan* 驗) collected by *\*Du Guangting*, which detail the workings of the Dao in the lives of women and commoners.

*Dialogic literature.* While not properly a type of narrative, dialogical treatises (*\*yulu*), commonly associated with Chan Buddhism, appear in great numbers in the Taoist Canon as well. While extended passages of dialogue appear in many early Taoist scriptures (see especially *\*Ge Xuan*), records of a living master's teachings come to prominence in the Song dynasty with two works, the *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Folios of the Hundred Questions; in *\*Daoshu*, 5.7a–22a) and the *\*Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (Anthology of Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Dao to Lü Dongbin), both of which purport to transcribe the teachings that *\*Zhongli Quan* bestowed on his disciple *\*Lü Dongbin*. These works continue the tradition begun with the Confucian *Analects* and stand at the headwaters of *\*Quanzhen* Taoism.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Bokenkamp 1986d; Bokenkamp 1991; Boltz J. M. 1987a; Company 1990; Company 1996; Company 2002; Davis E. 2001; Kleeman 1994a; Kohn

1998b; Li Fengmao 1986; Li Fengmao 1996; Liu J. J. Y. 1987; Schafer 1985; Schipper 1965; Verellen 1992; Yūsa Noboru 1983

### Taoism and Chinese theatre

The concepts and practice of ritual and theatre are so closely intertwined that it is virtually impossible to speak of one without the other. Research on the interrelationship of Taoist forms of ritual and Chinese theatre itself is a fairly new field of study. Publications on various aspects of this subject that have begun to appear in recent years are largely the results of extensive field work. Textual studies have yet to materialize in any quantity but will no doubt increase as resources become more widely available, especially if preparation of critical editions now under way continues to be pursued. Of special note is the recently published *Minjian jili yu yishi xiju* 民間祭禮与儀式戲劇 (Folk Sacrifice and Ceremony Drama) edited by Hu Tiancheng 胡天成 (1999), rich with photographic and textual documentation of theatrical performance in conjunction with Taoist funeral services.

To speak of the theatrical elements of ritual is also to speak of the ritual elements of theatre. Piet van der Loon's seminal essay on the ritual origins of theatre, published in 1977, has established the foundation for research in this area. He has himself been a moving force behind the recent surge of interest in ritual theatre, preparing critical editions of early marionette (*kuilei* 傀儡) scripts and working with an international team of scholars documenting surviving traditions of the exorcistic performative practice known as Nuoxi 儺戲. Critical editions of scripts as well as research on various forms of ritual theatre will be found in the ongoing series *Minsu quyì* 民俗曲藝 (Folk Operatic Arts).

If Taoist ritual and Chinese theatre may be said fundamentally to share a rich heritage of exorcistic practice, the common ground they occupy extends in many directions. Each in some sense serves to purge demons from the minds of their beholders. Each is staged in some sense as a cathartic experience by which the audience willingly agrees to engage in a suspension of belief. Each is dependent upon the viewer's acceptance of the new identities taken on by a cast of performers. Each in some sense provides a form of therapeutic release by inviting the audience to engage in a visionary

journey into the unknown.

*Theatrical aspects of Taoist ritual.* All forms of Taoist ritual permit consideration as theatrical forms of expression. Those staged as public spectacles are the most obvious exemplars of theatrical ritual. The history of both *\*jiao* (Offering) and *\*zhai* (Retreat) rituals is inherently a component of the history of Chinese theatre. As such, the identities of major playwrights may be sought in formulators of the *\*Lingbao* school of teachings. From the early codification of *\*Lu Xiujing* (406–77) to voluminous anthologies of ritual compiled from the Song to Ming, the *Lingbao* legacy remains the best documented heritage of ritual performance in the Taoist Canon. Diverse forms of *jiao* and *zhai* appear to have emerged partly in response to competing ritual spectacles staged by Buddhist clergy. Ritual innovations can also be traced to rival schools of Taoist teachings.

Among the best-known examples of highly theatrical forms of Taoist ritual are those associated with the rite of *\*pudu* (Universal Salvation) commemorating lost souls on the fifteenth of the seventh lunar month. It is on this day, known as *zhongyuan* 中元, that celebrants envision deliverance of the dead from a state of suffering in purgatory. Individual families typically arrange for such rituals when a funeral or commemorative mourning service is in order. Ritual codes vary but a common form of this service documented in Tainan 臺南 (Taiwan) features a virtual attack on a simulacrum of purgatory. What marks this as the climax of the ritual is the participation of spectators who encircle the miniature likeness of purgatory and join in smashing it to release the souls imprisoned within. Such performances traditionally fell to mediums. As witnessed in Taiwan, the scene of destruction entails a lengthy dramatic dialogue culminating in a vision of liberation that often serves as an emotional catharsis for participants. What it effectively aims to achieve is the deliverance of not only incarcerated souls but also anyone among the living perceived to be in their bondage.

A theatrically inspired ritual smashing of purgatory was apparently popular as early as the Southern Song, for it found a critic in Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25). As an advocate for restoring the decorum of early *Lingbao* practice, Jin argued for a discretely, silent approach rather than the public spectacle that many of his contemporaries seemed to favor. The source of Jin's irritation could perhaps have been an increasingly vernacular adaptation of classical forms of ritual. It is this contrast between classical and

vernacular forms of speech that in many locales distinguishes the ritual per se from theatrical accretions. Exceptions include symbolic theatrical interludes featured in Taoist rituals of Cantonese communities, with little if any speech rendered in an archaic style known as *xitai guanhua* 戲抬官話 (stage Mandarin). Equally formulaic, highly stylized interludes by operatic troupes of Beiguan 北管 (Northern Pipes) are also characteristic components of Taoist *jiao* in northern Taiwan.

How and when classical forms of ritual gave way to drama in the vernacular remains unclear. Modern-day practice is largely characterized by the saying: *Gongde tou, zuoxi wei* 功德頭,作戲尾 (Merit first, “play” last). Among the so-called *fashi xi* 法事戲 (liturgical drama) commonly added to the “merit,” or ritual proper, are adaptations of the Mulian 目連 cycle. Older generations of Taoist clergy are known to register opposition to such operatic fare on the grounds of its obvious Buddhist origins. The very fact that it has become an integral part of Taoist ritual practice in many regions attests to its widespread audience appeal. The bawdy improvisations that vernacular “play” of this sort inevitably invites would appear to provide above all another form of release, allowing any tears that remain to be overcome by laughter.

*Taoist thematic aspects of Chinese theatre.* The journey to the underworld central to the Mulian cycle is also a common theme taken up in centuries of Chinese theatrical entertainment. Early examples may be found in the repertoire of Yuan *zaju* 雜劇, or the so-called variety plays. Dramatic works on this theme fall in the category of *shenxian daohua* 神仙道化 (Conversion to the Way by Divine Transcendents), according to the classification scheme established by the Ming prince and playwright \*Zhu Quan (1378–1448). Contemporary Chinese scholars generally refer to such operatic fare as *dutuo xi* 度脫戲 (deliverance plays).

A comprehensive study of deliverance plays drawn from Buddhist as well as Taoist lore has yet to be undertaken. Like their anecdotal counterparts, they invite comparison with hagiographic lore on rites of initiation. The importance of reading such scripts in conjunction with pertinent resources in the Taoist Canon is demonstrated by David Hawkes in a noteworthy essay titled “Quanzhen Plays and Quanzhen Masters” (1981). The playwrights and editors of this body of operatic literature have been found to be at home with hagiographic lore as well as \*Quanzhen teachings. Most cast the Quanzhen

patriarch \*Lü Dongbin in the role of savior. The scene of deliverance staged at the close of these plays commonly features an assembly of the \**baxian*, or Eight Immortals. Allusion to this popular ensemble is conspicuous by its absence in plays featuring the Quanzhen patriarch \*Ma Yu (1123–84).

Plays on the theme of deliverance continued to be written and performed for centuries after the Yuan. The Ming prince Zhu Yuodun 朱有燉 (1379–1439; DMB 380–81) composed these plays for performance at birthday celebrations. Of note in *Chinese Theater 1100–1450: A Source Book* by Wilt Idema and Stephen H. West (1982) are translations of a Ming edition of the anonymous Yuan play “Han Zhongli dutuo Lan Caihe” 漢鍾離度脫藍采和 (Zhongli of the Han delivers Lan Caihe) as well as a selection from the “Yaochi hui baxian qingshou” 瑤池會八仙慶壽 (The Eight Immortals of Turquoise Pond Assembly Celebrate Longevity). The latter evokes any number of regional balladic traditions featuring birthday greetings conveyed by the eight immortals. Both plays, moreover, include a song by Lan Caihe derived from a legacy of chantefable called *daoqing* 道情 (Ono Shihei 1964). The origins of this originally didactic ballad form are commonly traced to this very image of Lan singing and dancing while keeping the beat with clappers. It is a genre that awaits investigation in light of diverse operatic traditions by this name popular in many regions, from Shaanxi to Jiangxi.

Among additional performative practices with close ties to Taoist lore is the rich legacy of marionette theatre in communities of Fujian and Taiwan. Puppeteers are traditionally ordained \**fashi*, or “ritual masters.” As Kristofer Schipper points out in his early study of this theatrical form (1966), the manipulation of puppets is not unlike the collaboration of Taoist master and medium. Such performances are typically introduced by ritual preludes. A recent comparative study of these preludes by Robin Ruizendaal (2000) finds them to be better preserved in smaller villages in the periphery than within the center of marionette practice in Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian). Further studies are essential if the memory as well as practice is to be preserved of these and all other forms of ritual theatre in danger of losing ground to modernization.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Brandon 1987; Ch'iu K'un-liang 1989; Chu Kun-liang 1991; Dean 1989a; Hawkes 1981; Hu Tiancheng 1999; Idema 1985, 63–93; Idema and West 1982, 300–343; Lagerwey 1987c, 202–37; Liu Zhongyu 2002; Long Bide

1993; van der Loon 1977; Ruizendaal 2000; Schipper 1966; Schipper 1989b; Schipper 1993, 44–55; Tanaka Issei 1981; Tanaka Issei 1985; Tanaka Issei 1989a; Tanaka Issei 1993; Zhan Shichuang 1997a

※ TAOIST MUSIC

### Taoism and Chinese art

Does a “Taoist art” exist? We may confidently answer in the affirmative if we restrict this notion to the liturgical art of Taoism. This category includes various forms of poetry, psalmody, songs, hymns, and instrumental music, as well as murals and paintings associated with the Taoist liturgy, priests’ embroidered robes, and ritual paraphernalia. Outside the ritual context, however, Taoist art is more difficult to apprehend. In the architecture and sculpture of Taoist temples, for instance, there is no specifically Taoist pattern. Like all large traditional buildings in China, Taoist, Confucian, or Buddhist temples (in fact, even mosques and synagogues) are based on the single model of palace architecture, with decorated halls following one another on a south-north axis, separated by courtyards and gardens. The importance of the halls, which are usually single-storied, is conveyed through the height of their base, the width of their façades, and the decorative richness of their roofs and balustrades. Indeed, Taoist temples are often called *gong* 宮 or “palaces.” The best known of these structures, due to its long history and its splendid fourteenth-century murals, is the \*Yongle gong or Palace of Eternal Joy in southern Shanxi.

There is also no identifiably Taoist or Buddhist artistic technique or style, for the same artists or craftsmen gathered in workshops, which were sometimes quite large, to build and decorate Taoist and Buddhist temples alike. Chapter 3 of the *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Records of Famous Painters of Successive Generations), compiled by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (ca. 815–ca. 875) with a preface dated 847, records numerous temples he visited in the area of Chang’an (Shaanxi) and Luoyang (Henan), shortly before the massive destructions that occurred due to the state persecution of Buddhism. The mural decorations of many of these temples, either Buddhist or Taoist, were credited to Wu Daozi 吳道子 (?–792), the most famous figurative painter in China. Wu has since then been considered a patron saint



for all Chinese religious painters.

In Shanxi, with its rich and well-preserved tradition of mural paintings, some workshops achieved a regional and interregional development before modern times. The same lay artists worked on various sites and projects, some as itinerants traveling from one site to the next according to the command. This system, still observed in Taiwan only a few decades ago, may explain the widespread diffusion of iconographic motifs, techniques, and styles throughout China. Thus, in a Six Dynasties votive stele, carved with a frontal triad of deities whose model is typically Buddhist, one may recognize a Taoist origin only from the iconographic forms of the figures: in particular, Laozi represented as a bearded aged man holding a fan in the form of a banana leaf (a form that would prove remarkably durable). In later Taoist sculpture and painting, representations continue to borrow from Buddhist iconographic canons, with only minor features identifying the Taoist gods. For instance, in some hanging scrolls depicting the Taoist triad of the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*), these deities appear to be seated sometimes on armchairs, and sometimes—in a Buddhist guise—in *dhyāna* (meditation) position on lotus flowers (one such example is kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York).

*Influence on Chinese art.* The influence of Taoism on Chinese art, however, has not been confined to the domain of liturgical art. Taoism pervades all Chinese art, not only with particular motifs but also through a specific vision that conceives of space and time as a cyclic continuum. This vision is supported by notions such as Yin and Yang, the Five Phases (*\*wuxing*), and vital energy (*\*qi*). The idea of an ever-changing world in a cyclic time was inherited from the cosmology of the *ru* 儒, the Confucian literati of Han China. Moreover, as the indigenous religion of China, Taoism has transmitted both vestiges of the ancient religion and fragments of local traditions from the former feudal kingdoms.

The art of the sacred area is one of the topics still awaiting closer investigation in the field of Taoist studies. It is in the concept of spatial organization that one can observe the most important Taoist influence. When entering the sacred space of the ritual, Taoist priests claim to “enter the mountain” (*rushan* 入山). This metaphor refers to the mountain as an essential feature of the Chinese worldview; the paradise is conceived not as a closed garden (as it happens to be in Persia and in most of the Near-Eastern

traditions) but as mountains inhabited by immortals and wild animals living in untrodden nature. Both written talismans (\*FU), giving the names of good or evil spirits, and magic bronze mirror allow adepts to travel safely in the wilderness, by revealing the true form of any spirit one may meet on the mountain paths (see under \*jing and jian).

The Taoist notion of the “real form” (*zhenxing* 真形; see \*xing), the hidden internal configuration of a living organism, is best illustrated in landscape painting and in the art of gardens. In China, these arts reached a level of subtlety and sophistication—in spite of their naturalness—that they never enjoyed in the Western world. As early as the fifth century, Chinese authors formalized criteria of aesthetics that highlight the qualities of spontaneity (\*ziran) and emptiness (*xu* 虛 or *kong* 空; see under \*wu and you), making the artist not an interpreter but a kind of vessel through which the energy of Nature flows onto the silk or sheet of paper, thus giving the painting internal life and dynamism. Many great painters of China are deemed to have been Taoist themselves, such as Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (392–467) who is also the author of a treatise on landscape painting filled with Taoist inspiration, and a millennium later, Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354) and Fang Congyi 方從義 (1301?–1391), both Taoist priests and landscape painters.

Caroline GYSS

▣ Delahaye 1981; Jin Weinuo 1997; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1993; Katz P. R. 1993; Legeza 1975; Little 2000a; Little 2000b; Liu Yang 2001a; Liu Yang 2001b; Pontynen 1980; Reiter 1988b; Sakade Yoshinobu 1994c; Schipper forthcoming; Seidel 1989–90, 269–73 and 280–82; Thompson 1987c; Yamada Toshiaki 1995a

### Taoism and the military arts

From the very beginning of the written tradition of Taoism, there existed a close relation between it and Chinese military theory and practice. The *Daode jing* contains passages that propounded ideas about the nature of warfare (that weapons are inauspicious implements; desolation follows an army) and the proper way for the ruler to engage in combat (conquer strength by

manifesting weakness; do not value victory; do not attempt to dominate the world by force of arms) that were immensely influential in later times. Over the centuries some scholars even interpreted the text as being in essence a military manual. While it is not possible at present to determine whether that text or the canonical *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 (Master Sun's Art of War) is earlier in date, clear parallels exist between their respective philosophical approaches (Ames 1993; Lau and Ames 1996). Generals were encouraged not to act out of anger; to practice self-cultivation to strengthen their \*qi and harmonize it with the cosmos; to unify the army with their own person; to make minute preparations and assessments of their own and the enemy's strengths and weaknesses before embarking on a campaign; to attack only when victory was certain, for the highest type of victory was to win without ever having to actually engage in combat; to be formless (*wuxing* 無形) while forcing the enemy to show his form (*youxing* 有形); to manipulate emptiness (*xu* 虛) and fullness (*shi* 實), the regular (*zheng* 正) and the irregular (*qi* 奇) forces; and to adapt to the ever-changing conditions on the battlefield by seizing the positional advantage (*shi* 勢). Many later Taoist philosophical treatises, such as the *Heguan zi* 鶴冠子 (Book of Master Heguan), the \*Huang-Lao texts from \*Mawangdui, the \*Wenzi, the \*Huainan zi, and the \*Guigu zi, contain observations on the conduct of warfare, elaborating in different ways on the ideas of the *Daode jing*, and insisting on the importance of harmonizing one's conduct with the Dao to ensure victory.

*Talismans, elixirs, and the military arts.* Connections between Taoism and the military were present not just in philosophical and military texts and discourses. The written tallies used in the military of Warring States, Qin and Han times to impart authority to military officers and to control access to militarily sensitive areas were adopted and transformed by Taoists into talismans (\*FU) that were powerful apotropaic and exorcistic devices and symbols of a master's power to command supernatural generals who were capable of controlling the myriad dangerous spirits that inhabited the cosmos. Joseph Needham has also shown that Taoist alchemists in the late Tang and Five Dynasties period were prominent in the discovery of the deflagratory properties of the mixture of ingredients called gunpowder (*huoyao* 火藥), the chemical compound that completely revolutionized warfare throughout the world, the first formula of which is found in the eleventh-century official military encyclopedia *Wujing zongyao* 武經總要 (Complete Essentials of the

Military Canons; Needham 1986, 117–25). In the late Ming, on the other hand, the famous and influential general Qi Jiguang 戚繼光 incorporated the techniques of *wushu* 武術 (martial arts) for the training of his new army in unarmed combat as well as in wielding swords, pikes, and wooden staffs.

*Divination and the military arts.* Another very important connection between Taoist and military practices was in the realm of divination, of interpreting, manipulating, and controlling temporal cycles in order to ensure that action was in accordance with cosmic time. Taoist masters and military men drew upon the same set of esoteric techniques to ensure success in their activities. For the Taoists, rituals had to be correctly harmonized with the cosmos as well internally appropriately timed for them to be efficacious. Military activity was the subject of inquiry by divination as early as the late Shang dynasty (late second millennium BCE) and was an important site of ritual performance in the succeeding Zhou period. Military ritual maintained its importance throughout the imperial period, being considered as one of the five types of rituals (*wuli* 五禮) essential for the survival of the state. Although some military texts, such as the late Warring States *Weiliao zi* 尉繚子 (or *Yuliao zi*, one of the seven military canons established in the Song dynasty as required reading for the military examinations), objected to the divinatory arts, military prognostication (*bingzhan* 兵占) came to be one of the main genres of military writing from the Han times onward under the influence of Yin-Yang speculation, appearing in all military encyclopedias starting with the Tang Taoist \*Li Quan's *Shenji zhidi Taibai yinjing* 神機制敵太白陰經 (The Yin Canon of Venus, the Spiritual Pivot for Conquering the Enemy; mid-eighth century; Rand 1979), and an essential tool employed by later generals to achieve victory. The same techniques were deployed by both Taoists and military experts, such as the method of the Hidden Stem (*dunjia* 遁甲), the Irregular Gates (*qimen* 奇門), the *liuren* 六壬 method, and the \*Taiyi (Great One) method (Schipper and Wang 1986, 198–201; Kalinowski 1991). Indeed, the great god Taiyi, who first appears in the recently discovered fourth-century BCE \*Guodian hoard from the state of Chu in the cosmological text *Taiyi sheng shui* 太一生水 (The Great One Generated Water) associated with fragments later incorporated into the *Daode jing*, came to be worshipped as the God of War in medieval times (Li Ling 1995–96), and other powerful deities in the celestial hierarchy, such as the Thunder Sire (Leigong 雷公) and the Master of Rain (\*Yushi), were

appealed to and worshipped both by Taoists and military men throughout the imperial period.

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▣ Jiang Guozhu 1998; Rand 1979; Rand 1979–80

※ Li Quan

# TAOISM OUTSIDE CHINA

## Taoism and the Yao people

Groups classed as Yao (most commonly written 猺, 瑤, or 徭) make prominent use of Taoist texts, liturgical paintings, and ritual forms, many of which only emerged in China from Song times. The Yao ethnonym includes various ethnolinguistic groups who have interacted with Chinese (and other Southeast Asian) societies and states in the last millennium. The main Yao group speaks a (Sino-Tibetan) language known as Mien or its Mun, Byau Min and Yau Min variants, and share many customs and ways of living with groups speaking forms of Hmong, T'ai/Kadai, and some southeastern Chinese dialects.

Yao “Taoism” took shape amid the interactions of Chinese customs and traditions with Mien village-based and oral practices focused on the worship of ancestors, stemming from their ultimate ancestor Pien Hung 盤王, and various nature deities, gods of the living, and spirits of the dead. Consisting of clusters of ritually-integrated clans, Yao society has never developed enduring political forms beyond the village level. Taoist rites and beliefs, along with Chinese religious language and divine bureaucratic protocols, provided Yao (and other) groups a grander socioreligious structure than their native social and religious forms had. Yao communities crafted a communal form of Taoism to forge an identity across generations and among communities (linking their origins in Pien Hung to exalted spiritual bureaucracies), and to establish a practical ritual means (initiation into transcendent ranks associated with ritualized Yao ancestors) of consolidating and enhancing this loose, but larger, cultural identity.

Taoist religious rites, writings, and symbols added a new dimension to

Yao society in addition to other Chinese cultural forms (calendars, funerary rites, naming practices) and native methods of controlling spirits. Spirit mediums and exorcists handled minor problems by appealing to lesser spirits and ancestors for such difficulties as disease, childbirth, accidents, and rain. Funerals aim to return deceased relatives to their spiritual homeland, the Plum Mountain Grottoes (Meishan dong 梅山洞), which many Yao texts also claim as the source of their traditions; this purgatorial voyage culminates in eventual salvation and assembly with other ancestors. Weddings unite both the couple and their “soldiers of the netherworld” (*yin beng* 陰兵, *mien beng* 神兵, *peng ma* 兵馬) into a new household.

Taoism supplemented traditional Mien society by providing it with a supralocal sacred organization to better highlight the myths, ancestors, rites, places, and gods that were central to Yao identity. Initiation ceremonies—mostly for young men and strongly reminiscent of both early and popular forms of Taoism—integrated new participants into Yao social networks and spiritual hierarchies. Yao “ancestors” (*tzu tsung* 祖宗) were an adept's ritual forebears who were but part of the fuller array of celestial Branch Offices (*heng fei* 行司) also filled with grand Taoist deities who oversaw the workings of Yao society and the world.

The initial “hanging of the lamp” (*kwa tang* 掛燈) ceremony granted males not just a ritual name (*fa bua* 法名) and control over a squad of “spirit-soldiers,” but an authoritative seal (*yen* 印) and an authenticating certificate (*tieh* 牒), permitting them to perform ritual exorcisms by ordering their spirit soldiers about, and to ascend into heaven as transcendents after death. Additional social and spiritual status accrued not just through marriage, producing children, and caring for ancestors, but also through ritually gaining control over new “spirit soldiers” and performing merit-making rituals. These ritual activities culminated in one's rise to the Saving Master (*dou sai* 度師) level, or the less common Supplemental Assignment (*chia tse* 加職) and Honors Section (*pwang ko* 封科) ranks. Today the expense and difficulty of rising beyond the rank of Saving Master means these ranks have become increasingly rare. The most elaborate, lengthy, and important multihousehold thanksgiving ceremony, known as the *zo dan* 歌堂, honors the Lords of the Altars (*miu hung* 廟王) all the way back to their great ancestor Pien Hung, usually as a way of releasing stress after difficulties or a disaster. Lasting up to five days and nights, and involving many priests using their full ritual powers, it honors Pien Hung, and recounts his help to the Yao since their

voyage over the sea.

Yao priests use colorful sets of Chinese-style paintings depicting Taoist gods and ritualized Yao ancestors in their larger ceremonies. The core set consists of the general assembly of Yao ancestors, transcendents and Taoist gods (called *tzu tsung* 祖宗 in small or *heng fei* 行司 in full), flanked right and left by the guardian Grand Defender (*tai wai* 太尉), and the ritual initiator, Sea Banner (*hoi fan* 海旛). Full sets can consist of some two dozen paintings. During important ceremonies each officiant will display certain paintings during the appropriate rites.

The sources and significance of Taoism in Yao ritual traditions require further study. Many ritual texts and practices include key features of the new Song ritual traditions, including the \*Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart) and the Thunder Rites (\**leifa*), but other aspects rely on popular forms of religion linked to Meishan 梅山, Mount Lü (Lüshan 閩山, Jiangxi), and Yangzhou 揚州, some of which were apparently known to \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) in Fujian and are still popular there today. Guangdong dialects are often used in Yao Taoist ritual chanting.

*Lowell SKAR*

■ ter Haar 1998a; Kandre 1976; Kleeman 2002, 32–33; Lemoine 1982; Lemoine 1983; Lemoine and Chiao 1991; Maruyama Hiroshi 1986b; Maspero 1981, 197–247; Pourret 2002; Shiratori Yoshirō 1975; Strickmann 1982

### Taoism in the Korean peninsula

Among the areas within the so-called Chinese cultural sphere (defined by the use of writing systems based on Chinese), the Korean peninsula shows more evidence than any other area besides China for the transmission and acceptance of Taoism. To substantiate the presence of Taoism, four conditions should be fulfilled: the introduction of doctrines (specifically, scriptures), the building of edifices (temples), the existence of religious specialists (priests), and the establishment of an organization of believers (a religious association). In Japan's case, while the first can be found, there is as yet, as far as modern scholarship can confirm, no conclusive evidence for the



presence of the other three. Though there is no doubt that Taoism was transmitted in some form to Japan, it disappeared as an autonomous entity when it was absorbed into an independent system called Onmyōdō 陰陽道 (Way of Yin and Yang), based on the Chinese theories of Yin and Yang and the Five Agents (*\*wuxing*). (See \*TAOISM IN JAPAN.)

*Evidence for "Korean Taoism."* Korea's case is different. According to both histories of the Tang dynasty (*Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu*) and the Korean *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms; 1146), Tang Gaozu (r. 618–26) sent Taoist priests and a statue of a Celestial Worthy (*tianzun* 天尊) to the kingdom of Koguryō in 624, and had the priests read the *Daode jing* before the Korean king and his court. The first Taoist temple in Korea was built at the beginning of the twelfth century, under the Koryō dynasty (918–1392). Named Bokwŏn kung 福源宮 (Palace of the Source of Happiness), it housed statues of the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*) and was served by more than ten white-robed Korean Taoist priests. The temple met opposition from Confucians in the next reign and was closed down together with other Taoist facilities. The Sogyōk chŏn 昭格殿 (Pavilion of Brilliant Investigation) continued its functions for a time, but was eventually reduced in scale and renamed Sogyōk sŏ 昭格署 (Bureau of Brilliant Investigation) before being forced to close completely. Nevertheless, at one point in history, the first three of the above four conditions were met on the Korean peninsula. There is no evidence, on the other hand, that any Taoist organization, such as the *\*Tianshi dao* or *\*Quanzhen*, was ever established there. However, since it cannot be denied that Taoism, in the process of its acceptance in Korea, combined with folk cults and religious movements that possessed organizations, it may be said that indirectly a religious association also existed.

*Korean inner alchemy.* Prominent among early Taoist (and early Buddhist) rituals were those performed to protect the state on behalf of the court and the royal family. When these state rituals declined with the rise of Neo-Confucianism under the Yi dynasty (1392–1910), the intelligentsia shifted its interests to practices based on Nourishing Life (*\*yangsheng*) and *\*neidan*. Out of these grew a Korean *neidan* school, the Haedong sŏnp'a 海東仙派 (Lineage of Immortality in Korea), around the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Chŏng Ryŏm 鄭謙 (1506–49) is well known as the author of the *Pukch'ang pigyŏl* 北窗秘訣 (Secret Instructions from the Northern Studio), a manual of

*neidan* techniques. His younger brother Chŏng Sŏk 鄭碯 participated in the compilation of the *Tong'ŭi pogam* 東醫寶鑑 (Precious Mirror of Eastern Medicine), a comprehensive medical text strongly influenced by *neidan* ideas. According to the *Haedong chŏndo rok* 海東傳道錄 (Account of the Transmission of the Way in Korea), the main representatives of the Haedong sŏnp'a include Kim Kagi 金可紀 (fl. ca. 830), Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (1435–93), and Nam Kungtu 南宮斗 (1526–1620). Another important legacy of Korean *neidan* is represented by several commentaries to the \**Zhouyi cantong qi*, the first of which was the *Chuyŏk ch'amt'ong kye chuhae* 周易參同契注解 (Explication of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; 1639) by Kwŏn Kŭkjun 權克中 (1585–1659).

In present-day South Korea, a group called Kuksŏn to 國仙道 (Way of the National Immortals) follows a *neidan*-type practice centering mainly on breathing techniques. Although members deny any influence from Taoism and assert that their ideas and practices are native to Korea, this group may be seen in some ways as a modern development of the Haedong sŏnp'a.

*Korean research on Taoism.* After Yi Kyegy ōng's 李圭景 (1788-?) *Oju y ōnmun changs ōn sango* 五洲衍文長箋散稿 (Miscellaneous Essays from the Five Islands), two major studies on Taoism in Korea are Yi Nŭnghwa's *Chos ōn togyosa* (A History of Korean Taoism; 1959) and Ch'a Chuhwan's *Han'guk ūi togyo sasang* (Taoist Thought in Korea; 1984). The Korean Association for the Study of Taoist Thought (Han'guk togyo sasangsa y ōn'guhoe 韓國道教思想研究會) was formed in 1986. It changed its name to Korean Association of Taoist Culture (Han'guk togyo munhwa hakhoe 韓國道教文化學會) in 1997 and expanded its organization. Research activities are being developed with Korean Taoism as the main area of study, and Chinese Taoism as a secondary theme. By the year 2000, the Association had published more than ten research reports.

MIURA Kunio

▣ Ch'a Chuhwan 1984; Fukunaga Mitsuji 1989; Jung Jae-seo 2000; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 567–78; Seidel 1989–90, 297–99; Ueda Masaaki 1989; To Kwangsun 1983; Yi Nŭnghwa 1959

Opinion is divided among Japanese scholars as to whether Taoism was ever formally transmitted to Japan. Fukunaga Mitsuji asserts that transmission indeed occurred and that Taoism has exerted a remarkable influence in Japan (see, e.g., Fukunaga Mitsuji 1982 and Fukunaga Mitsuji 1986). While this view is accepted by some scholars working in the field of ancient Japanese history, few scholars of Taoism would concur. There were no Taoist priests in ancient Japan, and therefore no temples. Moreover, unlike Korea (see \*taoism in the korean peninsula), no Taoist \*jiao (Offering) or \*zhai (Retreat) rituals were ever held in Japan. It is, therefore, safe to say that Taoism did not reach Japan as an organized religion in any official way.

On the other hand, Taoism did influence Japanese culture. This happened in various ways: (1) as ideas about the immortals; (2) in association with Tang Esoteric Buddhism (*mijiao* 密教, Jap. *mikkyō*); (3) in association with the Sui and Tang legal codes that provided a model for the Japanese *ritsuryō* 律令 and were incorporated into court ritual; (4) in association with the import of Sui and Tang medicine; and (5) intermingled with folk customs brought from the continent, particularly the southeastern regions.

*Tales of immortals.* Ancient Japan had a great number of folk tales and legends about immortals, including *Hagoromo* 羽衣 (The Feathered Robe; trans. Waley 1922, 177–85) in praise of a female immortal; the story of Urashima Tarō 浦島太郎 who travelled to the realm of the immortals far across the sea (trans. Sieffert 1993, 19–32); and the tale of Tajima Mori 田島間守 who went searching for the *tachibana* 橘 (mandarin orange) fruit in the realm of Tokoyo 常世 (Akima Toshio 1993). Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041–1111) included many tales of immortals in his *Honchō shinsenden* 本朝神仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals in Japan; trans. Kleine and Kohn 1999), e.g., the story of the immortal of Kume 久米 who fell to earth when he saw the white leg of a girl. There is no way, however, to establish how such stories came to Japan.

*Taoism and Esoteric Buddhism.* Esoteric Buddhism was transmitted to Japan during the eighth century, as shown by sculpture, texts such as the *Darani shūkyō* 陀羅尼集經 (Sūtra of Collected Dhāraṇīs), and the performance of rites for rain based on the *Mahāmegha-sūtra* (Sūtra of the Great Cloud). The formal transmission of Esoteric Buddhism, however, was accomplished by two Japanese priests who studied in China, Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Kūkai 空海 (774–835). Kūkai already had a good knowledge of Taoism, as

can be seen in his *Sankyō shiki* 三教指歸 (Pointers to the Meaning of the Three Teachings). With the formal transmission of Tang Esoteric Buddhism to Japan, the heavily Taoist-influenced elements within it were imported as well. This phenomenon was particularly marked in the use of spells and talismans (\*FU). Thus even today the talismans issued by the temples of Mount Kōya (Kōyasan 高野山), the headquarters of Shingon Buddhism, show a clear Taoist influence.

*Legal codes and Taoist rituals.* During the eighth century, Japan modeled its legal code on Sui and Tang law and institutions. Among the numerous court rituals introduced at that time were some Taoist rites practiced by the Chinese royal houses; and since the Tang rulers, in particular, were fervent followers of Taoism, Taoist rites naturally came to be accepted as components of Japanese court ritual (Yamanaka Yutaka 1972). On New Year's Day, for instance, the emperor ritually purified the four quarters and venerated their governing deities. During the Great Purification (*ooharae* 大祓) rites at the end of the sixth and twelfth lunar months, the Highest Emperor of the August Heaven (Huangtian shangdi 皇天上帝), the Great Lords of the Three Poles (Sanji daijun 三極大君), the Director of Destinies (\*Siming), the Director of the Registers (Siji 司籍), the King Lord of the East (Dongwang gong 東王公), the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu), and the Five Emperors (Wudi 五帝) were invoked to avert calamities. These invocations, like the Chinese ones, ended with the phrase \**jiji ru liling* (“Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances!”). Even the term used by the Japanese for their sovereign, *tennō* 天皇 (lit., Celestial Sovereign, Chin. *tianhuang*), was used during the Tang dynasty as a title of the emperor (Tsuda Sōkichi 1996).

*Medicine.* The \**Ishinpō* (Methods from the Heart of Medicine), compiled by Tamba no Yasuyori 丹波康賴 in 984, is a summa of the Sui- and Tang-dynasty medical knowledge and prescriptions that had been transmitted to the Japanese court. Once again, however, we do not know how such transmission occurred. Chapters 19 and 20 of this work deal with the application and ingestion of mineral drugs, quoting from a large number of Tang sources. Mineral drugs have a close relation to alchemy, and it is known that Emperor Ninmyō (r. 810–50) was cured of an illness by taking the Elixir of the Golden Liquor (see \**jinye*). The *Ishinpō* also preserved quotations from lost Chinese works, concerned for instance with meditation practices and sexual

techniques. Administratively, during the Nara and Heian periods (eighth to twelfth centuries), medicine and medical training were supervised by the Bureau of Medicine (Tenyakuryō 典藥寮), attached to the Ministry of Central Affairs (Nakatsukasashō 中務省). Among the officers in the Bureau, court physicians were ranked as *jugon hakushi* 咒禁博士 (Doctors of Spells and Enchantments) or *jugonshi* 咒禁師 (Masters of Spells and Enchantments). These terms also were modeled on the Tang system, and strongly suggest that Taoist spells were practiced and taught.

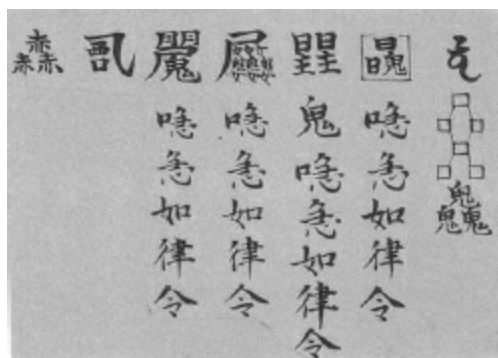


Fig. 18. Talismans for curing illness used by Japanese Shugendō practitioners. Reproduced from Sakade Yoshinobu 1994a, 375.

*Popular practices.* The best-known example of a Japanese folk custom associated with Taoism is the cult known as *kōshin* (Chin. *\*gengshen*). It was customary for people to stay awake and to avoid eating meat during the night on days designated by the cyclical characters *gengshen*. This tradition had taken root by the beginning of the ninth century, and its practice among court ladies is referred to in the *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (Tale of Genji; trans. Waley 1926–33). The text most closely associated with the *kōshin* cult in Japan is the *Rōshi shū kōshin kyū chōsei kyō* 老子守庚申求長生經 (Scripture of Laozi on Guarding the *kōshin* Day and Searching for Longevity; Kubo Noritada 1997), but whether this work was compiled in China or by a Buddhist priest in Japan is uncertain. Later various related texts appeared that were instrumental in spreading the cult, which has continued to the present day. Another Japanese customary practice possibly influenced by Taoism is the midsummer *chūgen* 中元 (Chin. *zhongyuan*) celebration that was adopted in the form of the Buddhist *urabon-e* 盂蘭盆會 (Chin. *yulanpen hui*). This is clearly one of the Taoist *\*sanyuan* (Three Primes) festivals: the *zhongyuan* day (the fifteenth of the seventh lunar month) was the day when the deities of the earth were venerated. Even today the custom of exchanging gifts on this day continues. Furthermore, the belief in talismans to protect the home had its origins in the veneration of the guardian deity of the north, Xuanwu 玄武

(Dark Warrior; see \*Zhenwu), and this custom also continues today in combination with the cult of Myōken 妙見. Taoist elements can also be found within the doctrine and ritual of Ise Shintō 伊勢神道 and Yoshida Shintō 吉田神道.

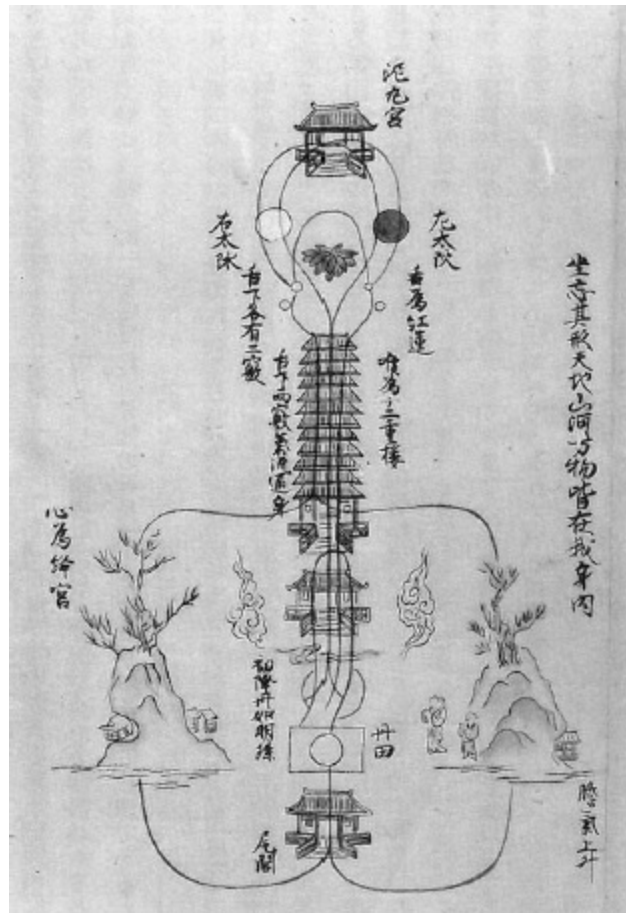


Fig. 19. *Shūshin kyūten tandō zu* 修真九轉丹道圖 (Chart of the Way of the Elixir in Nine Cycles for the Cultivation of Perfection). From top to bottom along the vertical axis: upper Cinnabar Field (Muddy Pellet, \**niwan*); eyes; tongue (Red Lotus, *honglian* 紅蓮); trachea (Twelve-storied Pavilion, *shi'er chong lou* 十二重樓); middle Cinnabar Field (Crimson Palace, *jiangong* 絳宮); lower Cinnabar Field (\**dantian*); Caudal Funnel (*weilü* 尾閭; see \**sanguan*). Manuscript in the Yoshida Collection, Tenri Central Library, Tenri University, Japan. Reproduced

from Katō Chie 2002, 121.

Taoist influence, therefore, is demonstrably strong within Japanese culture. It should be understood, however, that Taoism did not exert any fundamental influence on the formation of Japanese culture, and that the Japanese people never did consciously accept Taoism as part of their religious beliefs or customs.

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Barrett 1994a; Barrett 2000; Bock 1985; Fukunaga Mitsuji 1982; Fukunaga Mitsuji 1986; Kohn 1995b; Masuo Shin'ichirō 1988; Masuo Shin'ichirō 2000; Nakamura Shōhachi 1983; Noguchi Tetsurō et al. 1996–97; Sakade Yoshinobu 1989a; Seidel 1981; Seidel 1989–90, 299–304; Shimode Sekiyo 1972; Shimode Sekiyo 1975; Shimode Sekiyo 1997; Shinkawa Tokio 1997

# Entries

(in alphabetical order)



*Anqi Sheng*

安期生

Anqi Sheng is a legendary immortal, reputed to have been a thousand years old during the reign of Qin Shi Huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE). According to the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals; trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 115–18), he was from Langya 琅琊 (Shandong). He sold medicines by the coast, and was known as the Thousand Year-Old Gentleman (Qiansui weng 千歲翁). The same source relates that when Qin Shi Huangdi was travelling east, he spoke with Anqi for three days and nights. The emperor gave him a large quantity of jade and gold. Anqi returned the treasure, along with a pair of red jade slippers and a message inviting the emperor to seek him several years later on the island of *\*Penglai* in the eastern sea. The emperor later sent an expedition in search of Anqi, but it was unable to reach Penglai. The *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; trans. Watson 1961, 2: 39) records the Han dynasty alchemist *\*Li Shaojun's* claim to have visited Anqi Sheng during his travels on the eastern sea, where he had seen the legendary immortal eat jujubes as big as melons. Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE), like Qin Shi Huangdi before him, sent explorers on an unsuccessful mission to find Anqi on Penglai. Anqi Sheng learned his arts, according to the *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 (Biographies of Eminent Gentlemen, compiled by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐, 215–82), from Heshang zhangren 河上丈人 (Great Man of the River Bank), an ancient master sometimes identified with the author of the *Daode jing* commentary known as *\*Laozi Heshang gong zhangju*.

Anqi Sheng occupies an important place in the *\*Taiqing* and *\*Shangqing* traditions. He is held to be one of the earliest Taiqing masters, and is said to have transmitted the Method of the Furnace Fire for the Divine Elixir (*shendan luhuo zhi fang* 神丹爐火之方) to Li Shaojun, and to have provided *\*Maming sheng* with the Method of the Elixir of the Golden Liquor (*jinye danfa* 金液丹法). His name appears in Shangqing scriptures as one of the Perfected of the Four Poles (Siji zhenren 四極真人), and he is identified as

the Perfected of the Northern Pole (Beiji zhenren 北極真人) in \*Tao Hongjing's \**Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Perfected Numinous Beings).

In literary works, Anqi Sheng's name continued to be linked with the island of Penglai, as for example in Mu Hua's 木華 (fl. 290) *Haifu* 海賦 (Rhapsody on the Sea; trans. Knechtges 1982–96, 2: 305–20). Several geographical locations in China are also associated with this famous immortal, including the site near Guangzhou (Canton) where he is said to have lived, and a mica-rich mountain in Shandong that was named after him.

*Theodore A. COOK*

▣ Company 2002, 225–27; Giles L. 1948, 34; Kaltenmark 1953, 115–18; Kohn 1993b, 353; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 72–73; Robinet 1984, 11–19 *passim*

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

## 八卦

### eight trigrams

The eight trigrams of the \**Yijing* are different combinations of three lines (*yao* 爻). The lines have two forms: unbroken (=) representing Yang, and broken (—) representing Yin. When the trigrams are joined in pairs, one above the other, they form the sixty-four hexagrams.

Tradition attributes the origin of the trigrams to Fu Xi 伏羲 or other mythical figures. Used in divination, the trigrams originally served as images of elements in nature and human society, as described in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Commentary of Zuo), the *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the States), and especially the *Shuogua* 說卦 (Explanation of the Trigrams) appendix to the *Yijing*. Moreover, since ancient times the trigrams had been invested with significance as markers of the combinations and permutations of the forces that generate the world and all beings in it. While the trigrams together symbolize the whole of the cosmos, as stated in the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements) appendix to the *Yijing*, each represents one of eight categories of beings and objects (for some examples, see [table 2](#)).

*Arrangements.* The graphic arrangements of the eight trigrams express therefore a specific cosmological system and social order. The *Yijing* and its early commentaries describe various arrangements. Among them, two are especially important in Taoism, one representing the precelestial state and the other representing the postcelestial state (\**xiantian* and *houtian*; see [fig. 20](#)).

Table 2

☰	☱	☲	☳	☴	☵	☶	☷
乾	兌	離	震	巽	坎	艮	坤
<i>qian</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>zhen</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>gen</i>	<i>kun</i>
heaven	lake	fire	thunder	wind	water	mountain	earth
father	youngest daughter	second daughter	eldest son	eldest daughter	second son	youngest son	mother
south	southeast	east	northeast	southwest	west	northwest	north
northwest	west	south	east	southeast	north	northeast	southwest

The eight trigrams and their main associations: elements in nature, family relations, and directions in the cosmological configurations “prior to Heaven” and “posterior to Heaven”

(\**xiantian* and *houtian*).

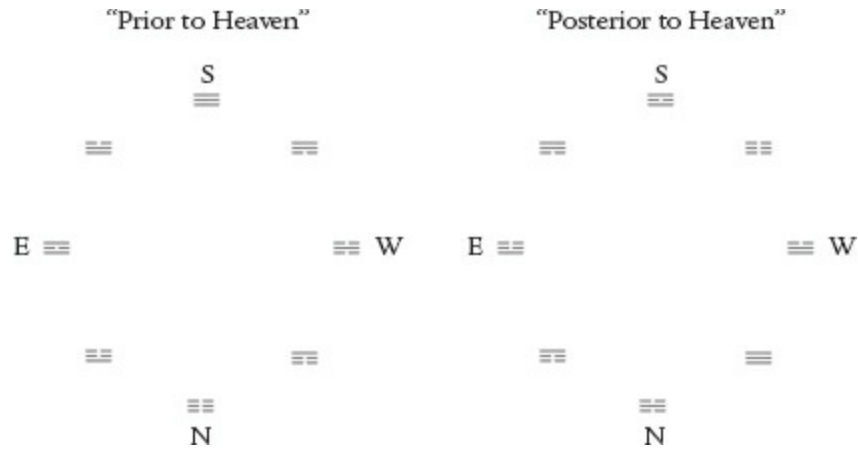


Fig. 20. Arrangement of the eight trigrams in the cosmological configurations “prior to Heaven” and “posterior to Heaven” (\**xiantian* and *houtian*).

The precelestial arrangement, associated with Fu Xi, is only alluded to in the *Yijing* but was developed by later scholars and finally formulated by \*Shao Yong (1012–77). This arrangement is characterized by a spatially balanced disposition with four opposed antagonistic pairs. *Qian* 乾 ☰ (Heaven, Yang) and *kun* 坤 ☷ (Earth, Yin) form the vertical south-north axis, *li* 離 ☲ (Fire, Yang) and *kan* 坎 ☵ (Water, Yin) set the horizontal east-west axis. This arrangement represents the primordial structure of the universe, the eternal and original nature of the world, and the state before things begin to turn and time starts to unfold.

The postcelestial arrangement, traditionally associated with King Wen of the Zhou (Wenwang 文王, r. 1099–1050 BCE), originated from statements in the *Shuogua* and was adopted as early as Han times. *Zhen* 震 ☳, having a Yang line under two Yin lines and standing for Thunder and spring, is located in the east; *li* 離 ☲, having a Yin line between two Yang lines and standing for Fire and summer, is to the south; *dui* 兌 ☱, having two Yang lines under a Yin line and standing for Lake and autumn, is to the west; and *kan* 坎 ☵, having a Yang line between two Yin lines and standing for Water and winter, is to the north. This arrangement represents the phenomenal world, the state after change has begun, and the universe in operation.

*Uses in Taoism.* The trigrams and their arrangements are used in Taoism to indicate natural forces and cosmological values on the spatiotemporal plane, and to establish or restore cosmological order. The *Shuogua* had already related the trigrams to eight parts of the human body. In early Taoist texts

such as the *\*Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure), they are related to the inner spirits (the *bagua shen* 八卦神, or “gods of the eight trigrams”) who protect the adept, or to the temporal divisions on which the adept meditates.

In alchemy, the trigrams symbolize ingredients and elixirs (Pregadio 2000, 182–85). Native cinnabar and native lead respectively correspond to *li* ☲ and *kan* ☵, which represent Yang and Yin in their postcelestial state. They contain Real Mercury and Real Lead which respectively correspond to authentic Yang (the inner Yin line of *li*) and authentic Yin (the inner Yang line of *kan*). When the alchemical process is described through these emblems, it consists in drawing the inner Yin line out of *li* and the inner Yang line of *kan*, exchanging them to restore *qian* ☰ and *kun* ☷, and then joining *qian* and *kun* to recreate the single unbroken line (—) that represents the Primordial One. The final product of the alchemical work is said to represent Pure Yang, the stage before the division of the Primordial One into the two. The trigrams can also be inscribed on alchemical instruments such as the tripod and the furnace (*\*dinglu*).

In ritual, to represent an idealized (or sacred) space to be visited by deities, and to reestablish the order of nature, officiants place the trigrams in their postcelestial arrangement around the altar. By stepping on the trigrams, the priest activates their principles and summons their spirits, following the example of the mythical emperor Yu 禹 (see *\*bugang*). The trigrams are also one of the motifs embroidered on Taoist sacerdotal robes.

*KIM Daeyeol*

▣ Cammann 1990; Lagerwey 1987c, 10–17; Li Daoping 1994, 541–737; Nielsen 1990; Robinet 1989a; Suzuki Yoshijirō 1974, 134–41, 246–58

※ *Yijing*; COSMOLOGY

Bai Yuchan

白玉蟾

1194–1229?; original name: Ge Changgeng 葛長庚; *hao*: Haiqiong

zi 海瓊子 (Master of Haiqiong), Hainan weng 海南翁 (Gentleman of Hainan), Qiongshan daoren 瓊山道人 (The Taoist of Mount Qiong), Bin'an 蟻庵 (Hermitage of the Oyster), Wuyi sanren 武夷散人 (Vagabond of Mount Wuyi), Shenxiao sanli 神霄散吏

(Vagrant Official of the Divine Empyrean)

This key figure in Southern Song Taoism and *\*neidan* was, by most contemporary accounts, the son of the important Ge 葛 clan from Fuzhou (Fujian). Hagiographies relate his Qiongzhou 瓊州 (Hainan) birth to the fact that his grandfather had been posted there as the prefectural superintendent of schools for classical learning. These sources report that, after his father died young, his mother remarried into a Bai 白 family from Leizhou 雷州 (Guangdong), which her son thereafter took as his surname, with Yuchan (“Jade Toad”) as his given name. Bai's lack of concern for poetic decorum allegedly led him to abandon his early classical education in favor of spiritual matters, and he had become a disciple of the adept *\*Chen Nan* by 1205. Before Chen passed away in 1213, Bai is said to have received from him both the *neidan* teachings passed down from *\*Zhang Boduan* and the teachings of Celestial Lord Xin (Xin tianjun 辛天君) on the Thunder Rites (*\*leifa*). This knowledge became the foundation of what Bai taught his disciples and followers.

From 1213 to 1215, Bai apparently lived as an itinerant religious practitioner, traveling up the east coast of China from Leizhou to Zhangzhou 漳州, Quanzhou 泉州, and Fuzhou (all now in Fujian province), distributing texts and performing rituals for various interested elite, before turning inland. He settled in the Wuyi mountains (*\*Wuyi shan*, Fujian) in late 1215, aided by the patronage of the local literatus Zhan Yanfu 詹琰夫 and the retired Zhejiang scholar Su Sen 蘇森. He gained his reputation among the local literati partly, by impressing them with his remarkable calligraphy and painting.

Over the next seven years Bai was very active, teaching alchemy, performing and teaching rituals, and writing literary texts. During this period he frequented religious centers in Fujian, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang, but very little is known of him or his activities after 1222. He evidently took on the role of a self-declared *\*Shenxiao* (Divine Empyrean) ritual practitioner who stressed

the Thunder Rites, or a recipient and interpreter of the texts and traditions of *neidan*. He is also credited with a coherent set of hagiographies and essays on the \*Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way) traditions tied to \*Xu Xun, the main \*Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) temple on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), and the main Taoist temple in the Wuyi mountains. A few texts bearing Bai's name date to 1227 and 1229, suggesting that he may have been active until about that time, but like many of the texts ascribed to him, the circumstances of his passing are more a matter of commemorative cultic practices than hard historical facts. By the time his two main disciples, \*Peng Si (fl. 1217–51) and Liu Yuanchang 留元長 (fl. 1217–37), assembled their master's teachings for publication in 1237, Bai's mortal existence had certainly ended, though he remained a source of revealed wisdom for his devotees for centuries to come.

Besides initiating a score or so disciples between 1215 and 1222, Bai also separately taught other groups of adepts eager to learn about the contemplative alchemy of Zhang Boduan, and the Thunder Rites tied to the Shenxiao legacy of \*Wang Wenqing. He seems to have helped to establish the Thunder Ministry (Leibu 雷部) and its role among the other new celestial bureaucracies invoked by Taoist ritual practitioners from the Song period onward. One of Bai's most important contributions was the promotion of the \**Yushu jing* (Scripture of the Jade Pivot) and its revealing deity, the Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation (\*Puhua tianzun), both associated with Bai and both evolved forms of Shenxiao teachings.

*Works.* Among the main extant texts that bear witness to Bai's teachings are those found in the Ming Taoist Canon, including the *Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu* 海瓊白真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Bai of Haiqiong; CT 1307; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 219–21), the *Haiqiong wendao ji* 海瓊問道集 (Anthology of Haiqiong's Queries on the Dao; CT 1308), the *Haiqiong chuandao ji* 海瓊傳道集 (Anthology of Haiqiong's Transmission of the Dao; CT 1309), and the *Jingyu xuanwen* 靜餘玄問 (Tranquil Remnants and Queries on the Mystery; CT 1252). Three anthologies in the \**Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection; CT 263)—i.e., the *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (Anthology of [the Abbey of] Jade Beneficence, *j.* 31–36), *Shangqing ji* 上清集 (Anthology of [the Abbey of] Highest Clarity, *j.* 37–44), and *Wuyi ji* 武夷集 (Anthology of [the Abbey of Mount] Wuyi, *j.* 45–52)—are associated, respectively, with the cult centers of Xu Xun (in the Western Hills

or \*Xishan, Jiangxi), the Zhengyi order (Mount Longhu, Jiangxi), and the Lords Wu 武 and Yi 夷 (Wuyi mountains, Fujian). A very interesting alchemical text, the \**Chongbi danjing* (Scripture of the Elixir for Piercing the Jasper Heaven), is atypically rich in both history and doctrine and worth a separate study. There are also numerous shorter texts associated with Bai, such as the annotated *Yushu jing* (CT 99), whose compiler seems to have pieced together parts of Bai's ritual memorials to explain the structures and processes of this key text on the Thunder Ministry. In addition, the \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual) contains many texts on the Thunder Rites that are attributed to Bai or his disciples.

Outside of the Ming Taoist Canon, there is also the distinctive commentary *Daode baozhang* 道德寶章 (Precious Stanzas of the Way and Its Virtue), which is included in the anthology of his teachings compiled by Peng Si and Liu Yuanchang and printed in 1237, with a preface by the official Pan Fang 盤枋 dated 1236. Later extensions, revisions, and editions of Bai's writings include those by the Hongwu emperor Zhu Yuanzhang's 朱元璋 seventeenth son, \*Zhu Quan (1378–1448), dated 1442; a work by the Ming scholar Lin Yousheng 林有聲 with a preface by He Jigao 何繼高, dated 1594; one by Peng Zhu 彭翥 dated 1791; another with an 1869 preface by Xu Baoheng 許寶珩; and a recent compilation with a preface by Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石 from 1969 and published in 1976 by a committee headed by Wang Mengyun 王夢雲.

Lowell SKAR

■ Berling 1993; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 72–73 and 176–79; Davis E. 2001, 76–78 and 129–34; Hymes 2002, 89–90, 174–75; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1978; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: 120–28 and 155–67; Yokote Yutaka 1996a

※ *leifa*; *neidan*; *Chongbi danjing*; *Yushu jing*; Nanzong; Shenxiao

*baibiao*

拜表

Presenting the Memorial

The term *baibiao* is one among several alternative terms that refer to the



central act in Taoist ritual, the transmission of a document to heaven. At least since the latter part of the Tang dynasty, it has been used typically with reference to the inner transmission of the document performed by the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; alternating in this respect with the term *baizhang* 拜章, “presenting a petition”), while the most ancient term for the whole process of transmission, *shangzhang* 上章 (“sending up a petition”), has continued to be used in most cases to designate the total process. The most elaborate major ritual in the program of a classical Taoist \**jiao* (Offering), which includes such a transmission of a document, is referred to in many places (for instance in Shanghai and in southern Taiwan) as *jinbiao* 進表 (“presenting the Memorial”), though in some places, and in many ritual manuscripts, the term *dengtai baibiao* 登臺拜表 (“ascending a platform to present the Memorial”) is used (see Saso 1975, 3323–3436). In fact, the *jinbiao* is often performed on a stage outside the closed ritual area, and it not only represents the first major ritual in which the priests step out of this closed area and into the public arena, but in a number of local traditions stands out as the climax and structural core of the whole program. In southern Taiwan it consists of an elaborate ritual play, in which the priests enact an audience with the Jade Sovereign (\**Yuhuang*, to whom the Memorial is transmitted), and it is accompanied by huge displays of offerings to the Jade Sovereign around the stage (including newly slaughtered whole pigs and sheep).

From the perspective of the priests, however, this ritual represents in a sense only an outer, somewhat more theatrical and thus more “popular” sequel to the transmissions of documents to the supreme Taoist gods, which have already taken place inside the closed ritual area, in the Three Audiences (\**sanchao*). The sequence of rites that accomplishes the transmission of the concrete paper document comprises the purification of the sacred area, the reading of the document and of a “passport” (*guan* 關) which is given to the messenger spirit called “official of the Memorial” (*biaoguan* 表官), the offering of three cups of wine to this messenger, and the circumambulation of the ritual area by the whole group of priests, one of whom holds the concrete document and takes it to the exit. In the Three Audiences (as performed in the classical tradition of southern Taiwan), this ritual theatre of transmission may be extended with an inner transmission, that is, with the meditative journey to heaven in order to deliver the document to the Most High (Taishang 太上), performed by the high priest as he crouches on the floor of the temple and remains still for some ten minutes.

▣ Andersen 1989–90b, 40–47; Andersen 1990; Andersen 1995; Cedzich 1987, 82–102; Lagerwey 1987c, 149–67; Lagerwey 1991, 152–56; Lü and Lagerwey 1992, 39–44; Maruyama Hiroshi 1986a; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983, 220–22; Nickerson 1996b, 278–302; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 336–42; Saso 1975, 3323–3436; Schipper 1974; Zhang Enpu 1954

※ *jiao; sanchao; shu*

## Baiyun guan

白雲觀

Abbey of the White Clouds (Beijing)

The Baiyun guan is the most famous Taoist abbey in present-day China. Founded as the Tianchang guan 天長觀 (Abbey of Celestial Perpetuity) in the mid-eighth century, it was one of the state-sponsored abbeys staffed by the official elite Taoist clergy. From 1125 to 1215, under the Jin dynasty, it served as the headquarters of the Taoist administration and played a major role in the imperial cults. After Beijing fell to the Mongols, the abbey, then called Taiji gong 太極宮 (Palace of the Great Ultimate), was damaged but was soon taken over by the \*Quanzhen patriarch \*Qiu Chuji (1148–1227) and renamed Changchun gong 長春宮 (Palace of Perpetual Spring) after his Taoist name. From that time to the advent of the Ming it was the seat of the Quanzhen patriarchy, known as *tangxia* 堂下.

After Qiu Chuji's death, his successor, \*Yin Zhiping (1169–1251), built a memorial shrine over Qiu's grave just east of the Changchun gong, around which a contemplative community was founded under the name of Baiyun guan. The Changchun gong disappeared in the Ming period but the Baiyun guan lived on, supervised by Taoist officials who, in spite of their \*Zhengyi observance, maintained the abbey's prestigious tradition of Quanzhen training in asceticism and meditation. In early Qing times, when the Zhengyi monopoly over Taoist administration was questioned and the Quanzhen fortunes improved, the reformist Quanzhen monk \*Wang Changyue (?–1680) gained control of the place and turned it into the main center of his own

\*Longmen lineage, which continues to supervise the whole of Quanzhen's institutional life to this day. The Baiyun guan hosted a permanent community of monks (no nuns were admitted before 1978, except during ordinations), numbering around 200 under the late Qing and the Republic.



Fig. 21. Entrance arch to the Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), Beijing (February 1985).  
Photograph by Julian Pas.

The Baiyun guan as it can be visited today is not very different in shape from late imperial times; only some conventual buildings have been demolished. However, the names of several halls, and the divinities they house, have changed since its reopening. The north-south axis passes through the main gates and the hall of the tutelary god. One then successively enters the Yuhuang dian 玉皇殿 (Pavilion of the Jade Sovereign), the Laolü tang 老律堂, (Hall of the Discipline of the Elders), the Qiuzu dian 丘祖殿 (Pavilion of Patriarch Qiu), and a multistoried building on the second floor of which is the Sanqing dian 三清殿 (Pavilion of the Three Clarities). An unusual feature for a Taoist abbey is that the main hall, where the community holds its twice-daily office, is not a Sanqing dian but the Laolü tang, which is actually devoted to the Quanzhen patriarchs; a similar configuration is also seen in Shenyang's 沈陽 (Liaoning) Taiqing gong 太清宮 (Palace of Great Clarity), where the main hall is devoted to Laozi. There are several halls for a host of divinities both on the sides and in the two smaller axes to the east and west of the main axis.

A delightful garden is located in the rear of the abbey, which also hosts the ordination platform (see [fig. 75](#)). During the Qing period, the Baiyun guan was the most important of some twenty Quanzhen ordination centers throughout the country. The abbey gathered novices who—after three years of preliminary tutelage in a temple or a hereditary cloister—underwent an extremely harsh, sometimes fatal, training lasting one hundred days, later reduced to fifty-three. The novices then passed examinations on Taoist classics, poetry, and precepts, and finally received ordination. Some of the later ordination registers are still extant. The last ordination was held in 1927, but the practice began anew, on a reduced scale, in 1994. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, groups of about 200 candidates were ordained on average every four years.

*Ordinations and religious life.* Ordinations made the abbot of the Baiyun guan—who usually, although not necessarily, was also an ordination master (*lüshi* 律師)—an important public figure. Some abbots, however, were prominent in their own right, like Gao Rentong 高仁峒 (1841–1907) who lectured on meditation and longevity techniques to large audiences, especially to artists and actors. Such charismatic figures helped to maintain the institution's vitality in a deteriorating political situation. The position of abbot was not filled during the 1940s, while the prior An Shilin 安世霖 gave a bad reputation to his institution and was burned on a pyre in 1946. That was the last dramatic application of the severe rules of the abbey. The Baiyun guan was closed for many years but was rather well protected. It still houses a fine collection of documents, including Ming and Qing liturgical paintings that have been partially published. Today the abbey is the seat of the Chinese Taoist Association (\*Zhongguo daojiao xiehui; see [fig. 90](#)).

The importance of the Baiyun guan for our knowledge of Taoist monastic institutions is based on the information collected by two Japanese scholars, Oyanagi Shigeta in the late 1920s and the Tendai monk Yoshioka Yoshitoyo in the early 1940s. Both lived in the abbey, cultivated friendship with the monks, and gained access to internal documents. Their monographs together give by far the most detailed information available on any Taoist abbey, including rules, list of residents, ritual activities, and training.

Besides its institutional aspect, the Baiyun guan has always been a focus of religious life in Beijing. It was visited especially from the first to the nineteenth day of the first lunar month, the date of Qiu Chuji's birthday. It

used to be said that on that day the immortal Qiu comes back to earth. Local as well as wandering Taoists from the whole country would gather on the abbey's grounds, make merry, and hope for an encounter. The festival has existed since the Yuan period, and from the mid-1990s the Baiyun guan has begun again to attract large crowds for the New Year festival.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Hachiya Kunio 1990, 1: 1–26 and 257–58, 2: 3–10; Ishida Kenji 1992; Ishii Masako 1983a, 147–62; Marsone 1999; Oyanagi Shigeta 1934; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 231–32; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1952, 196–345; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1979

※ Longmen; Quanzhen; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

*bajing*

八景

Eight Effulgences

On the cosmological level, the term *bajing* refers to eight astral bodies: the sun, the moon, the five planets and the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*). These celestial *waijing* 外景 (outer effulgences) are related to the eight sectors of the world, the eight nodal days of the year (*bajie* 八節, namely, equinoxes, solstices, and the first day of each season), and the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*). On the human level, the *neijing* 內景 (inner effulgences) are various sets of eight inner divinities who play a prominent role in *\*Shangqing* texts, but have also been included in Taoist ritual.

According to *\*Lingbao* sources, the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣; see *\*santian* and *liutian*) generated twenty-four *jing* (with each pneuma issuing eight *jing*), while the nine Great Heavens generated seventy-two *jing* (with each heaven issuing eight *jing*). The seventy-two *jing* of *Lingbao* correspond to the seventy-two celestial deities of the *\*Dadong zhenjing*, the main *Shangqing* scripture; this group increases to seventy-four with the Original Father (Yuanfu 元父) and the Mysterious Mother (Xuanmu 玄母). The seventy-two deities are arranged into three sets—higher, middle, and lower—each of which is related to a set of eight inner divinities.

The twenty-four *jing* of the body are both deities and luminescent points, and are also arranged into three sets of eight. These twenty-four *jing* are related to the twenty-four pneumas (*\*qi*) of the year (the *jieqi* 節氣 or “energy nodes,” each of which presides on fifteen days) and the twenty-four zodiacal constellations. During meditation practices, the adept merges them into a single deity who carries him to the heavens. They are further conceived as openings or gates within the body through which the divine pneumas go in and out.

The eight *jing* also play an important role in methods aimed at releasing the mortal knots in the embryo (Robinet 1993, 139–43). These knots are congenital germs of death located in the body since its conception, and are the negative counterparts of the *jing*. They appear in the eighth month of gestation when the pneuma of the Qingming 清明, the Clear and Luminous heaven, descends into the body. In contrast, the eight *jing* symbolize the totality of the innumerable corporeal deities, and have the appearance of young boys whose height, clothes, and names are specified in the texts. One method described in the *\*Ciyi jing* consists in having the Three Original Pure Ladies (Sansu yuanjun 三素元君) summon these spirits in three groups of eight—the first within the Purple Chamber (*zifang* 紫房) in the brain, the second within the heart, and the third within the Gate of the Vital Force (*\*mingmen*) in the abdomen. The upper group is related to Heaven, the lower one to Earth, and the central one to Emptiness. The Imperial Lord (Dijun 帝君) makes knots on three red threads, eight for each group. Then the *bajing* untie them and the threads flare up in a great fire that consumes the knots as well the practitioner's whole body.

Finally, the *bajing* are also carriages of light that transport the deities through the heavens. In this instance they are the luminous counterpart of the *basu* 八素 (eight purities), which are carriages of clouds (see *\*Basu jing*).

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Kaltenmark 1969a; Maspero 1981, 553–54; Robinet 1984, 1: 126–27, 129–30; Robinet 1993, 57–58; Strickmann 1979, 173–75

※ INNER DEITIES

Bao Jing

鮑靚 (*or*: 鮑靖)

?–ca. 330; *zi*: Taixuan 太玄

Bao Jing, whose place of birth is unknown, was a descendant of Bao Xuan 鮑宣 and Bao Yong 鮑永, two senior officers of the Former and Later Han dynasties. He began his career as a minor civil servant in Nanyang 南陽 (Henan) but was promoted to the post of Governor of Nanhai 南海 (Guangdong) in 313, under the Western Jin dynasty. In 320 he left his office and retired to Jurong 句容 or Danyang 丹陽 (near Nanjing, Jiangsu). According to different records, he was buried in the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan, Guangdong) or at Shizigang 石子岡 (Jiangsu).

Taoist tradition makes Bao the recipient of several early doctrinal and textual legacies. He reportedly began his Taoist instruction in 318 with the immortal \*Yin Changsheng, who gave him the *Taixuan Yin Sheng fu* 太玄陰生符 (Yin Sheng's Talisman of Great Mystery), a script enabling adepts to achieve \**shijie* (release from the corpse). According to another tradition, \*Zuo Ci gave Bao the \**Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks) and alchemical writings. Bao also met \*Ge Hong, became his father-in-law and his master in alchemy, and transmitted to him a version of the \**Sanhuang wen* (Script of the Three Sovereigns) that Bao had received while meditating in a cave. Finally, \*Shangqing sources claim that Bao was the master of Xu Mai 許邁 (300–348), one of the recipients of the revelations of 364–70 (see \*Yang Xi).

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

▣ Chen Feilong 1980, 64–69, 124–26; Chen Guofu 1963, 76; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 536–52 (= 1964, 117–35); Robinet 1984, 1: 9–19

※ Ge Hong; *Sanhuang wen*

*baojuan*

寶卷

“precious scrolls”

*Baojuan* is the traditional name for a form of vernacular religious literature associated with popular Buddhist preaching and the syncretist religious sects so often deemed heterodox by the Ming and Qing dynasties. A *baojuan* is usually a lengthy prosimetric (alternating prose and verse) narrative meant to be recited or sung in a private or public group setting. While aspects of the *baojuan* style became sufficiently fixed to identify a large corpus of such texts, there are still many variations among these texts. Buddhist themes predominate, yet there are a few distinctly Taoist *baojuan* as well as more subtle Taoist influences on a medium that generally interwove the Three Teachings.

*Precious scrolls and Taoism.* Rooted in the lay-oriented Buddhist texts found in \*Dunhuang, especially the eighth- to tenth-century *bianwen* 變文 (transformation texts) and *jiang jingwen* 講經文 (lecturing on the *sūtra* texts), the earliest *baojuan* were probably written by Buddhist clergy in the interests of universal salvation (\**pudu*). The earliest extant list of *baojuan*, the *Weiwei budong Taishan shengen jieguo baojuan* 巍巍不動泰山深根結果寶卷 (Precious Scroll on the Fruits of the Profound Foundation of Lofty Immovable Mount Tai; ca. 1509) by Luo Qing 羅清 (1443–1527), mentions a *Xiangshan juan* 香山卷 (Scroll of the Fragrant Mountain; later editions use *Xiangshan baojuan*), which tells the story of Guanyin 觀音 (Avalokiteśvara), and the *Jinkang baojuan zuozheng* 金剛寶卷作證 (Testimony to the Precious Scroll on the *Diamond Sūtra*). Luo Qing, a lay Buddhist who founded the Luo jiao 羅教 or Luo Teaching (also known as Wuwei jiao 無為教 or Teaching of Non-action), adopted the *baojuan* style for his own collected teachings, known as the *Wubu liuce* 五部六冊 (Five Books in Six Fascicles), where he cited many earlier *baojuan*. His teachings were a vernacular presentation of a distinctly popular, syncretic Buddhist millenarianism. Taoist terms, such as \**wuwei* (non-action), were given Buddhist interpretations (for instance, turning inward to restore the Buddha-mind within) that helped to popularize them and to expand the ideas they invoked beyond more canonical Taoist or Buddhist referents. (For more details on Luo Qing and the *Wubu liuce*, see the entry \**Kaixin fayao*.)

This use of Taoist terminology is true for other sectarian *baojuan*, such as the *Fo shuo huangji jieguo baojuan* 佛說皇極結果寶卷 (Precious Scroll Spoken by the Buddha on the Results of the August Ultimate; 1430), which



predated Luo's books and includes references to the noumenal world (*\*xiantian*) and the Golden Elixir (*\*jindan*). Presenting itself as a new and ultimate revelation, thereby subordinating all other teachings and scriptures, the *Fo shuo huangji* evoked themes found in both Taoist and Buddhist scriptural precedents. For example, the Buddha is presented as giving an oral teaching from his famous seat on top of Vulture Peak that reveals a new path (full of obscure alchemical images) to salvation (understood as immortality) in a newly revealed heaven (the Hongluo tian 紅羅天 or Red Canopy Heaven). Scholars also find Taoist themes in the *Huangji jindan jiulian zhengxin guizhen huanxiang baojuan* 皇極金丹九蓮正信歸真還鄉寶卷 (Precious Scroll on the Golden Elixir and Nine-Leaved Lotus of the August Ultimate for Correcting Belief, Restoring Perfection, and Returning to One's True Home; 1523), which may be based on the *Fo shuo huangji*, as well as the *Gu Fo Tianzhen kaozheng longhua baojuan* 古佛天真考証龍華寶卷 (Precious Scroll on the Old Buddha "Heavenly Perfection" Confirming the Dragon Flower; 1654).

While arguing that one of the oldest *baojuan*, the *Fo shuo Yangshi guixiu hongluo Huaxian ge baojuan* 佛說楊氏鬼繡紅羅化仙歌寶卷 (Precious Scroll Spoken by the Buddha on Madame Yang's Ghostly Embroidered Red Canopy and "Song of the Transformed Immortal") of the Jin-Yuan period, was written by Buddhist clergy, Ma Xisha (1986, 1994) suggests that it combined Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism in ways that prefigured one of the main effects of the *baojuan*, namely, their role as a prime medium for diffusing fundamental Taoist ideas throughout Chinese culture. In them, Taoist mythology, notions of inner alchemy (*\*neidan*), and the *\*zhai* and *\*jiao* rituals joined with Chan Buddhist influence to give rise to a very influential model of self-cultivation that shaped the new forms of popular religiosity seen in the sects of the late Ming, such as the Huangtian dao 黃天道 (Way of Yellow Heaven) and Hongyang jiao 紅陽教 (Teaching of Red Yang) sects to mention just two among many.

*Styles and their classification.* Various classification schemes have been used to try to understand the history of shifts in the style and content of *baojuan*. In general, they are divided into two types associated with two stages: first, early Buddhist and sectarian *baojuan* dating from the fifteenth to early eighteenth century; and later *baojuan*, dating from the mid-eighteenth century to the present, which were more secular, moralistic, literary and entertaining.

The more soteriological vision of the early *baojuan* included relatively orthodox Buddhist figures like Guanyin, Mulian 目連, and Xuanzang 玄奘, as well as so-called heterodox sectarian teachings concerning the Unborn Venerable Mother (Wusheng Laomu 無生老母). Later *baojuan* narratives, however, drew more heavily on figures from popular culture, such as the Confucian paragon of incorruptible officialdom, Sir Bao (Baogong 包公, i.e., Bao Zheng 包拯, 999–1062; SB 823–32), or the heavily Taoicized Stove God (\*Zaoshen), or the renowned Seven Perfected (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)) of \*Quanzhen. While many early *baojuan* follow rather distinctive formulas for beginning and ending the narrative and frequently used the term *baojuan* in their titles, this is less true of later examples, which took on more features associated with morality books (\**shanshu*) and spirit-writing texts (see \**fuji*).

One important reason for this general shift in the style of *baojuan* was increased government repression of sectarian activity and confiscation of their scriptures, especially in the Qing dynasty. The collection of confiscated sectarian scriptures cited by Huang Yupian 黃育榘 (fl. 1830–40) in his careful refutations of their teachings (*Poxie xiangbian* 破邪詳辯; 1834, with three further studies by 1841) makes clear that the millenarian revelations and unorthodox deities of sectarian *baojuan* were prime examples of the type of teachings considered dangerous by the government, though Huang also attacks one *baojuan*'s Taoist interpretation of the self in alchemical terms. It is not surprising, given both the popularity of the genre and its official proscription, that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century publishers in southern China began printing *baojuan* with safer themes—although the private production and circulation of religious *baojuan* never really ceased. Today it is estimated that more than seven to eight hundred different editions of *baojuan* survive, of which two-thirds focus on general moral exhortation while one-third reflect more particularistic sectarian doctrines.

Catherine BELL

▣ Han Bingfang 1986; Johnson 1995a; Li Shiyu 1957; Li Shiyu 1961; Ma Xisha 1986; Ma Xisha 1994; Overmyer 1976, 176–86; Overmyer 1985; Overmyer 1999; Overmyer and Li 1992; Sakai Tadao 1960, 437–55; Sawada Mizuho 1975; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1952, 2–69; Zheng Zhenduo 1938, 2: 306–46

※ *shanshu*; ETHICS AND MORALS; TAOISM AND POPULAR SECTS

*Baopu zi*

抱朴子

Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity

\*Ge Hong's (283–343) *Baopu zi* is divided into Inner Chapters (“Neipian” 內篇, CT 1185), mainly devoted to descriptions and comments concerning religious practices, and Outer Chapters (“Waipian” 外篇, CT 1187), dealing with the “discourses of the literati” (*rushuo* 儒說). Originally independent, since the Ming period the two parts have often been printed together. Many Western scholars, however, conventionally apply the title *Baopu zi* to the Inner Chapters only. This part of Ge Hong's work has frequently been seen in the past as the main textual source for early medieval Taoism. Studies published in the last two decades have challenged this view, showing that the text is not a Taoist scripture and revealing the intent underlying its composition: glorifying the religious and ritual legacy of Jiangnan 江南 (the region south of the lower Yangzi River), emphasizing the superiority of certain traditions over others, and enhancing their prestige among the social elite to which Ge Hong belonged.

Although the contents of the *Baopu zi* are not arranged according to a definite plan, some chapters focus on specific themes. Chapter 1, in particular, consists of a poetical description of the Dao as Mystery (\**xuan*), the unknowable Origin of being. Chapter 2 deals with immortals and immortality. Chapters 4, 11, and 16 are mainly devoted to alchemy (\**waidan*). Chapter 17 describes practices for avoiding the dangers that one may meet while living in retirement, from the bites of poisonous animals to visions of demons. Chapter 18 is devoted to meditation techniques. Chapter 19 contains a tribute to Ge Hong's master, \*Zheng Yin, and a list of about two hundred texts and about sixty talismans (\*FU) that were part of the religious heritage of southeastern China in the third and the fourth centuries.

*The “minor arts.”* According to Ge Hong, three groups of texts represented the traditions of Jiangnan in his time. The first includes the \**Sanhuang wen* (Script of the Three Sovereigns), the \**Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks), and associated writings; the second, the \**Taiqing* scriptures on the elixirs; the third, the texts dealing with the meditation practices of Guarding the One (\**shouyi*). At the lower end of this spectrum of

traditions, Ge Hong places a broad group of practitioners whom he calls the “coarse and rustic masters of methods” (*zawei daoshi* 雜猥道士; Wang Ming 1985, 14.259). They are associated with the “minor arts” (*xiaoshu* 小術), which in Ge Hong's view include healing methods, longevity techniques, divination, and magic. Ge Hong deems these practices to be inadequate for avoiding harm caused by demons and spirits. Herbal drugs, in particular, only confer long life; although they help to heal “internal ailments” (*neiji* 內疾), they leave one subjected to external evil influences, including those of demonic origin (13.243).

*Nourishing Life.* As described by Ge Hong, the practices of Nourishing Life (*\*yangsheng*) mainly consist in breathing, gymnastics (*\*daoyin*), and sexual techniques (*\*fangzhong shu*; 6.124). Ge Hong's view of these disciplines is condensed in a question: “Can the Dao really be nothing more than the pursuit of nourishing life?” (18.327). Accordingly, he qualifies these techniques as inferior or ancillary to alchemy, and as merely granting freedom from illness (15.271). The object of his criticism is the belief that one can practice them as the sole way to attain immortality. A clear example is his evaluation of the sexual techniques, whose benefits do not exceed those of the “minor arts”: “Among the arts of Yin and Yang (i.e., the sexual practices), the best ones can heal the lesser illnesses, and the next ones help one avoid becoming depleted. Since their principles have inherent limits (*qi li zi you ji* 其理自有極), how could they confer divine immortality, prevent calamities, and bring about happiness?” (6.129) Like the ingestion of herbal drugs, therefore, the techniques of Nourishing Life afford benefits, but they are not the same as those that only the higher practices can grant.

*Alchemy and meditation.* In Ge Hong's view, alchemy and meditation represent the culmination of the search for transcendence. Ingesting elixirs enables an adept to obtain immortality, communicate with the gods, and expel the noxious spirits. As for meditation, Ge Hong distinguishes between two types of meditation on the One, which he calls Guarding the Authentic One (*shou zhenyi* 守真一, or *shouyi* for short) and Guarding the Mysterious One (*shou xuanyi* 守玄一, respectively (j. 18). Guarding the Authentic One consists in visualizing the features that the One takes within the human being as an inner deity, while Guarding the Mysterious One makes it possible to multiply one's shape into “several dozen” or even “one thousand” replicas of oneself (ubiquity), or hide it altogether (invisibility). Beyond their

differences, however, the two methods afford identical benefits, which are the same as those gained by ingesting the elixirs. On the one hand, Guarding the Authentic One gives access to the divine world: “If you guard the One and preserve the Authentic (*cunzhen* 存真), you will be able to communicate with the gods” (18.324). On the other hand, Guarding the Authentic One confers protection against demons and other ominous entities: “In the shrine of a demon, in a mountain forest, in a land infested by a plague, within a tomb, in a marsh inhabited by tigers and wolves, or in the dwelling of snakes, if you guard the One without distraction all evils will be expelled; but if you forget to guard the One even for a single moment, the demons will harm you” (18.325). Similarly, the purpose of guarding the Mysterious One is to obtain control of gods and demons: “You will be able to see all the numina of heaven and the spirits of earth, and to summon all the deities of the mountains and the rivers.” (18.326)

*The Baopu zi and the history of Taoism.* The above reading of the contents of the *Baopu zi* is supported by the author's own statements, and is consistent with the main features of the religious traditions of third- and fourth-century Jiangnan. Ge Hong's wish to incorporate fragments of different bodies of doctrine and practice into his work, however, gives rise to some contradictions within the text. Part of them may be due to the presence of quotations or summaries from sources belonging to different traditions that are not acknowledged as such (to give one example, virtually the whole of chapter 17 appears to be built on quotations from earlier texts). Others may be due to Ge Hong's distaste for a systematic approach. Nonetheless, Ge Hong's testimony deserves attention as a valuable overview of the religious traditions of Jiangnan just before the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) spread to that area, soon followed by the \*Shangqing and \*Lingbao revelations. From this point of view, the *Baopu zi* documents important links between the earlier and later history of Taoism (Bokenkamp 1983), as it also does for medicine and other fields (Murakami Yoshimi 1981; Harper 1998, 173–83).

The information provided by Ge Hong on local practices, beliefs, and teachings is therefore useful to better appreciate earlier and later sources that originated in the same area. These sources, in turn, are often essential to fully understand individual passages of the *Baopu zi* and the religious perspectives of its author.

▣ Bokenkamp 1983; Company 2002, 1–97; Che 1999 (part. trans.); Chen Feilong 1980; Davis and Ch'en 1941 (part. trans.); Feifel 1941–46 (part. trans.); Hu Fuchen 1989; Kaguraoka Masatoshi 1988; Kim Daeyeol 2000; Lai Chi-tim 1998a; Needham 1976, 75–113; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 485–627 (= 1964, 65–214); Pregadio 1987 (part. trans.); Pregadio 2006b, chapter 7; Robinet 1997b, 78–113; Sailey 1978; Wang Ming 1985 (crit. ed.); Ware 1966 (trans.)

※ Ge Hong

Baosheng dadi

保生大帝

Great Emperor Who Protects Life

Baosheng dadi is the title of a regional deity of southern Fujian province. His hagiography identifies him as a physician by the name of Wu Tao 吳仝 (979–1036), a native of the village of Baijiao 白礁 near the port city of Amoy (Xiamen 廈門). Having gained fame for his miraculous cures, after his death the local people began to worship his spirit in continued hope for his healing efficacy. Baijiao and the neighboring village of Qingjiao 青礁 became the earliest centers of his cult, which soon spread widely across southern Fujian. The new deity, however, always retained a close affinity with his native Tongan district 同安縣, and was carried by Tongan emigrants beyond the borders of Fujian to other parts of continental China, to Taiwan, and to Southeast Asia. Hundreds of temples dedicated to him are active to the present day.

While strictly speaking a popular rather than a Taoist deity, Baosheng dadi adopted more and more Taoist characteristics as his cult spread. The earliest sources contain some hints of possible Taoist inclinations on the part of Wu Tao, but most of his explicitly Taoist features are later accretions to his hagiography. Examples of such features include certain Taoist themes in the deity's legend, Taoist rituals performed at his temples, his \*Shenxiao Taoist derived title, and the scripture composed for his cult, all of which serve to

imprint a Taoist identity on a popular deity, without ever completely absorbing it into the Taoist pantheon.

*Philip CLART*

▣ Dean 1993, 61–97; Lin Guoping and Peng Wenyu 1993, 217–39; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 153–54; Schipper 1990

✕ TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

### *Basu jing*

### 八素經

### Scripture of the Eight Pure Ladies

The *basu* are carriages of clouds for the divinities, the Yin counterpart of the *\*bajing* (Eight Effulgences) which are Yang carriages of light. The same term also denotes eight female divinities. The scripture that concerns them belongs to the original *\*Shangqing* revelations, and is divided into two parts in the current Taoist Canon: the *Basu zhenjing* 八素真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Eight Pure Ladies; CT 426) and the *Basu zhenjing fushi riyue huanghua jue* 八素真經服食日月皇華訣 (Authentic Scripture of the Eight Pure Ladies and Instructions on the Absorption of the August Efflorescences of the Sun and the Moon; CT 1323). Both texts belong to the group of *Shangqing* writings that teach how to follow the yearly and monthly journeys of the Sun and the Moon across the sky in order to ingest their essences. These meditation exercises play an important role in the *Shangqing* practices and vision of the world, and parts of them were included in later rituals.

The *Basu zhenjing* consists of three main sections. The first describes exercises to visualize the divinities of the planets and absorb their light. The second is a rite to call upon the divinities of the planets and ask them to erase one's name from the registers of death (*siji* 死籍). This rite complements a similar one addressed to the divinities of the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*) described in the *\*Jiuzhen zhongjing*. The third section focuses on two methods to pacify the *hun* souls (see *\*hun* and *po*) and expel the Three Corpses (*sanshi*; see *\*sanshi* and *jiuchong*); it also contains a list of *Shangqing* texts arranged into four classes according to the spiritual ranks

granted by their practice.

The *Fushi riyue huanghua jue* teaches how to absorb the essences of the Sun and the Moon by ingesting water previously exposed to their rays. It contains several talismans (\*FU): two for Yin and Yang, two for the Sun and the Moon, and one for each of the Eight Pure Ladies. Then it describes the rite of the *Xuanmu bajian* 玄母八簡 (Eight Tablets of the Mysterious Mother), which consists in visualizing divinities who ride in carriages of light (*jing* 景) and clouds (*su* 素) on the eight nodal days of the year (*bajie* 八節, i.e., equinoxes, solstices, and the first day of each season), which are related in turn to the eight directions of the world (the *bamen* or Eight Gates). The adept asks these deities to let him ascend with them to heaven.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Robinet 1984, 2: 51–57; Robinet 1993, 187–95

※ Shangqing

*baxian*

八仙

Eight Immortals

The names of individuals counted as the Eight Immortals changed over the years. In Du Fu's 杜甫 (712–70) “Song of the Eight Immortals of the Winecup” (“Yinzhong baxian ge” 飲中八仙歌), a humorous depiction of eight inebriates, the Eight Immortals are listed as \*He Zhizhang, Li Jin 李璿, Li Shizhi 李適之, Cui Zongzhi 崔宗之, Su Jin 蘇晉, Li Bai 李白 (Li Bo), Zhang Xu 張旭, and Jiao Sui 焦遂. According to the early Song *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period; j. 214), a picture called “The Eight Immortals,” painted by Zhang Suqing 張素卿, a Taoist master from Mount Qingcheng (\*Qingcheng shan, Sichuan), included Li Er 李耳 (i.e., Laozi), \*Rong Cheng, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒, \*Zhang Daoling, Yan Junping 嚴君平 (see \*Yan Zun), Li Babai 李八百 (see \*Lijia dao), Fan Changshou 范長壽, and Ge Yonggui 葛永瑰. These were the so-called “Eight Immortals of Sichuan.” Clearly there was more than one group known as the Eight Immortals. Perhaps the most famous was that



which formed in the Yuan period and became well known at a popular level in the Ming period (see [fig. 22](#)): Han Zhongli 漢鍾離, \*Zhang Guolao, Han Xiangzi 韓湘子, Li Tieguai 李鐵拐, Cao Guojiu 曹國舅, \*Lü Dongbin, Lan Caihe 藍采和, and He xiangu 何仙姑 (Immortal Maiden He).

With the exception of Li Tieguai, whose background is uncertain, Han Zhongli and the others in this later group all have some form of personal history. Han Zhongli was \*Zhongli Quan, whose biography is in the \**Jinlian zhengzong ji* (Records of the Correct Lineage of the Golden Lotus), compiled by Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188–1244) and containing the biographies of the Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖) and the Seven Real Men (or Perfected, *qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)) of the \*Quanzhen school. Here he is considered the second patriarch, having received the teachings from the first, Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence; see \*Wang Xuanfu). He lived for more than five hundred years, from the Later Han to the Tang dynasty, before gaining immortality. Zhang Guolao was Zhang Guo 張果, a \**fangshi* (master of methods) who lived during the Tang dynasty, and his biography is included in the *fangshi* records in both versions of the *History of the Tang Dynasty*. He is said to have been invited from his abode in Hengzhou 恆州 (Hebei) to court by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) and there performed a number of magical arts. His age is not known, and so he is given the appellation Lao 老 (Elder). Han Xiangzi is said by some to have been Han Xiang 韓湘, nephew of the Tang literary figure, Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824; IC 397–40). The following story is taken from the *Qingsuo ji* 青瑣集 (Anthology of the Green Latticed Window) in the “Divine Immortals” (“Shenxian” 神仙) section of the *Shihua zonggui* 詩話總龜 (General Compendium of Poetry Criticism). One time, when Han Xiang was scooping up earth in front of his uncle Han Yu and placing it in a tray, two beautiful flowers suddenly bloomed, and between the two the following verse appeared in golden letters:



Fig. 22. The Eight Immortals.

Clouds veil the Qinling range:  
 where is your home?  
 Deep snow has closed the Lan Pass:  
 the horses will go no further.

It is said that this was used within a poem composed by Han Yu at the Lan Pass (Languan 藍關) after he had been demoted to Chaozhou 潮州 (Guangdong). Cao Guojiu was the younger brother of Empress Cao (Cao huanghou 曹皇后), wife of Song Renzong (r. 1022–63). Lü Dongbin was the second Quanzhen patriarch after Zhongli Quan. Lan Caihe's biography can be found in Shen Fen's 沈汾 *Xu xianzhuan* (Sequel to Biographies of Immortals). He dressed in a tattered blue gown, and wore a boot on only one foot, leaving the other bare. In summer he wore padding under his robe, and in winter slept in the snow, while his body gave off steam. He was always drunk. He sang songs accompanying himself on castanets, begging his way through the town. His sex is obscure and in later times he was portrayed on the stage as a woman. Tales of He xiangmu are found in many places; according to Zhao Daoyi's 趙道一 *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages; *Houji* 後集, 5.8a–b), she was the daughter of He Tai 何泰 of Zengcheng 增城 in Guangzhou (Canton). She was instructed by a divine person in a dream to prepare a “Powder of mica” (*yunmu fen* 雲母分) and ingest it; in the reign of Tang Zhongzong (r. 684, 705–10) she gained

immortality.

Probably contributing greatly to the renown of this particular group of Eight Immortals was the devotion extended to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin as patriarchs of the Quanzhen order, and the depiction of He xiangu as a student of Lü Dongbin. As the Eight Immortals became more and more popular, they were featured in plays, novels, and paintings; stories such as “The Eight Immortals Crossing the Sea” (“Baxian guohai” 八仙過海) and “The Eight Immortals of Turquoise Pond Assembly Celebrate Longevity” (“Yaochi hui baxian qingshou” 瑤池會八仙慶壽) became widely known.

*YOSHIKAWA Tadao*

▣ Jing Anning 1996; Lai T'ien-ch'ang 1972; Little 2000b, 319–34; Maspero 1981, 161–64; Ho and O'Brien 1990; Yang R. F. S. 1958; Yetts 1916; Yetts 1922

※ Lü Dongbin; Zhang Guolao; Zhongli Quan; HAGIOGRAPHY; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

Beidi

北帝

Northern Emperor

When Taoists elaborated their mythical geography during the first centuries CE, they placed Beidi, the Northern Emperor, at the head of Mount \*Fengdu and made him the supreme sovereign of the kingdom of the dead. In this role, Beidi runs a giant administration including judges, officials, henchmen, and all the dead who have repented and are enrolled in the infernal bureaucracy according to their former status and prestige in the world of the living.

For \*Tao Hongjing, Beidi is similar to Yanluo 閻羅 (Yama, the king of the Buddhist hells; \**Zhengao*, 15.2a), but he also is associated with the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*). Beidi plays, therefore, essential roles as director of destiny at both extremities of the *axis mundi*, heaven and hell. Otherwise his identity is uncertain; in particular, he does not seem to be directly related to Xuanwu 玄武 (Dark Warrior), nor to his successor, Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝 (Highest Emperor of the Dark Heaven), who became popular during the

Tang period and was venerated as the patron saint of the ruling houses of the Song and Ming dynasties (see under \*Zhenwu).

A long liturgical and exorcistic tradition developed around the myth of Beidi during the Six Dynasties, in the wake of Taoist apocalyptic eschatology. Adepts—especially those associated with the \*Shangqing school—practiced the “Northern Emperor's Method of Killing Demons” (*Beidi shagui zhi fa* 北帝殺鬼之法), a meditation technique accompanied by recitations of the names of the Six Palaces of Fengdu (see \*[santian](#) and *liutian*) and the Tianpeng spell (\**Tianpeng zhou*). Communal exorcistic rituals addressed to Beidi were also performed at that time. Later, under the Tang and the Five Dynasties, exorcists adhering to Beidi's cult entered the official ranks of the Taoist clerical system with the title of Taoists of the Northern Emperor's Great Mystery (*Beidi taixuan daoshi* 北帝太玄道士). It is probably at this time that the great summa of Beidi's tradition was composed. This text, entitled *Taishang Yuanshi tianzun shuo Beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing* 太上元始天尊說北帝伏魔神咒妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of Divine Spells of the Northern Emperor for Suppressing Demons, Spoken by the Highest Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; CT 1412), is a large collection of apotropaic recipes and exorcistic rites.

The major exorcistic schools of the Song period, such as the \*Tianxin zhengfa, renewed Beidi's tradition. The voluminous fourteenth-century \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual) includes no less than thirteen chapters (j. 156–68) related to the practices of this tradition, gathered under the title *Shangqing Tianpeng fumo dafa* 上清天蓬伏魔大法 (Great Rites of Tianpeng for Suppressing Demons According to the Highest Clarity Tradition). The tradition was continued, at least through the Ming dynasty, by the Celestial Masters of Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), who were well known for their exorcistic skills.

*Christine MOLLIER*

📖 Mollier 1997

✂ *beidou*; Fengdu; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

*beidou*

## 北斗

### Northern Dipper

Since early times, the Northern Dipper (*Ursa Major*) has played a fundamental role in Chinese official and religious life, due to its importance in the astrocalendrical calculations and its mighty apotropaic powers. The basic features of its roles in Taoism are already apparent in the Han period: in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian, *j.* 27; trans. Chavannes 1895–1905, 3: 339–43), the Dipper is associated with the pole star as the heavenly center of the world, and is the residence of the Great One (\*Taiyi); its rotation divides the world into the Nine Palaces (\**jiugong*). The Dipper, therefore, rules over Heaven and Earth and symbolizes the complex unity of the cosmos. Its earthly counterpart is Mount \*Kunlun, the axis of the world. Within the human body, the Dipper is located in its three centers—at the level of the head, the heart, and the navel—and is related to the Three Ones (\**sanyi*). It is also associated with the spleen, the organ related to Soil and the Center in the \**wuxing* pattern. Since the color of Soil is yellow, alchemical texts call the Dipper the “yellow star” (*huangxing* 黃星), and one of its synonyms is Yellow Dame (*huangpo* 黃婆).

However, the Dipper lies in the North and thus symbolizes the Origin, which embraces beginning and end and subsumes both Yin and Yang. Many terms used to describe the Dipper give it the qualities of the Origin and pivot of the universe, and the days of the “return to the Origin” (*huiyuan* 迴元) are consecrated to it. The Dipper therefore has a double nature: it is linked with life and death and is associated with the idea of passage, and also divides good from evil and grants punishments and rewards. All the symbols that represent the connection between unity and multiplicity are closely related to it.

The Dipper consists of nine stars, number 9 being that of the Great Yang (*taiyang* 太陽) and of totality. Four stars are located in the scoop, three in the handle, and two are invisible (see [fig. 23](#)). The latter, called Fu 輔 and Bi 弼, are its assistants. Those who can see them, under strict conditions of purity, enjoy a life span of several hundred years. Each star is inhabited by divinities, and encloses a paradise similar to those in the Moon and Sun. According to some texts, the nine stars have counterparts which form another invisible constellation surrounding the first one. These nine supplementary stars

illuminate the Dipper; they are the celestial-Yang and earthly-Yin souls (\**hun* and *po*) of the Dipper, and are inhabited by the spouses of its kings. Within the human body, the spirits of these “black stars” reside in the Hall of Light (\**mingtang*) located in the brain, and their titles suggest that their function is to protect the embryo. Thus the celestial world appears to be inverted: the female, Yin, and dark entities are outside, while the male, Yang, and luminous ones are within. In fact, the Dipper is said to be “the natural fire contained in the Yin.”

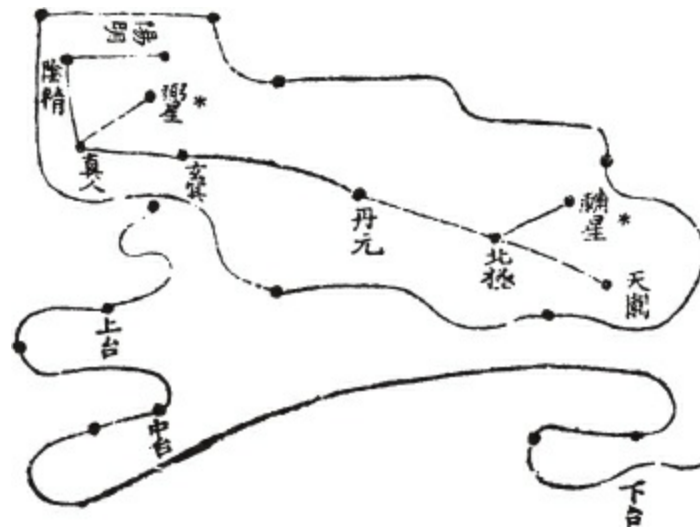


Fig. 23. The Northern Dipper (*beidou*). The picture shows, on top, the locations and names of the seven main stars of the Dipper. Two additional stars, marked by asterisks (\*), are associated with the Sun and the Moon and are said to be visible only to advanced adepts. The stars arranged along the line surrounding the Northern Dipper are the residences of the spouses of the Lords of the Dipper's seven visible stars. Below the Northern Dipper is the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台), another constellation formed by three groups of two stars. *Bu tiangang fei diji jing* 步天綱飛地紀經 (Scripture on Walking along the Celestial Guideline and Flying above the Earthly Threads; CT 1316), 1a–b.

See Robinet 1993, 202–5.

In Taoism, the Dipper has four major roles, all related to its dual aspect. First, the Dipper indicates the proper orientation for performing meditation or rituals through the apparent movement of its “handle.” Second, it has strong exorcistic powers as a divinity of the North and of the underworld. Adepts, for example, cover themselves with its stars by visualizing them descending

directly above their heads, or surrounding them. Analogously, in the Thunder Rituals (*\*leifa*), the thunder is summoned from the direction to which the Dipper points (called the Gate of the Vital Force, *\*mingmen*) in order to expel demons. Third, the Dipper is the recipient of invocations to ask forgiveness for one's sins and to have one's name erased from the registers of death (*siji* 死籍). Fourth, it opens the way to heaven (its seventh star is called Tianguan 天關 or Heavenly Pass) in both meditation and ritual. This may take place within the framework of exercises whose purpose is to unify the adept and deities pertaining to the practices of Guarding the One (*\*shouyi*). The best known of these exercises is “walking along the guideline” (*\*bugang*), frequently related to the practice of “spreading open the Barrier of Heaven” (*tianguan* 天關; Kroll 1986b).

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Andersen 1989–90b; Harper 1978–79; Kalinowski 1983, 343–47; Kroll 1986b; Robinet 1993, 200–225; Robinet 1984, 2: 58–65; Robinet 1997b, 142–47; Schafer 1977a, 42–53

※ Beidi; Beidou xingjun; Doumu; Taiyi; *bugang*; *jiugong*; *tianxin*

*Beidou xingjun*

北斗星君

Star Lords of the Northern Dipper

The worship of polar deities occurs early in Chinese history as part of the cult of longevity. Already by the Han period, lamps of seven wicks were used for votive purposes in rituals for obtaining long life. The personification of the stars of the Northern Dipper, specifically, dates to the Tang period and was further developed in the Song period. At that time, on the basis of earlier materials, the *Beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 北斗本命延生真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Natal Destiny of the Northern Dipper for Extending Life; CT 622) was composed. This scripture became one of the most popular and widely recited religious texts in modern China.

*Caroline GYSS*

▣ Franke H. 1990; White 1945

※ *beidou*; *Wudou jing*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

### *Benji jing*

#### 本際經

#### Scripture of the Original Bound

According to Xuanyi's 玄嶷 (fl. 684–704) \**Zhenzheng lun* (Essays of Examination and Correction), the authors of the *Benji jing* were Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 (ca. 560-ca. 640), who wrote the first five chapters at the turn of the seventh century, and Li Zhongqing 李仲卿, who appended the latter five chapters shortly thereafter. Only two of the original ten chapters can be found within the texts of the Taoist Canon. The second chapter appears in the *Taixuan zhenyi benji miaojing* 太玄真一本際妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Original Bound of the Perfect Unity of Great Mystery; CT 1111) and in the *Jueyi jing* 決疑經 (Scripture on Resolving Doubts; CT 59), while the ninth chapter is included in the *Kaiyan bimi zang jing* 開演祕密藏經 (Scripture on Elucidating the Secret Storehouse; CT 329). Various chapters also exist in over seventy \*Dunhuang manuscripts, which preserve the *Benji jing* almost in its entirety and allow a partial reconstruction of its table of contents: 1. “Protecting the State” (“Huguo pin” 獲國品); 2. “Entrustment” (“Fushu pin” 付屬品); 3. “Actions of the Sages” (“Shengxing pin” 聖行品); 4. “Dao-Nature” (“Daoxing pin” 道性品); 5. “Attesting to the Truth” (“Zhengshi pin” 證實品); 6.-9. Titles unknown; 10. “Penetrating the Subtle Concerning the Origin of the Dao” (“Daoben tongwei pin” 道本通微品).

The authors of the *Benji jing* derived their inspiration for the text from Buddhism. Not only was the term *benji* a second century translation of the Pāli term *pubbākoṭi* (Skt.: *pūrvakoṭi*), which designates the original “point of genesis” (Wu Chi-yu 1960, 5–10; Sharf 2002, 229–38), but late-fourth-century translations of the *Madhyamāgama* (*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經, T. 26 [51]) and the *Samyuktāgama* (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T. 99 [937–55]) contained *sūtras* of the same name. The format of the text, a question and answer session between the highest deity and advanced practitioners, resembles that often found in Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Buddhist *sūtras*.



Throughout the *Benji jing*, Buddhist terms are discussed, such as *faxiang* 法相 (marks of the dharma, *dharmalakṣṇa*), *fayin* 法印 (seals of the dharma), and *jingtu* 淨土 (pure land, *Sukhāvātī*). The text also emphasizes two important Buddhist ideas, *upāya* (skillful means) and *nirmāṇakāya* (the “transformation body” of the Buddha), which are used to justify the existence of different and often conflicting teachings and scriptures. Related to the Buddhist idea that reality is illusory, it describes meditation practices where the adept frees himself from all concepts and comes to realize that there is no underlying reality.

The *Benji jing* was often cited in Taoist encyclopedias, particularly the \**Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching). In 742, Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) ordered its distribution to all Taoist temples and its recitation in state rituals. The text became a major focus of attacks in Buddhist polemics, probably resulting from the popularity it enjoyed at court.

Amy Lynn MILLER

■ Kaltenmark 1979a; Kamata Shigeo 1968, 11–80; Kanaoka Shōkō 1983, 190–96; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 128–71 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 291–353 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Ozaki Masaharu 1983e, 183–86; Robinet 1977, 102–3; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 212–45; Wan Yi 1998; Wu Chi-yu 1960; Yamada Takashi 1999

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*benming*

本命

1. natal destiny; 2. birth star

The term *benming* literally means “natal destiny” or “individual destiny.” It is commonly used, however, to denote the time when a person is born and the deities governing that time. Consequently, for a person's life and destiny to be propitious it is thought necessary to know the star deity ruling at the hour of birth, and to perform rites at times corresponding to the hour of birth according to the sexagesimal cycle (\**ganzhi*).

Although such rites probably originated within folk cults, they were and still are also performed within Taoism. In the ordination rituals of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), for instance, the bestowal of registers (\*LU) included the statement: “The natal destiny of (*name*), born on (*month, day, and hour*), comes under the authority of the Lord of the (*name*) star in the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*)” (*Sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu* 三五正一盟威錄; CT 1208, 1.1a). Every life thus is governed by one of the stars in the Northern Dipper, depending on the year of birth. The name of the appropriate star lord is also recorded on the documents appointing a Taoist ritual master (\**daozhang*), whose religious name is chosen according to the ruling calendrical sign.

Taoist priests in present-day Taiwan perform a minor rite designed to dispel misfortune by venerating the appropriate Lord of the Northern Dipper according to the *benming*. The rite involves the recitation of texts such as the *Beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 北斗本命延生真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Natal Destiny of the Northern Dipper for Extending Life; CT 622; see under \**Wudou jing*).

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Hou Ching-lang 1975, 106–26; Little 2000b, 248; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 678–702

※ *beidou*

*bianhua*

變化

metamorphosis; transformation

The idea of *bianhua* (metamorphosis, or “change and transformation”), that the certainty that the world is in flux leaves open the possibility that things may transform from one type to another, can be traced from the \**Zhuangzi* through the \*Shangqing tradition.

The “transformation of things” (*wuhua* 物化) and *bianhua* were pivotal concepts in the cosmology of the Warring States classic *Zhuangzi*, and

became part of the Taoist worldview beginning with mantic texts of the Han dynasty. In the *Zhuangzi*, *bianhua* refers to the ability of things to change from one category to another and is taken as a core argument in favor of the text's particular brand of skepticism. It is also important in the description of human growth in Liu An's 劉安 (179?–122) \**Huainan zi* (ca. 139 BCE), which emphasizes the role of the basic dualism of Heaven and Earth. After going through the ten months of fetal development, the text relates how each of the five viscera (\**wuzang*) govern a particular sense organ, and concludes: “Therefore the roundness of the head is the image of Heaven, and the squareness of the feet is the image of Earth” (see also under \*birth). In the early period, discussions of *bianhua* tend to emphasize the way in which it applies to human beings in the same way it does to the natural world (Sivin 1991). Some later texts also find *bianhua* used to describe natural contexts such the transformation inside the chrysalis, and the transition to an afterlife.

Another approach to *bianhua* stresses the potential for the adept to control it. Many extant fragments of a second text related to Liu An, the *Huainan wanbi* 淮南萬畢 (Myriad Endings of Huainan), deal with the use of *bianhua* in daily life (Kusuyama Haruki 1987). The Heshang gong 河上公 commentary to the *Daode jing* (see \*[Laozi Heshang gong zhangju](#)) also uses the term in a more instrumental way explaining its use by the dragon (sec. 26) and the spirits (sec. 36). Just as the dragon is a metaphor for the sage, its ability to use *bianhua* is a characteristic of Laozi in the \**Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi), a text that reflects the many historical transformations of the sage Laozi.

The harnessing of *bianhua* was particularly important in later Taoism, where it became linked with the eschatological picture of the Shangqing tradition. Like Laozi, the diverse spirits of the Shangqing tradition are able to transform themselves, and the adept had to be able to identify their different manifestations. Adepts, in turn, might use *bianhua* to transform themselves. The Shangqing text *Shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing* 神州七轉七變舞天經 (Scripture of the Divine Continent on the Dance in Heaven in Seven Revolutions and Seven Transformations; CT 1331) describes methods for transforming into clouds, light, fire, water, and dragons (Robinet 1993, 161). Isabelle Robinet notes that “the powers of metamorphosis had always been a key characteristic of the immortals, but these powers came to be even more central in Shangqing where they were synonymous with deliverance and salvation” (Robinet 2000, 219).

▣ Robinet 1979b; Robinet 1993, 153–69; Sivin 1991

※ *shijie; xing; zaohua; ziran*

*bianshen*

變身 or 變神

“transformation of the body” or “transformation of the spirit”

The term *bianshen* has been used in Taoist ritual texts since the Song dynasty, with special reference to various practices—comprising notably visualizations and spells—through which a priest may transform himself into being identical, either with the cosmos as a whole, or with the specific deity that presides over the particular method or rite that he is about to perform. There is an obvious connection between practices of this kind and the theme of the cosmic body of Laozi, which in early legends is identified with the Dao or with the primordial Chaos (*\*hundun*), and which is said to have given rise to the universe. A number of practices of transformation (*\*bianhua* or *bianxing* 變形, “transformation of the body”), related to this theme and to the general notion of a parallelism between the human body and the universe, formed part of Taoist physiological and meditational techniques during the early Six Dynasties, and were developed in the texts of the *\*Shangqing* tradition such as the *Shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing* 神州七轉七變舞天經 (Scripture of the Divine Continent on the Dance in Heaven in Seven Revolutions and Seven Transformations; CT 1331). A central object of identification in these early traditions was *\*Taiyi*, the Great One, the supreme celestial deity who emerged during the Warring States as a personification of the concept of cosmic unity or totality, and who was addressed as an alter ego of the ruler in the imperial cult of the early Han dynasty. Practices for the transformation of the body appear in the Taoist liturgies instituted at the end of the Han, as for instance in the *\*Zhengyi* rite of Lighting the Incense Burner (*\*falu*) which is described already in the *\*Dengzhen yinjue* (3.6b–8a, compiled from original Shangqing material), in which there is a strong focus on the “cosmification” and externalization of the energies of the body of the

priest. The function of this rite is to initiate communication between the priest and the divine world, and it has been transmitted to the present day as part of the basic framework of major Land of the Way (\**daochang*) and Audience (\**sanchao*) rituals in the classical \**jiao* liturgy. It was not until the early Song dynasty, however, that practices of transformation, occurring as standard elements of ritual, were subsumed under the heading of *bianshen*.

Methods labeled as *bianshen* are described in all the major ritual compendia of the Song dynasty, as for instance in those of the \*Tianxin zhengfa, in which the term refers to relatively simple acts of identification with specific deities, and to the more comprehensive series of transformations that initiate whole services of exorcism (see \*[Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao](#), 2.1a–2b; *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法, CT 566, 2.1a–5b). In addition to the identification with the first Celestial Master, \*Zhang Daoling, the latter comprise both practices of “walking along the guideline” (\**bugang*) and “practices in the hand” (\**shoujue*), as well as visualizations of the basic emblems of cosmic power surrounding the practitioner. They also often include the long spell that in present-day ritual manuals is referred to as the Great Spell for the Transformation of the Body (*da bianshen zhou* 大變身咒; see Andersen 1995, 195, and Lagerwey 1987c, 71).

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Andersen 1995; Lagerwey 1987c, 69–73; Schipper 1978, 96–98

※ TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

### *Bianzheng lun*

#### 辯正論

#### Essays of Disputation and Correction

This polemical work in eight chapters (T. 2110) was completed about 633 by Falin 法琳 (572–640), and includes commentary by the scholar-official Chen Ziliang 陳子良 (?–632). Together with Falin's *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (Essay Refuting Heresy; T. 2109), written in 622 to refute \*FU Yi, it has long been recognized as a datable source citing dozens of Taoist texts. Its account of

late Six Dynasties studies of the *Daode jing* also preserves information independently from Taoist and secular sources. The reasons for this become clear once we consider Falin's intellectual training at Blue Brook Mountain (Qingxi shan 青溪山), a long-forgotten religious center in Hubei where adherents of Buddhism and Taoism lived in close proximity (Barrett 1991b). But Falin is important for more than bibliographical reasons. His reassertion of the Buddhist case against Taoism, first stated under the Liang dynasty, on the grounds that it was a confection that was not even true to the Chinese classical tradition (in which Laozi is granted a place as a philosopher) defined the limits within which the emerging state Taoism of the Tang dynasty was tolerable to Buddhists. In this, even though Falin was to some extent constrained by the need to refute specific points made by polemical opponents, the Taoists Li Zhongqing 李仲卿 and Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 (see \*[Benji jing](#)), the *Bianzheng lun* makes explicit the criteria by which Buddhism judged other religions (*jiao* 教, “teachings”), and so is extremely helpful in decoding all other descriptions of Taoism through Buddhist eyes. But his blunt, ethnocentric criticisms of the nascent dynastic attempts to link by descent the ruling family and Laozi as a more than human figure incurred in 639 charges of having slandered the emperor. This resulted in banishment to Sichuan, en route to which he died.

The influence of the *Bianzheng lun* in East Asia was considerable: hence as early as 1930 Takeuchi Yoshio produced a study of its textual variants designed to identify the source of the edition cited in medieval Japan (Takeuchi 1930, 9: 410–26). Despite Falin's punishment, and the banning of his biography, his works were already included in the Buddhist canon in mid-Tang times, to judge from catalogues and phonological commentaries. Some of the polemical issues raised in the *Bianzheng lun*, such as the controversies surrounding the status of Laozi, were also dealt with by contemporary Buddhists such as Jizang 吉臧 (549–623) in his *Sanlun xuanyi* 三論玄義 (Mysterious Meaning of the Three Treatises; T. 1852), but Falin's work remains the most complete surviving statement of the issues between Buddhism and Taoism until the renewed debates of the Mongol period.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Kohn 1995a, 180–86; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 315–21 (list of texts cited); Tonami Mamoru 1999, 40–55

*bigu*

辟穀

abstention from cereals

The term *bigu* denotes a diet that allows one to avoid eating common food, which in China mainly consisted of cereals. These were said to generate harmful entities, particularly the “worms” or “corpses” residing in the intestine (see *\*sanshi* and *jiuchong*), in the epigastric region, and in the brain; they were also thought to induce pain, produce debris and excrement that cause the intestine to decay, and destroy the vital principle of their host. Cereals therefore were progressively reduced and replaced by other outer or inner nourishment, including herbs, minerals, breath (see *\*fuqi*), and talismanic water (*fushui* 符水, i.e., water containing ashes of burned talismans, *\*FU*). Besides *bigu*, abstention from cereals is known as *duangu* 斷穀 (stopping cereals), *juegu* 絕穀 (discontinuing cereals), *quegu* 卻穀 (refraining from cereals), or *xiuliang* 修糧 (stopping grains).

The earliest document about this practice is a *\*Mawangdui* manuscript entitled *Quegu shiqi* 卻穀食氣 (Refraining from Cereals and Ingesting Breath; trans. Harper 1998, 305–9). In Han times, abstention from cereals was often associated with worship of the Stove God (*\*Zaoshen*). *\*Li Shaojun*, for instance, taught Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) a “method of worshipping the furnace and abstaining from cereals to prevent old age” (*cizao gudao quelao fang* 祠竈穀道卻老方; *Hanshu* 25.1216). By the early fourth century, according to *\*Ge Hong*, there were more than one hundred different methods, some of which he mentions in *\*Baopu zi* 15 (trans. Ware 1966, 243–49). A section of the *Zhenzhong ji* 枕中記 (Notes Kept Inside the Pillow; CT 837, 14a–15b) is concerned with *bigu*, and *j. 57* of the *\*Yunji qiqian* contains methods for ingesting breath and avoiding cereals.

When the technique was successful, “movable cuisines” (*xingchu* 行廚) or “celestial cuisines” (*tianchu* 天廚; see under *\*chu*) were brought in gold and jade vessels by Jade Women and Golden Boys (see *\*yunü*), especially the Jade Women of the six cyclical signs *jia* 甲 or *ding* 丁 (*\*liujia* and *liuding*).

The *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Excerpts from the Essential Liturgies and Observances; CT 463, 14.6b–8a) describes a related rite that includes abstaining from cereals and drinking water containing talismans of the six *jia*. Such rites were said not only to benefit Taoist adepts, but even to prevent whole armies dying of hunger and thirst.

Abstention from cereals should also be situated in the historical context of social unrest and famine. The *Mouzi lihuo lun* 牟子理惑論 (Mouzi's Correction of Errors; T. 2102, 1b; trans. Pelliot 1920) states that after the fall of the Han dynasty more and more people refrained from eating cereals. Despite his skepticism regarding these methods, Ge Hong similarly wrote: “Those who hide in mountain forests in case of troubles or famines in the world will not starve to death if they know this method” (*Baopu zi* 15.266; see trans. Ware 1966, 244).

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Company 2002, 22–24; Harper 1998, 141–42; Hu Fuchen 1989, 283–86; Lévi 1983; Maspero 1981, 331–39; Stein R. A. 1972; Stein R. A. 1973

※ *yangsheng*

*biqu*

閉氣

breath retention

*Biqu* denotes retaining one's breath between inspiration and expiration. This practice, which probably originated in Han times, is attested in the Jin period and is mentioned several times in the *\*Baopu zi*. A quotation from the lost *\*Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life; early fourth century) in the *\*Ishinpō* (Methods from the Heart of Medicine) describes one of the relevant methods as follows:

Breath must be retained while one silently counts to 200, then must be let out through the mouth. The time of breath retention is progressively increased to 250; then one's eyebrows become luminous, one's ears hear very well, and all diseases disappear. (*Ishinpō*, 27.17b; also in *\*Yangxing yanming lu*, 2.2b)

This method was preferably to be practiced during the time of the “living



breath” (*shengqi* 生氣), i.e., between midnight and midday, and adepts could count breath retentions on their fingers or using wooden cards, incense sticks, and so forth. A practice attributed to \*Pengzu is reported in the *Ishinpō* as follows:

After midnight, when the living breath starts, one should retain one's breath and silently count without interruptions. Those who are afraid of making errors can count one thousand wooden cards by hand; then they will not be far from immortality. When one breathes out, one should let out less breath than was inhaled. Inspiration is done through the nose, expiration through the mouth.” (*Ishinpō*, 27.19a)

According to \*Sun Simiao's (fl. 673) *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand; *j.* 27), breath should be retained in the chest for the time equivalent to 300 breaths, so that even a feather placed under one's nose would not move.

Breath retention was also practiced in conjunction with gymnastic exercises (\**daoyin*), but in this instance the number of breath retentions was generally reduced to five, seven, or twelve. It was also often associated with circulating the breath (\**xingqi*), allowing one to release breath in the body to heal diseases, eliminate stagnation and impurities, and generate warmth until perspiration was produced. Ritual uses of this technique have also been described, especially in association with the practice of “pacing the void” (*buxu* 步虛; see \**bugang*). Having visualized the breath of the multicolored stars of Northern Dipper (\**beidou*), an adept grinds his teeth, swallows his saliva, and retains his breath; the number of retentions depends on the numbers related to the stars that correspond to certain parts of the body (see *Feixing jiuchen yujing* 飛行九晨玉經; CT 428).

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Maspero 1981, 506–17; Needham 1983, 142–43

※ *yangsheng*

Bixia yuanjun

碧霞元君

Original Princess of the Jasper Mist

The name Bixia yuanjun does not appear in any text earlier than the fifteenth century, either within or outside of the Taoist Canon. Before then, the goddess was known as the Jade Woman of Mount Tai (Taishan yunü 泰山玉女), a title conferred on her by Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). This canonization acknowledged for the first time a cult that probably had long thrived in Shandong: Taishan yunü was the daughter of the Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak (\*Dongyue dadi), the god of Mount Tai (\*Taishan).

As early as the Yuan period, a Yunü daxian 玉女大仙 (Great Immortal Jade Woman) or Yunü niangniang 玉女娘娘 (Damsel Jade Woman) was worshipped in Beijing. In 1495, when a stele was inscribed for a temple devoted to her, the divine foster mother was formally identified as Bixia yuanjun. A stone inscription erected in the \*Dongyue miao of Beijing in 1524 documents her cult at the capital under this new title, but qualifies that cult as “heterodox” (\*yinsi). Half a century later, the mother of the Wanli Emperor (r. 1573–1620) developed a strong devotion to Bixia yuanjun and placed her infant son under the protection of the goddess. The empress dowager's lavish gifts to the Dongyue miao and other shrines drew criticisms but helped to establish Bixia yuanjun as one of the most popular deities in and around the capital.

Although Bixia yuanjun never received an official canonization, her cult expanded during the late Ming and Qing periods with the support of the Beijing craft and trade guilds. With no less than 116 temples, Bixia yuanjun was the third main deity in Beijing during the Qing dynasty, after Guandi 關帝 (\*Guan Yu) and Guanyin 觀音, two eminent orthodox deities. The high point of the year-round cycle of festivals in her honor was the pilgrimage to Mount Miaofeng (Miaofeng shan 妙峰山, west of Beijing) during the fourth lunar month.

*Caroline GYSS*

▣ Chavannes 1910b, 29–43; Little 2000b, 278–29; Maspero 1981, 164–66; Naquin 1992; Naquin 2000, 240–47, 517–28, and passim; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 106–8

※ Dongyue dadi; Dongyue miao; Taishan

Bojia dao

帛家道

Way of the Bo Family

Bojia dao is the designation of a loosely defined set of beliefs and practices related to the lineage of Bo He 帛和, a \*fangshi (master of methods) who lived around 300 CE. According to the \*Shenxian zhuan (Biographies of Divine Immortals; trans. Campany 2002, 133–36), Bo He was a fangshi who mastered “embryonic breathing” (\*taixi) and methods for making “medicines of immortality” (xianyao 仙藥). Later he devoted himself to alchemical practices based on the \*Taiqing jing (Scripture of Great Clarity) on Mount Xicheng (Xicheng shan 西城山, Shaanxi), and is also said to have received the \*Sanhuang wen (Script of the Three Sovereigns) and the \*Wuyue zhenxing tu (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks).

Bo He appears to have established a system of beliefs that were spread by his disciples, who were based in present-day Jiangsu and Zhejiang. Much is unclear, however, regarding the historical Way of the Bo Family. The term Bojia dao is first recorded in writings by \*Tao Hongjing (456–536). Tao notes in his *Zhoushi mingtong ji* 周氏冥通記 (Records of Mr. Zhou's Communications with the Unseen; CT 302, 1.13a) that “prayers to the popular gods (*sushen* 俗神) are commonly called the Way of the Bo Family.” In his \*Zhengao (Declarations of the Perfected; 4.10b), Tao also clearly states that Xu Mai 許邁 (300–348; see under \*Yang Xi) “was originally affiliated with the Way of the Bo Family and exploited many people.” Tao's words seems to suggest that a cult called Way of the Bo Family existed by the second half of the fourth century. It is worthy of note, though, that while the \*Baopu zi (trans. Ware 1966, 314 and 328) refers to Bo He, it makes no mention of the Way of the Bo Family.

YAMADA Toshiaki

☞ Chen Guofu 1963, 75–76, 276–77; Yamada Toshiaki 1983b, 1:369–71; Hu Fuchen 1989, 56–57; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 95–96

*bugang*

步罡 (or: 步綱)

“walking along the guideline”

The term *bugang* refers to Taoist ritual walks or dances, which follow the basic cosmic patterns, such as the various arrangements of the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*) that are passed through in the sequence of the numbers from 1 to 9 arranged so as to form the so-called “magic square” (see *\*Hetu* and *Luoshu*). The earliest preserved descriptions are found in the revealed texts of the *\*Shangqing* tradition, which focus on walks along the patterns of the constellations and the five planets, and especially on walks along the seven stars of the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*). A common general term for the practice, which occurs already in texts from the late Six Dynasties, accordingly, is *bugang tadou* 步罡踏斗, “walking along the guideline and treading on (the stars of) the Dipper”.

*The “Paces of Yu.”* The practice of *bugang* evidently descends from the ancient, shamanic “Paces of Yu” (*Yubu* 禹步), and indeed the latter term occurs in Taoist texts as the label of some variants of the complete practice. This style of walking typically consists in simply dragging one foot after the other, and it is usually explained with reference to the legend of Yu, who exerted himself in his effort to establish order in the world after the great inundation to such an extent that he became lame on one side of his body. The earliest, most detailed account of the Paces of Yu is the one found in *j.* 17 of the *\*Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 285–86), where each pace comprises three steps, and the movement thus appears like the waddle of a three-legged creature. This triple structure of the walk in the developed Taoist forms of *bugang* was no novelty, but in fact represents the most characteristic aspect of the Paces of Yu described in the medical and divinatory texts of the late Warring States (Harper 1998; Rao Zongyi and Zeng Xiantong 1982).

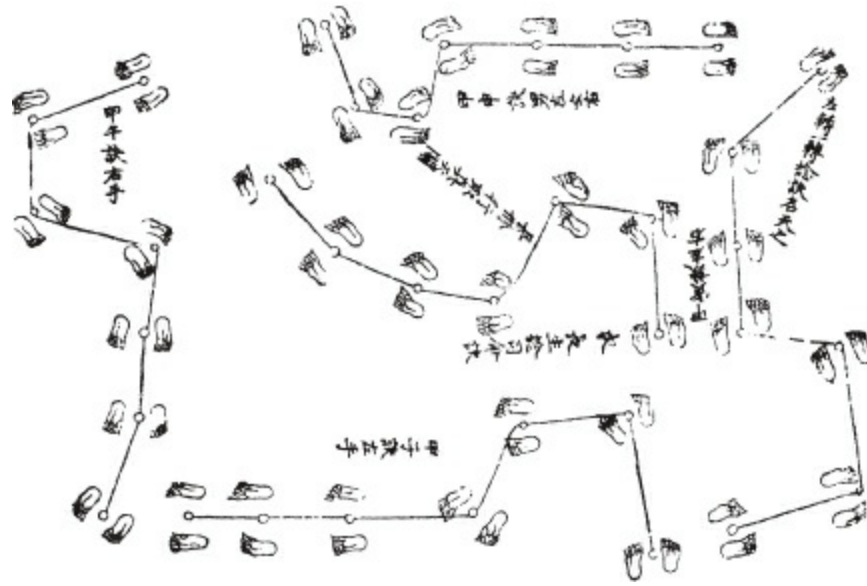


Fig. 24. Treading the twenty-eight lunar mansions  
 (\*xiu). \*Jinsuo liuzhu yin  
 (Guide to the Golden Lock and the Flowing Pearls;  
 CT 1015), 2.2a-b.

It stands to reason that, at least in the minds of some practitioners of this period, the three paces were associated with the notion of a movement through the three levels of the cosmos, leading the performer to heaven. The fact that already in the early Han dynasty, the steps seem to have been connected with the three pairs of stars that are situated under the Northern Dipper and referred to as the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台; see [fig. 23](#)), or the Celestial Staircase (*tianjie* 天階), would seem to support this. It would appear, in other words, that even in this early period the Paces of Yu constituted a close parallel to the three Strides Viṣṇu in early Vedic mythology, which are thought to have taken the god through the three levels of the cosmos (thereby establishing the universe), and which indeed, just like the Paces of Yu in Taoist ritual, are known to have been imitated by Vedic priests as they approached the altar—and in the same form as the Paces of Yu, that is, dragging one foot after the other.

The Paces of Yu are described in the *Baopu zi* as elements of the divinatory system of *dunjia* 遁甲 (Hidden Stem), which serves to calculate the immediate position in the space-time structure of the six *ding* (*liuding*; see \*[liujia](#) and *liuding*), i.e., the spirits that define the place of the “irregular gate” (*qimen* 奇門). This gate represents a “crack in the universe,” so to speak, which must be approached through performing the Paces of Yu, and

through which the adept may enter the emptiness of the otherworld and thereby achieve invisibility to evil spirits and dangerous influences. The close relationship between divination and forms of *bugang* has survived in later divinatory systems, and it is quite common, even in present-day manuals of divination, to find a whole section describing variants of *bugang*. In the early texts of the Shangqing tradition (in which the theme of achieving safety through methods of invisibility is quite strongly represented), this divinatory aspect of *bugang* is retained, however, only as terminological reminders, and in the cosmological framework of the practice; the overwhelming emphasis is on the purpose of achieving individual immortality and the ascent to heaven.

*Bugang in liturgy.* A similar transformation is evident in the forms of *bugang* that since the Tang dynasty were adopted into the general liturgy, mainly from the \*Zhengyi tradition. As in the Shangqing variants of the practice, each step is accompanied by a line of incantation, pronounced inwardly by the priest as he reaches the star or trigram in question. The movement of the feet on the ground commonly is paralleled by the visualization of a journey through heaven, and—at least since the Song dynasty—by “practices in the hand” (\**shoujue*), i.e., a movement with the thumb of the left hand, which represents a parallel movement through the body of the priest. The ritual manuals commonly insist on the point that the three movements must be carefully coordinated. Indeed, the basic patterns followed in the practice of *bugang* are associated with the concept of the movement through heaven of the high god \*Taiyi, the Great One, or the Supreme Unity, and the accompanying incantations often make it clear that as the priest performs the walk, he impersonates Taiyi. A powerful theme underlying the practice is that of world-creation and the establishment of order, frequently associated with the construction of the sacred area in the initial part of a ritual. Within the liturgy, however, the characteristic specific functions of *bugang* are, first, to serve as elements of the purification of the ritual area, and second, to structure the movement of the high priest (*gaogong* 高功), as he approaches the point of the transmission of a document to heaven, and the point of his ascent in order to deliver the document to the Most High.

The forms of *bugang* used in present-day liturgy mostly derive from the ritual compilations of the Song dynasty. They are typically performed by the high priest alone and are described in his “secret manual” (\**mijue*). The practice is highly valued by the present-day priesthood, and it is commonly

conceived as a foundational element of Taoist ritual. A similar view is expressed in many historical texts, such as in the *\*Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (Secret Essentials of the Totality of Perfected, of the Most High, for Assisting the Country and Saving the People; preface 1116; 8.1a), by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗, who says: “The Paces of Yu along the guideline of the Dipper, and the instructions for practices in the palm of the hand, are the great essentials of the Way, the primordial leading thread of (all other) methods.”

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Andersen 1989–90b; Andersen 1990; Andersen 2001, 48–71; Chen Guofu 1963, 280; Holm 1994; Hu Tiancheng, He Dejun, and Duan Ming 1999; Lager-vey 1987c, 31–35, 99–101, and passim; Robinet 1976, 219–59 passim; Robinet 1993, 187–225; Robinet 1995b; Sakade Yoshinobu 1993c; Schafer 1977a, 187–225; Zhang Zehong 1994

※ *bianshen; jintan; shoujue*

*buqi*

布氣

spreading breath

*Buqi* means spreading out one's inner breath, mainly for healing purposes. Xing Ling's 幸靈 biography in the *Jinshu* (History of the Jin; 95.2483) contains the first mention of this technique. According to this story, Lü Yi's 呂猗 mother had been suffering from rheumatism and muscular atrophy in the lower limbs for over ten years. To treat her, Xing sat down next to her in silence, with his eyes half-closed. After some time, he asked Lü to help his mother to get up. Lü replied that this was impossible because of his mother's illness, but when Xing again asked him to try, Lü's mother could walk by herself. This story is quoted by Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1037–1101; SB 900–968), who also relates that one of his sons was healed by Li Ruozhi 李若之 with this method (*Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林, Siku quanshu ed., 12.12b). Another mention of *buqi* occurs in an account about Immortal Maiden Zhang (Zhang xiangu 張仙姑), a woman from Nanyang 南陽

(Henan) who lived in the Song period. One day, she spread her breath to heal a sick man, who suddenly felt a strong heat in his thorax. Later, Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) summoned Zhang to the capital (*\*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, *Houji* 後集, 6.10b).

Further details on this technique, which is still used by present-day *\*qigong* masters, are found in the *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing* 嵩山太無先生氣經 (Scripture on Breath by the Elder of Great Non-Being from Mount Song):

When one wants to use one's breath to heal someone, one should always first determine upon which of the five viscera (*\*wuzang*) the disease depends. Then one takes the breath from the corresponding direction, and makes it enter the body of the patient. The patient, who faces the direction [of her natal destiny (*\*benming*)], is asked to quiet her mind and calm her breathing, and one starts to spread breath. The patient also should swallow her own breath and calm her thoughts. In this way pathogenic breath (*xieqi* 邪氣) is interrupted forever. When the correct breath (*zhengqi* 正氣) has been successfully spread, the pathogenic winds cease of their own accord. (CT 824, 1.8a; also found in *Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue* 幻真先生服內元氣訣, CT 828, 7a, and YJQQ 16.20a–b; trans. Despeux 1988, 78–79, from the version in the *\*Chifeng sui*)

A later description in the *Taixi biyao gejue* 胎息祕要歌訣 (Songs and Instructions on the Secret Essentials of Embryonic Breathing; CT 131, 1a; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 49–50) is quoted with minor variants in the *Chifeng sui* (Marrow of the Red Phoenix; trans. Despeux 1988, 89–90).

In a different context, the technique of “spreading one's breath” is also used by Taoist masters when they trace talismanic figures (*\*FU*) for protection against diseases or demons (see Schipper 1993, 73).

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※ *yangsheng*

*Buxu ci*

步虛詞

Lyrics for Pacing the Void

The *Buxu ci* is a popular ten-stanza *\*Lingbao* hymn that figures, in several forms, in modern Taoist ritual. The hymn describes the gathering of celestial beings on Jade Capitol Mountain (Yujing shan 玉京山) to pay homage to the



Celestial Worthy (Tianzun 天尊). As they sing, Taoist priests circle the altar table in imitation of the processions of gods around the celestial capitol. The pace used on this occasion is sometimes the Pace of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步; see \**bugang*). Officiants are enjoined by the hymn to visualize their own ascent into the heavens and a similar assembly of their bodily gods within. For instance, the second verse describes the dance steps as follows: “Circling round, we tread the cloudy mainstays (i.e., the patterns of the stars); We ride the void, pacing the mystic filaments. Intoning verses to the venerable, Lord Unity; the hundred junctures [of our bodies] are put in order of themselves.”

The earliest *buxu* song is the “Poem of the Golden Perfected, Melody for Pacing the Void” (“Jinzhen zhi shi buxu zhi qu” 金真之詩步虛之曲) of \*Yang Xi's *Xiaomo zhihui jing* 消魔智慧經 (Scripture of Devil-Dispelling Wisdom; Robinet 1984, 2: 179–86). As this poem describes a mysterious journey to the powerful sites of the heavens, its recitation overpowers malignant beings. The early fifth-century Lingbao version (*Yujing shan buxu jing* 玉京山步虛經; CT 1439) shows traces of this emphasis as well, but also draws upon the Buddhist practices of ritual circumambulation of the Buddha or his relics and psalmody. The ten stanzas of the song accord with the ten-directional orientation of ritual space common to the Lingbao scriptures. By the sixth century, the demon-quelling aspect of the song again came to the fore as Taoists began to chant the Spell for Commanding Demons (*mingmo zhu* 命魔祝) before performing the *buxu*. Finally, though, the Lingbao version of the song is a hymn of praise and a description of the participation of all in the salvific drama of the Dao.

The appearance of a legend that the poet Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232; IC 790–91) had composed the *buxu* after hearing celestial music during the sixth century provided a suitable literary precedent for the hymn and lyrics began to be composed by literati, presumably to the by then well-known ritual music. The earliest non-canonical version to come down to us is the ten-verse poem of Yu Xin 庾信 (513–81; IC 942–44). Versions by eight further poets, including the Taoist poets \*Wu Yun (?–778) and Gu Kuang 顧況 (ca. 725–814; IC 486–87), but also the Buddhist poet Jiaoran 皎然 (730–99) and the secular writer Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (774–842; IC 592–93), survive from the Tang period. It is not known if any of these were used in ritual, but the *buxu ci* is found listed as a Music Bureau (Yuefu 樂府) title in later collections. During the Song period, both the emperors Taizong (r. 976–s97) and Huizong (r. 1100–1125) composed their own versions of the hymn. That of the latter is

still used today as an introit in Taoist ritual.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Andersen 1989–90b; Bokenkamp 1981; Robinet 1976; Schafer 1977a; Schafer 1981; Schafer 1989, *passim*; Schipper 1989a; Whitaker 1957

※ *bugang*; Lingbao; TAOIST MUSIC

*caishen*

財神

gods of wealth

Wealth ranks high among the blessings sought from the gods of Chinese popular religion, so it is not surprising that some deities have come to specialize in the bestowal of wealth upon deserving humans. *Caishen* or gods of wealth belong to a large and diverse group of gods whose best-known representative is a deity named Zhao Gongming 趙公明. He is portrayed as a fierce martial figure astride a black tiger, brandishing an iron rod in one hand and holding a gold ingot in the other. At each lunar New Year a new color print of Zhao Gongming, shown either alone or as the leader of four other minor spirits of wealth (collectively referred to as the Gods of Wealth of the Five Roads, Wulu Caishen 五路財神), is pasted on the household's wall and worshipped in a ceremony called “welcoming the God of Wealth” (*ying caishen* 迎財神), which aims to ensure the family's prosperity during the coming year.

While the cult of the gods of wealth is strictly speaking a part of popular religion, the figure of Zhao Gongming has a long-standing connection with Taoism. In Taoist ritual, Zhao Gongming is referred to as Marshal Zhao of the Dark Altar of Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi xuantan Zhao Yuanshuai 正一玄壇趙元帥), one of the four celestial marshals guarding the Taoist ritual arena. Early sources refer to him as a netherworldly general or a plague spirit (*\*wenshen*), which fits well with his fierce iconographical features. Marshal Zhao's Taoist career is a typical example of a conversion from an afflictive to a protective spirit. This shift may have facilitated the formation of Zhao's popular persona as a god of wealth, which is first attested in Yuan dynasty

sources.

*Philip CLART*

▣ Alexéiev 1928; Day 1928; Goodrich 1991, 73–102; Ma Shutian 1997, 199–232; Maspero 1981, 120–21; Zong Li and Liu Qun 1987, 625–57

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

### *Cantong qi*

#### 參同契

Token for the Agreement of the Three

The *Cantong qi* is a short doctrinal poem attributed to the Tang dynasty Chan master Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790). This work is not included in the *Daozang*. Although this poem is first found in bibliographic sources beginning with the *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 (Complete Catalogue [of the Institute] for the Veneration of Literature) of 1042, the Five Dynasties Chan monk Fayuan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958) composed a short commentary on it (Shiina Kōyū 1981, 191), and it is included in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Records of the Jingde Reign Period on the Transmission of the Lamp; ca. 1005; T. 2076, 30.459b7–21).

This poem has attracted attention due to its title and possible relationship to the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* attributed to Wei Boyang 魏伯陽. In the conclusion to his study of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, Fukui Kōjun (1974) suggests that the Chan idea of introspection (*\*neiguan*) might be related to the teachings of inner alchemy (*\*neidan*) found in the *Zhouyi cantong qi*. It is still unclear, however, what the precise relationship between these two works is. While there are no direct quotations from the *Zhouyi cantong qi* in the *Cantong qi*, the two works appear to share some common themes. The idea of “return” (*fu* 復 or *gui* 歸) that is characteristic of the *Zhouyi cantong qi* is also found in the *Cantong qi* (Yanagida Seizan 1974 and Robson 1995). One line in Shitou's poem reads, for example, “The four elements return to their natures, just as a child turns to its mother” (Suzuki Shunryū 1999, 20). While both texts contain images of returning to the mother, Shitou's use of the idea of “return” is not for the Taoist purpose of returning to the womb to create an

immortal embryo, but seems to be an image used to illustrate the Chan adept's goal of returning to one's own nature and recognizing that it is inherently awakened. Shitou also borrows an image from the “Tangwen” 湯問 (Questions of Tang) chapter of the \**Liezi* to express the idea of the joining of the practitioner to the Absolute (i.e., the inherently awakened mind), which is also the intended goal of the “return.” The line in Shitou's poem reads, “Complying with the principle, arrow points meet.” The image of two arrow points meeting is a metaphor for when two things unite in perfect agreement, just like the arrows shot by the master archers Ji Chang 紀昌 and Fei Wei 飛衛 in the anecdote of the *Liezi* (Graham 1960, 112–13).

Today, the *Cantong qi* is chanted daily in Sōtō Zen temples throughout Japan. In Japanese, the title of the alchemical *Cantong qi* is transcribed *Sandōkei*, while the title of the Buddhist *Cantong qi* is transcribed *Sandōkai*.

James ROBSON

▣ Robson 1995, 259–63; Shiina Kōyū 1981; Suzuki Shunryū 1999; Yanagida Seizan 1974

※ *Zhouyi cantong qi*; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

Ceshen

廁神

Spirit of the Latrine

It may be speculated that the Spirit of the Latrine was at first installed to guard a particularly unclean and thus vulnerable area of the residential complex against the intrusion of similarly unclean ghosts and demons. The earliest stories about a spirit of the latrine, which date from the fifth century, however, already give this figure a different twist: the Spirit of the Latrine is the soul of a concubine or secondary wife killed in the outhouse by a jealous principal wife. Sacrifices to the victim's spirit started out of pity or a felt need for propitiation. Various names were given to this spirit, of which the most common were: the Purple Maiden (Zigu 紫姑), the Third Damsel of the Latrine (Keng san niangniang 坑三娘娘), or Lady Qi (Qi furen 戚夫人). Being closely connected with the concerns of women through her manner of

death, this deity came to be worshipped mainly by women. A household's women would assemble at the latrine on the fifteenth day of the first moon to make offerings to the goddess and to divine about the prospects of the coming year.

The manipulation of a Zigu image fashioned out of chopsticks and a winnowing basket to trace lines on the ground is generally believed to be the earliest form of Chinese spirit writing, out of which the practice of *\*fuji* developed. Thus this humble deity is closely connected with spirit writing as a divination technique that came to play an important role in both Taoist and popular practice since the Song dynasty.

*Philip CLART*

▣ Jordan and Overmyer 1986, 38–39; Ma Shutian 1997, 275–82; Maspero 1981, 119–20; Zong Li and Liu Qun 1987, 418–26

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*

長春真人西遊記

Records of a Journey to the West  
by the Real Man Changchun

This short narrative work (CT 1429) was written in 1228 by Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193–1256; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 338–40), who was *\*Quanzhen* patriarch from 1241 to 1256. It tells about the travels of *\*Qiu Chuji* and eighteen of his disciples from Shandong to Inner Asia at the summons of the Mongol emperor Chinggis khan (Taizu, r. 1206–27). A convocation in Chinese, drafted by an unknown counselor, reached Qiu in 1219; he left Shandong for Beijing, and Beijing for Inner Asia in 1220. The chronicle of the epic journey, during which one disciple met his death, and the poems written by Qiu at all major moments of the journey compose most of the narrative. The party eventually met the khan near Samarkand in the spring of 1222 and stayed with him for nearly a year. The khan was pleased with Qiu, entrusting him with the direction of all of China's Taoists and granting privileges to abbeys including fiscal exemption. The return journey, aided by

the Mongols, was much faster and is described as something of a triumphal march.

Parts of the dialogue between Qiu and Chinggis were noted down and transmitted in the *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* 玄風慶會錄 (Accounts of Felicitous Meetings with the Mysterious School; CT 176), dating from 1232, and fit the traditional genre of dialogues between a sovereign and his Taoist adviser. Qiu's advice focused not on his ascetic way, but on the emperor's own duty which is to secure peace and prosperity for his subjects. Therefore, both Confucian and Taoist traditions credit Qiu with saving many Chinese lives. What is certain is that from that time onward the Quanzhen institution was able to rescue a large number of people from the Mongol soldiers.

The *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* was probably compiled by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1189–1243), a Qitan adviser to Chinggis and one of the earliest sinicized high-ranking officers of the Mongol emperors. Yelü, however, who returned to Beijing shortly after Qiu, also wrote his own record of his travels to the West, the *Xiyou lu* 西遊錄 (Account of a Journey to the West; 1229), which is mostly a polemical account of his acquaintance with the Quanzhen patriarch. A staunch Buddhist aristocrat, Yelü came to dislike Qiu's manners, and his *ad hominem* attack was exploited by later Buddhist polemicists against the Quanzhen organization.

The *Xiyou ji* is one of the few Quanzhen works to have been widely edited outside the Taoist Canon during the Ming and the Qing periods. It has been repeatedly studied by Chinese and foreign scholars mainly for its information on historical geography and for its status as a “medieval travelogue.” One should not neglect, however, Wang Guowei's 王國維 (1877–1927; IC 868–71) rich commentary, which examines its religious and social background.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 66–67, 159–60; de Rachewiltz 1962a; de Rachewiltz 1962b; Waley 1931 (part. trans.); Wang Guowei 1926; Yao Tao-chung 1986

※ Qiu Chuji; Quanzhen; TAOISM AND CHINESE LITERATURE

Changsheng dadi

長生大帝

## Great Emperor of Long Life

The full name of this god is Gaoshang Shenxiao Yuqing changsheng dadi 高上神霄玉清長生大帝 (Great Emperor of Long Life of the Jade Clarity in the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean). He is the first in the group of Nine Monarchs (*jiuchen* 九宸) belonging to the pantheon of the \*Shenxiao school. (The other monarchs are Qinghua dadi 青華大帝, Puhua dadi 普化大帝, Leizu dadi 雷祖大帝, Taiyi dadi 太乙大帝, Dongyuan dadi 洞淵大帝, Liubo dadi 六波大帝, Kehan dadi 可韓大帝, and Caifang dadi 採訪大帝.) In Song texts associated with the Shenxiao rites, Changsheng dadi is identified with Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125).

Caroline GYSS

▣ Strickmann 1978b, 340–41

※ Shenxiao

*chanhui*

懺悔

repentance; confession

*Chanhui* literally means “repenting wrongdoing and begging forgiveness.” The term, which is also used in Buddhism, derives from Sanskrit *kṣamayati*, meaning to seek forbearance for one's errors. Rites had existed in China since early times to cure disease through confession of one's misdeeds, but emphasis on repentance grew with the expansion of Buddhism. The relevant Taoist rites were influenced by the corresponding Buddhist ones, in which the Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the ten directions were invited to the ritual site, *sūtras* were intoned, one's wrongdoings were named, and a vow was taken to act according to the teachings.

Around the fifth century, the idea developed in the \*Lingbao \*zhai (Retreat) rituals that atonement through physical asceticism could afford salvation for both oneself and one's ancestors. An example is contained in the chapter on the Yellow Register Retreat (\*huanglu zhai) of the \*Wushang biyao (Supreme Secret Essentials, *j.* 54; Lagerwey 1981b, 143–45), which

describes how to ask the Celestial Worthies (*tianzun* 天尊) of the ten directions to pardon the spirits suffering in the underworld. Significantly, the text indicates that one should perform multiple prostrations. The practice of repentance by performing thousands of prostrations continued in later times. According to *j.* 24 of Zhou Side's 周思得 (1359–1451) *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 (Golden Writings on the Great Achievement of Deliverance by the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; in \**Zangwai daoshu*), people commit various kinds of wrongs, and receive retribution for them in the underworld. To release the bonds of this wrongdoing, repentance is performed in every direction.

In present-day Taiwan, during the rite of the Land of the Way (\**daochang*), homage is first paid to the ten directions; then repentance is conducted simultaneously for both the person who has commissioned the ritual and the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see \**dao Zhang*).

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

☞ Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 227–28, 277

※ *Chaotian baochan*

### *Chaotian baochan*

朝天寶懺

Precious Penances in Homage to Heaven

This large collection of rituals was probably compiled by Jiang Zongying 蔣宗瑛 (?–1281) and is still used in Taiwan during Taoist rituals. The version included in the Taoist Canon is entitled *Chaotian xiezui dachan* 朝天謝罪大懺 (Great Penances to Apologize for Faults in Homage to Heaven; CT 189). It consists of ten *juan*, corresponding to each of the ten directions to which the practitioner does penance. In the text, Yuanshi shangdi 元始上帝 (Highest Emperor of Original Commencement, i.e., Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊; see \**sanqing*) sits on his jewelled throne in the Heaven of Jade Clarity (Yuqing tian 玉清天) within the Great Canopy Heaven (\**Daluo tian*). He summons the immortals, including the Real Man of Jade Clarity (Yuqing zhenren 玉清真人), the Real Man of the Golden Flower (Jinhua zhenren 金



華真人), and the Real Man of Wondrous Deeds (Miaoxing zhenren 妙行真人), and discourses on the wonderful law of the Authentic One (Zhenyi 真一). With great power he emits a pervading radiance that illuminates the state of all the causes and conditions that give rise to good and evil in the boundless realms everywhere, and explains to living beings about good and evil actions in former lives, and the cycle of rewards and retribution that spans the past, present, and future. As Yuanshi shangdi answers the questions of the Real Men on either side of him, there are repeated descriptions of those in the underworld suffering as retribution for their wrongdoings. When disaster and ill luck occur as a result of causal retribution, the text maintains that good fortune may be achieved through arousing good thoughts, reciting the text, and repenting and correcting errors. One should offer penitence to various deities and pray to be “released from the three lowest states of existence” (1.10b–11a). In this way, homage should be paid to the many Celestial Worthies and the deities of the three realms.

In content, the *Chaotian baochan* has its origins in \*Lingbao \*zhai (Retreat) texts of the Six Dynasties relating to penitential rites for the ten directions. In form, it often imitates Buddhist *sūtras* of the Tang and Song periods. While the Buddhist influence is obvious, however, there are also elements characteristic of Taoism. For example, the deities Feitian shenwang 飛天神王 (Divine King Who Flies in Heaven) and Shan'e tongzi 善惡童子 (Lad of Good and Evil) are said to tour the human world recording instances of good and evil and then reporting back to the celestial deities. The text also states that spirit officials (*lingguan* 靈官) living in palaces within the natural world check that there have been no mistakes in their reports (CT 189, 1.1b).

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Liu Zhiwan 1983–84, 667–70

※ *chanhui; jiao; zhai*

Chaotian gong

朝天宮

Palace in Homage to Heaven (Beijing)

The Chaotian gong of Beijing was a famous Taoist temple that no longer exists today. It was located in the western district, north of Inner Fucheng Gate Avenue (Fucheng mennei dajie 阜成門內大街), south of West Ping'anli Avenue (Xi Ping'anli dajie 西平安里大街), east of the Fusui 福綏 neighborhood and west of the Lion Palace (Shizi fu 獅子府). The surrounding walls reached a length of several *li*.

Originally, during the Yuan dynasty, the temple was the palace of the Celestial Master (*\*tianshi*). In 1432, the Xuande Emperor (r. 1426–35) decreed to rebuild it on the model the identically named temple in Nanjing. Reconstruction was completed in the following year. In 1480 the temple was renovated once again. Within the Chaotian gong were contained the Pavilion of the Three Clarities (Sanqing dian 三清殿) where ceremonies were offered to the Taoist trinity (see *\*sanqing*), and the Pavilion of Pervading Light (Tongming dian 通明殿) where ceremonies were offered to the Jade Sovereign (*\*Yuhuang*). Several additional pavilions were dedicated to other divinities. In 1626, the entire Chaotian gong was destroyed in a great fire. In more than three hundred years since that day, it has not been possible to rebuild its structures. Today, housing has been constructed over the foundations of the former temple.

*CHEN Yaoting*

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 237–38

※ TEMPLES AND SHRINES

Chen Jingyuan

陳景元

?–1094; *zi*: Taixu 太虛; *hao*: Bixu zi 碧虛子  
(Master of Jasper Emptiness)

A premier exegete of Taoist writings in the Northern Song, Chen Jingyuan grew up in a Nancheng 南城 (Jiangxi) scholarly family. His commentaries on important Taoist scriptures benefited from his access to rare texts and masters at various religious centers, both in south China and in the court of Song Shenzong (r. 1067–85), where his renown peaked.

In 1024 Chen reportedly studied with Han Zhizhi 韓知止 and became a Taoist priest in 1025. He later traveled to Mount Tiantai (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang), where he met Zhang Wumeng 張無夢 (ca. 985–1065; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 307–8) with whom he practiced self-cultivation, studied his secret teachings, and learned Zhang's take on the *Daode jing* and the \**Zhuangzi*. He later traveled in the lands between the Huai and Yangzi Rivers before entering the capital under the patronage of Wang Qi 王琪. Once in Kaifeng, in 1072 he became imperial lecturer on the *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi* for Shenzong, who praised his simple and straightforward annotations on the *Daode jing*. Chen was well-versed in classical, Taoist, and medical writings, and many scholars visited him for his learning. The emperor later gave him the title Great Master of Reality and Tranquillity (Zhenjing dashi 真靖大師) after Chen presented the emperor with verses on the occasion of a Great Offering (\**jiao*) ceremony held in the capital. When Chen retired to his home territory on Mount Lu (\*Lushan, northern Jiangxi), he went in the company of two officials and with a stipend. He declined an offer in 1091 to collate Taoist writings at the court of Song Zhezong (r. 1085–1100), choosing instead to continue in retirement, and passing away in 1094.

Chen's commentatorial style continued that of the Tang, as seen by his choice of the *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi* as his interpretive foundation, but supplemented them with asides and references to \**neidan* ideas and practices, which later Song commentators admired. His fundamental approach integrated the “constant Way of spontaneity (\**ziran*)” with “eternal life through refining the form (\**lianxing*)” and “governing the state through non-intervention (\**wuwei*).”

*Works.* The following notes on Chen Jingyuan's literary production are based on the *Survey of Taoist Literature* by Judith M. Boltz (1987a, 203–5). One of Chen's greatest achievements is the *Duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 度人上品妙經四注 (Four Commentaries to the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 87), which pieces together four exegeses from the fifth to eighth century, one by Yan Dong 嚴東 (fl. ca. 485) of the Northern Qi, and three by the Tang scholars Li Shaowei 李少微 (fl. 625?), \*Cheng Xuanying (fl. 631–50) and Xue Youqi 薛幽棲 (fl. 740–54), and includes Xue's preface dated 754 from Mount Heng (\*Hengshan 衡山, Hunan). Chen's 1067 preface follows one credited to Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022).

Chen's own preface (dated 1069) to his commentary on the \**Liezi*, the

*Chongxu zhide zhenjing shiwen* 冲虚至德真经释文 (Exegesis of the Authentic Scripture on the Ultimate Virtue of Unfathomable Emptiness; CT 733), states how he compiled the glosses of Yin Jingshun 殷敬顺, a Tang official in Dangtu 當塗 (Anhui), from a worm-eaten manuscript found at Mount Tiantai copied out by Xu Lingfu 徐灵府 around 800, another of Xu's manuscripts, and a printed edition from the Imperial Academy.

The *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* 南华真经章句音义 (Phonetic and Semantic Glosses to the Sections and Sentences of the *Nanhua zhenjing*; CT 736), completed by Chen in 1084, was based on his close comparison of nine *Zhuangzi* editions. A supplement (*Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* 南华真经章句余事; CT 737) includes a detailed table of contents and a section entitled “Zhuangzi quewu” 庄子阙误 (Lacunae and Mistakes in the *Zhuangzi*).

Chen's *Daode zhenjing zangshi zuanwei pian* 道德真经藏室纂微篇 (Folios on the Subtleties Assembled from the Archives of the Authentic Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 714) has a 1258 preface by Yang Zhonggeng 杨仲庚 that claims that Chen was a disciple of Zhang Wumeng and thus ties him to tenth-century masters of *neidan*.

In an undated preface to his *Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* 上清大洞真经玉诀音义 (Phonetic and Semantic Glosses on the Jade Instructions of the Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern of the Highest Clarity; CT 104), Chen details how he gathered old manuscripts of the text after retiring to Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu). Of particular note are the versions by two earlier Taoists of the Northern Song, \*Zhu Ziyong and Huangfu Xi 皇甫希, which complemented his fuller reliance on major philological classics such as the *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字 (Explanations of the Signs and Explications of the Graphs; 100 CE) and the now-lost 100-juan \**Yiqie daoqing yinyi* (Complete Taoist Scriptures, with Phonetic and Semantic Glosses) compiled by Shi Chongxuan 史崇玄 (or Shi Chong 史崇, ?–713).

Chen's *Xisheng jing jizhu* 西升经集注 (Collected Commentaries to the Scripture of Western Ascension; CT 726) assembled five earlier commentaries. Although grounded in Chen's interpretation based on his view of the *Zhuangzi*, it is divided into thirty-nine sections as the \**Dadong zhenjing* (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern). He adds his own notes to those of Wei Jie 韋節 (497–559), Xu Miao 徐邈, (or Daomiao 道邈; fl. ca. 630), Chongxuan zi 冲玄子 (Master of the Unfathomable Mystery; fl. ca. 650), \*Li Rong (fl. 658–63), and Liu Renhui 刘仁会 (fl. ca. 800).

It is regrettable that Chen's massive *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 (Biographies of Eminent Gentlemen; 100 j.) and his *Collected Works* (*Wenji* 文集, 10 j.) are no longer extant.

Chen's exegeses were eagerly read by some Southern Song promoters of *neidan* interpretations of the *Daode jing* such as Xue Zhixuan 薛致玄 (?–1271) and seem to have prompted another literatus interested in inner alchemy, Fang Bixu 方碧虛, to assume Chen's own nickname and to further expand the scriptural foundations of inner alchemy.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 203–5; Kohn 1991a, 23–30; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 722–34; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 309–11 and 2: 104–6

Chen Minggui

陳銘珪

1824–81; *zi*: Jingyu 京渝; *hao*: Youshan 友珊 (Friend of Loneliness),  
Sulao dongzhu 酥醪洞主 (Owner of the Cavern of the Essence  
of Milk); also known as Chen Jiaoyou 陳教友

Chen Minggui is one of the few famous \*Quanzhen masters of the late imperial period. The main reason for his distinction, however, does not lie with his religious teachings but with his historiographic work on the Quanzhen order, the *Changchun dao jiao yuanliu* 長春道教源流 (Origins and Development of the Taoist Teaching of [Qiu] Changchun; Yan Yiping 1974, vol. 2). His critical approach is remarkable for someone writing from within the tradition: to compile his insightful synthesis, Chen perused an impressive number of epigraphic sources, including rubbings, literary anthologies, historical works, and Taoist texts. In his view, the early Quanzhen masters were very much like himself, scholars skeptical about the avenues of civil service, concerned about the preservation of Chinese traditional society, and perfectly at home with the more spiritual aspects of Taoism.

Chen, who came from the Guangdong province, passed the district examinations for government service on the secondary list (*fugong* 副貢) in 1852. He first made himself famous leading a self-defense militia in his

hometown during local rebellions in 1854. Already a mature man, he became a \*Longmen Taoist at the Sulao guan 酥醪觀 (Abbey of the Essence of Milk) in the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan) near Guangzhou (Canton). Sometime after 1865, he was chosen as the abbot of that monastery, which he had helped to rebuild along with the other six monasteries located in the Luofu Mountains, after the havoc caused by the rebellions. The Sulao guan had been the center of Longmen activity in that prestigious Taoist mountain range since the early eighteenth century. The story of these communities is best described in a gazetteer, the *Fushan zhi* 浮山志 (Monograph of the Luofu Mountains), to which Chen himself contributed substantially. Although Chen's extant works and the very few available biographical elements tend to portray him as a Confucian hermit, he also took seriously his liturgical responsibilities. The Sulao guan was famous during this period for the attention its community paid to monastic rules, and Chen's successors edited a new version of the standard Longmen monastic rules under the title *Xuanmen bidu* 玄門必讀 (Required Reading for the School of Mysteries).

Chen's life was a rare example of the involvement of a member of the scholarly elite in Taoism at a time when the links between the two were being completely severed. Chen was also renowned as a poet, painter and calligrapher. An anthology of his poems, the *Lizhuang shicun* 荔莊詩存 (Remaining Verses from the Lichee Estate; 1858), is still extant. His son, Chen Botao 陳伯陶, had an honorable career and cultivated a friendship with the great scholar Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844–1919), whose research on \*EPIGRAPHY and Yuan history contributed much to our knowledge of Quanzhen history.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Tsui 1991

※ Longmen; Quanzhen

Chen Nan

陳楠

?–1213; *zi*: Nanmu 南木; *hao*: Cuixu weng 翠虛翁 (Gentleman of Emerald Emptiness), Niwan xiansheng 泥丸先生 (Elder of the

## Muddy Pellet)

Chen Nan, the fourth patriarch of the Southern Lineage (\*Nanzong) of \**neidan*, was a native of Huizhou 惠州 (Guangdong). He was known for his combination of alchemical practices and healing techniques: his biography in the \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (49.14b–16b) recounts that he cured illnesses with pills made of “talismanic water” (*fushui* 符水) and mud, whence comes his *hao* Niwan (Muddy Pellet, also a name of the upper \**dantian*, see \**niwan*).

Chen received instruction on inner alchemy from \*Xue Daoguang, and on the Thunder Rites (\**leifa*) from an immortal on Mount Limu (Limu shan 黎姥山), on the outskirts of Qiongzhou 瓊州 in Hainan. Qiongzhou is believed to be the birthplace of \*Bai Yuchan, the most illustrious of Chen's disciples. In his preface to the *Leiting aozhi* 雷霆奧旨 (Arcane Purport of the Thunder-clap), found in the \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual, *j.* 76), Bai claims to have received that text from Chen in 1212 in the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan, Guangdong). Elsewhere in the *Daofa huiyuan* (108.15a–16b), Bai Yuchan reiterates that Chen received the Thunder Rites of the *Jingxiao leishu* 景霄雷書, (Thunder Writ of the Effulgent Empyrean) in 1208, and transmitted them to him four years later.

The only independent work by Chen Nan is the *Cuixu pian* 翠虛篇 (Folios of the Master of Emerald Emptiness; CT 1090), a collection of prose and poems in the \**Wuzhen pian* tradition compiled by Wang Sicheng 王思誠 before 1217. The first two poems, entitled “Ziting jing” 紫庭經 (Scripture of the Purple Court) and “Dadao ge” 大道歌 (Song of the Great Dao), are followed by the “Luofu Cuixu yin” 羅浮翠虛吟 (Chant by the Master of Emerald Emptiness of the Luofu Mountains), dedicated to Bai Yuchan and dated 1212. After a prose essay entitled “Danji guiyi lun” 丹基歸一論 (Essay on the Foundation of the Elixir and on Returning to the One), the collection continues with three lyrics in honor of Chen Nan's main disciples—Ju Jiushi 鞠九思, Sha Daozhao 沙道昭, and Bai Yuchan—and ends with the “Jindan shijue” 金丹詩訣 (Instructions in Verse on the Golden Elixir), a poem in one hundred heptasyllabic verses.

The \**Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection, *j.* 17) includes some poems from the *Cuixu pian*, but wrongly attributes the text to Chen Pu 陳朴 (see also *Chen xiansheng neidan jue* 陳先生內丹訣, CT 1096). The authorship of the *Cuixu pian* was disputed by \*Yu Yan, who

believed it to be a fabrication by Bai Yuchan (*Xishang futan* 席上腐談, Baoyan tang ed., 2.2b).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 175; Chen Bing 1985, 37–38; van der Loon 1979, 402

※ *neidan*; Nanzong

Chen Shaowei

陳少微

fl. 712/741; *zi*: Ziming 子明; *hao*: Hengyue zhenren 衡嶽真人  
(Real Man of the Heng Peak)

Chen Shaowei, who was active on Mount Heng (\*Hengshan 衡山, Hunan) in the early eighth century, claimed descent from the spiritual legacy of \*Xu Xun. He is known for two \**waidan* texts, the *Xiufu lingsha miaojue* 修伏靈砂, 妙訣 (Wondrous Instructions on Fixing Cinnabar; CT 890) and the *Jiuhuan jindan miaojue* 九還金丹妙訣 (Wondrous Instructions on the Golden Elixir of the Nine Reversions; CT 891). The two texts originally formed a single treatise that contained instructions on the *Dadong lian zhenbao jing* 大洞鍊真寶經 (Scripture of the Great Cavern on Refining the Real Treasure), a title that is also attributed to Chen Shaowei in two Song bibliographies (van der Loon 1984, 78). The use of place names and the expression *tianyuan* 天元 (CT 890, preface, 1a), which probably refers to the whole extent of the Xiantian (712–13) and the Kaiyuan (713–41) reign periods, suggest the work was composed in the first decades of the eighth century. The inclusion of both texts in reverse order in the \**Yunji qiqian* (j. 69 and 68.9a–25a) shows that the original treatise had already circulated in two parts by the eleventh century.

Chen Shaowei's works contain the most elaborate description of an alchemical method based on cinnabar in the extant *waidan* corpus. The first text is introduced with a lengthy account of the formation, varieties, and symbolism of cinnabar, followed by a method for its refinement in seven cycles. Each cycle consists of the treatment of the product of the previous stage, and concludes with the production of “gold” (*jin* 金) that can be



ingested or used as the main ingredient in the next cycle. In the second text, the final product of the previous seven cycles, now defined as “mercury” (*hong* 汞), serves as the main ingredient for the preparation of a \**huandan* (Reverted Elixir).

A shorter version of the first text, submitted to the throne by Zhang Guo 張果 (see \*Zhang Guolao) in 734, is found in the *Dashen dansha zhenyao jue* 大神丹砂真要訣 (Authentic Essential Instructions on the Great Divine Cinnabar; CT 896).

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Meng Naichang 1993a, 71–74; Needham 1976, 141–43; Sivin 1980, 237–40 and 270–74

※ *waidan*

Chen Tuan

陳搏

ca. 920–89; *zi*: Tunan 圖南; *hao*: Fuyao zi 扶搖子 (Master of the Whirlwind), Baiyun xiansheng 白雲先生 (Elder of the White Clouds), Xiyi xiansheng 希夷先生 (Elder of the Inaudible and Invisible)

Chen Tuan was an important Taoist master, thinker, and fortune-teller who lived in the tenth century and became the legitimizing saint of the Song dynasty. His life and legend are described below under three headings: solid historical facts known about him, the classical Taoist story of his life, and his posthumous associations and activities.

*Historical facts.* There are six solid facts known about Chen Tuan, all gleaned from a variety of sources and not found together in any one text, neither in the devotional literature, nor in the collections of miscellaneous notes, or *biji* 筆記, of the literati, and most surely not in the official history of the Song dynasty (*Songshi* 457; trans. Kohn 1990c).

In 937, as shown in the *Danyuan ji* 丹淵記 (Records of Cinnabar Well; 1051), Chen Tuan leaves an inscription at the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Blessings) in Qiongzhou 邛州 (Sichuan), praising the \*qi-control methods of the local masters. This either places him in an itinerant phase of his career or makes him a local Sichuan monk, depending on whether one believes the overwhelming majority of sources that claim he came from Henan (close to Laozi's birthplace), or relies on research by the Sichuan scholar Li Yuanguo (1985b) who finds much evidence for a southwestern origin of the master.

Next, sometime around the 940s, as most sources agree, Chen settles on Mount Hua (\*Huashan, Shaanxi), where he restores the Yuntai guan 雲臺觀 (Abbey of the Cloud Terrace) and its smaller cloister Yuquan yuan 玉泉院 (Cloister of the Jade Spring) which had fallen into disrepair in the late Tang. These two places become his main residence until his death. They remain to the present day closely associated with him, especially the Yuquan yuan, which is located right at the mouth of the mountain gorges and still functions partly as a Taoist temple. It also has a tall (and very recent) stele devoted to Chen Tuan in its Taoist section, the other part now serving as a preschool. The main railway to Xi'an, which runs right through it, has brought the place right into the midst of the modern world.

Third, near the end of the Five Dynasties, Chen Tuan composes a work on physiognomy (*xiangshu* 相術), the *Fengjian* 風鑑 (Mirror of Auras; Kohn 1988), which becomes a classic in the field. His physiognomic and qi-control powers become the basis for all his later legends, but only a few specialized texts, such as Song Qiqiu's 宋齊丘 *Yuguan zhaoshen ju* 玉管照神局 (Jade Office Instructions on How to Clarify Spirit; Five Dynasties) and the Ming handbook *Shenxiang quanbian* 神象全編 (Complete Guide to Spirit Physiognomy; ca. 1400), retain this information.

The last three facts again are recorded in all major sources on Chen Tuan but are also closely corroborated by official documents. First, in 956, Chen meets Shizong, ruler of the Later Zhou (r. 954–59), whose questions about alchemical methods of fund-raising he answers with spiritual advice. Then, in 984 he meets Song Taizong (r. 976–97) and is awarded the title Elder of the White Clouds, together with various material gifts. This meeting serves to make him the legitimizing saint of the new dynasty. Third, and last, Chen dies on Mount Hua in 989. Legend has it that he is 118 years old at the time, which would place his birth in the 870s. Given the other data, however, a

birth date of around 920 is more likely.

In addition, it can be accepted as historically accurate that Chen Tuan during the period from the 960s to the 980s met several high Song officials, including Qian Ruoshui 錢若水 (960–1003), Zhang Yong 張詠 (946–1015; SB 48–50), and Chong Fang 种放 (956–1015; SB 297–301); he read their fortunes and gave them career advice, which they mostly did not follow. His *\*Yijing* studies, too, although not well documented in early or historical sources, hover on the borderline of history, often being cited in Neo-Confucian and other works as the roots of Zhou Dunyi's 周敦頤 (1017–73; SB 277–81) famous *\*Taiji tu* (Diagram of the Great Ultimate; Li Yuanguo 1990).

*Legendary accounts.* The legend of Chen Tuan adds several elements to this historical skeleton: a wondrous encounter with a star lady as a child; special mnemonic skills; a failed imperial examination at the capital and a period of Taoist training at Mount Wudang (*\*Wudang shan*, Hubei) in the 920s; a magical transfer by dragon convoy to Mount Hua; a wonderful talent to enter a deep trance known as “sleep” (*shuigong* 睡功), often for months; various chance encounters with the future Song emperors whose imperial quality he immediately recognizes (once even being so shocked that he falls off his donkey); a successful physiognomic examination of Taizong's sons, when he spots the future Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) as Taizong's heir; and a detailed foreknowledge of and successful preparation for his death, now known as his “transformation.” In addition, various episodes on Chen Tuan are borrowed from the legends of other saints, including Buddhist monks, and in the Taoist tradition he is linked with *\*Lü Dongbin*, whom he allegedly encounters in person. The sources on the legend are exceedingly numerous, mostly found in *biji* literature, with the best and most extensive collection available in the *\*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (47.1a–14b), and a literary expansion in the *Taihua Xiyi zhi* 太華希夷志 (Monograph of [the Elder of] the Inaudible and Invisible of Mount Hua; 1314; CT 306).

*Posthumous associations and activities.* In the centuries following his death, Chen Tuan is linked with several different traditions and appears in various roles. First, he is a hero in Yuan drama, where he stars in *Sanxing zhao* 三星照 (Three Stars Are Shining), *Bieyou tian* 別有天 (Yet Another World), *Pantao hui* 蟠桃會 (The Peach Festival), and most importantly *Chen Tuan gaowo* 陳搏高臥 (The Lofty Sleep of Chen Tuan). Next, he appears as a

master of *\*neidan* meditation and especially the “sleep” technique, which adepts used to circulate the energies in their bodies while lying on their backs. Twelve so-called “sleep practices” of Chen Tuan are recorded in the Ming handbook *\*Chifeng sui* (trans. Despeux 1988, 225–69; Teri Takehiro 1990; Kohn 1993b, 272–76). This strand of Chen Tuan's lore depicting him as a master of energy practices is still active today, and he appears as a *\*qigong* master in contemporary works.

In a completely different posthumous strand of Chen Tuan's history, he takes the form of a prognosticating planchette spirit (see *\*fuji*) who appears in the Chan community on Mount Huangbo (Huangbo shan 黃檗山, Fujian) and is transferred to Japan along with Yinyuan 隱元 (Jp.: Ingen, 1592–1673, the founder of the Ōbaku 黃檗 lineage of Zen Buddhism) in the seventeenth century. Definitely identified as Chen Tuan of the Song, he is venerated as a particularly powerful spirit and adopted successfully into a Buddhist environment, even changing his name to Chen Bo 陳博 (Chen, the Incense-Burner) and his appellation to Wuyan 無煙 (No-Smoke), signifying the complete extinction of all desires rather than the quest for immortality indicated by his Taoist, *\*Zhuangzi*-inspired names.

Livia KOHN

▣ Knaul 1981; Kohn 1990a; Li Yuanguo 1985b; Li Yuanguo 1985c; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 670–708; Russell 1990a; Russell 1990b

※ *Taiji tu*; TAOISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Chen Xianwei

陳顯微

fl. 1223–54; *zi*: Zongdao 宗道; *hao*: Baoyi zi 抱一子  
(Master Who Embraces The One)

Chen Xianwei, who came from Yangzhou 揚州 (Jiangsu), was a *\*daoshi* at the Yousheng guan 佑聖觀 (Abbey of the Helping Saint) in Lin'an 臨安 (Zhejiang). He is best known for a *\*neidan* commentary to the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* entitled *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解 (Explication of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1007). The few available details about his life are

found in a preface to this work contributed by his lay disciple Zheng Boqian 鄭伯謙, a teacher in the Prefectural School of Quzhou 衢州 (Zhejiang) who is also known for an extant commentary to the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou). According to this preface, Chen first received alchemical teachings in 1223; he obtained the transmission of the *Cantong qi* shortly thereafter and devoted several years of retirement to its study.

The *Cantong qi jie*, which bears (in some of its editions) an author's preface dated 1234 and was printed in the same year, is based on the text of the *Cantong qi* established by \*Peng Xiao. Some variants suggest that Chen Xianwei was also familiar with the commentary ascribed to \*Yin Changsheng (*Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 999) and with Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) *\*Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* (Critical Investigation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*). The commentary was printed by Wang Yi 王夷, another lay disciple who also subsidized the publication of Chen Xianwei's commentary to the *Guanyin zi* 關尹子 (Book of Master Guanyin). In all the received editions, Wang Yi's postface follows another colophon, dated 1245, written by a follower from Tiantai 天臺 (Zhejiang) who had received the *Cantong qi jie* from Chen Xianwei. It is unlikely that either this follower or Wang Yi is the author of the section entitled “Cantong qi zhaiwei” 參同契摘微 (“Pointing out the Subtleties of the *Cantong qi*”). Along with those by Peng Xiao and Chu Yong 儲泳 (fl. ca. 1230), this section, containing notes on the portion of text corresponding to part of *zhang* 36 and the whole *zhang* 37 in Peng Xiao's recension, criticizes the interpretation given by Chen Xianwei himself.

The *Daozang* contains two other texts by Chen Xianwei: the commentary to the *Guanyin zi*, entitled *Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi* 文始真經言外旨 (Purport Beyond Words of the Authentic Scripture of Master Wenshi; CT 728), which was completed and printed in 1254, and an undated edition of the *Shenxian yangsheng bishu* 神仙養生祕術 (Secret Arts of the Divine Immortals for Nourishing Life; CT 948), consisting of a collection of \**waidan* methods and herbal recipes. Zheng Boqian mentions three other works, all of which are lost: the *Lisheng pian* 立聖篇 (Folios on Establishing Sainthood), the *Xianwei zhiyan* 顯微卮言 (Words Streaming from the Heart of [Chen] Xianwei), and the *Baoyi zi shu* 抱一子書 (Writings of the Master Who Embraces The One).

Fabrizio PREGADIO

※ *neidan*

Chen Yingning

陳櫻寧

1880–1969; *zi*: Zixiu 子修

Chen Yingning was born in Huaining 懷寧 (Anhui) into a middle-class family. After graduating at the end of the Qing dynasty, at the age of twenty-five he entered the Anhui Institute of Legal and Political Studies (Anhui zhengfa xuetang 安徽政法學堂). His feeble and unhealthy constitution, however, led him to develop an interest in medicine and longevity techniques. From the age of twenty-eight, he began to travel to mountains looking for Buddhist and, later, Taoist masters. After spending three years at the Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Shanghai to study Taoist texts, he became a physician. From 1933 to 1937 he published a bimonthly magazine, *Yangshan kan* 揚善刊 (Journal for the Promotion of Goodness), and from 1939 to 1941 a monthly magazine, *Xianxue* 仙學 (Studies on Immortality). In 1957 he was elected secretary and vice president of the Chinese Taoist Association (\*Zhongguo daojiao xiehui), and in 1961 he became its president.

A specialist of *\*waidan* and *\*neidan*, Chen Yingning wrote several well-known works, including a commentary to the *\*Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court), a commentary to poems attributed to *\*Sun Bu'er* (matriarch of the *\*Quanzhen* school), and a history of Taoism. Selections from his works and his correspondence with disciples, especially female, are collected in *Zhonghua xianxue* 中華仙學 (Chinese Studies on Immortality; Xu Boying and Yuan Jiegui 1976).

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Li Yangzheng 2000, 200–205 and passim; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 375–415; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 403–4

※ *neidan*; Zhongguo daojiao xiehui; TAOISM IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Chen Zhixu

陳致虛

1289–after 1335; *zi*: Guanwu 觀吾; *hao*: Shangyang zi 上陽子  
(Master of Highest Yang), Luling daoshi 廬陵道士  
(Taoist Master of Luling)

Although Chen Zhixu is one of the main representatives of the \**neidan* tradition, almost nothing is known of his life, except that he was born in Luling 廬陵 (Jiangxi) and that he received teachings first in 1329 from Zhao Youqin 趙友欽 in Hunan, and some time later from an anonymous master of Mount Qingcheng (\*Qingcheng shan, Sichuan). Four of his works are extant:

1. *Duren shangpin miaojing zhu* 度人上品妙經注 (Commentary to the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 91; 1336).
2. A commentary to the \**Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Reality), incorporated into the *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 悟真篇三注 (Three Commentaries to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 142).
3. \**Jindan dayao* 金丹大要 (Great Essentials of the Golden Elixir; CT 1067; 1335), with three appendixes separately printed in the Taoist Canon: *Jindan dayao tu* 金丹大要圖 (Diagrams; CT 1068), containing illustrations with explications; *Jindan dayao liexian zhi* 金丹大要列仙誌 (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals; CT 1069), composed of notes on sixteen \*Quanzhen deities, immortals, and masters who reportedly transmitted *neidan*, from Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence) to Zhao Youqin; and *Jindan dayao xianpai* 金丹大要仙派 (Lineage of the Immortals; CT 1070), divided into two parts: a doctrinal genealogy of *neidan* (thirty-four names from Laozi to Chen Zhixu) and a description of a rite performed in honor of \*Zhongli Quan and \*Lü Dongbin on their birthdays.
4. *Zhouyi cantong qi fen zhang zhu* 周易參同契分章注 (Commentary to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, with a Division into Sections). This work is not included in the Taoist Canon but is available in more than fifteen editions, including those of the *Jindan zhengli daquan* 金丹正理大全 (Great Compendium on the

Correct Principles of the Golden Elixir; 1538; see Davis and Chao 1940a), the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (1782), and the \**Daozang jiyao* (1906, vol. 11). Chen's recension of the *Cantong qi* is one of the best available, and in the early sixteenth century served as the basis of the so-called “ancient text” version of this scripture (see \*[Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi](#)).

Besides the above works, Chen also wrote lost commentaries to the *Daode jing* and the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* (Diamond Sūtra).

Echoing his older contemporary, \*Li Daochun, and anticipating some *neidan* masters of the later period, especially \*Liu Yiming, Chen offers a radically spiritual interpretation of *neidan*. Instead of describing physiological practices, he repeatedly states that the essence of alchemy consists in recovering the Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*) of the state “prior to Heaven” within the state “subsequent to Heaven” (see \*[xiantian](#) and *houtian*); this recovery is said to happen “in one instant” (*qingke* 頃刻). While the main doctrinal foundation reflected in his works is the \*Nanzong legacy (represented, in particular, by \*Zhang Boduan and \*Bai Yuchan), his discourse exemplifies the *neidan* readiness to borrow relevant notions and terms from different traditions: throughout his works, he quotes the *Daode jing*, the \**Zhouyi cantong qi*, the *Wuzhen pian*, and Buddhist texts. The *Daode jing*, in his view, is the ultimate source of *neidan* (“The Dao of Laozi is the Great Dao of the Golden Elixir”; *Jindan dayao*, 2.7a), but Chen also stresses the unity of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) and often juxtaposes passages from their respective sources to show their ultimate identity according to the *neidan* way of seeing. Chen states that he received the doctrine of the unity of the Three Teachings from Zhao Youqin, whose *Xian Fo tongyuan* 仙佛同源 (The Common Source of Immortals and Buddhas), sometimes indicated as lost, is available in the *Jindan zhengli daquan*.

Although Nanzong is his main doctrinal source, Chen Zhixu describes his lineage as a branch of Quanzhen. According to his reconstruction, which is not based on historical fact, the Quanzhen patriarch, \*Ma Yu (1123–84), passed on his teachings to \*Song Defang (1183–1247), and the transmission continued with Li Jue 李珣, Zhang Mo 張模, and Zhao Youqin before reaching Chen Zhixu himself. Chen probably elaborated this lineage in recognition of the status of the Quanzhen school, which enjoyed the official



protection of the court and whose Five Patriarchs had received the title of Real Lords (*zhenjun* 真君) from the Yuan ruling house two decades before Chen's birth.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 184–86, 208; Davis and Ch'en 1942; Li Yuanguo 1988, 416–31; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 369–71

※ *neidan*; *Jindan dayao*; Nanzong

Cheng Xuanying

成玄英

fl. 631–50; *zi*: Zishi 子實; *hao*: Xihua fashi 西華法師  
(Master of the Law of the Western Florescence)

Cheng Xuanying came from Shanzhou 陝州 (Henan). He spent part of his life in retirement, but in 631 was summoned to the capital and took up residence at the Xihua guan 西華觀 (Abbey of Western Florescence). In 647 the emperor requested that he translate the *Daode jing* into Sanskrit with Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–64) and Cai Huang 蔡晃 (fl. 638–47; on this translation, see Pelliot 1912). Shortly thereafter, during the Yonghui reign period (650–55), he was exiled to Yuzhou 郁州 (Jiangsu).

Cheng wrote a lost commentary to the *\*Yijing* and three extant commentaries to Taoist texts. One of them, consisting of an exegesis of the *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), is in the *Duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 度人上品妙經四注 (Four Commentaries to the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 87) and follows the established interpretation of this text. In the two other works, however, Cheng proves to be a leading exponent of the *\*Chongxuan* (Twofold Mystery) school of thought. The first commentary is the *Daode jing kaiti xujue yishu* 道德經開題序訣義疏 (Topical Introduction, Prefatory Instructions, and Subcommentary to the *Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue*; P. 2517, P. 2353, and S. 5887), which is also found in the *Daode zhenjing xuande zuanshu* 道德真經玄德纂疏 (Compilation of Commentaries on the Mysterious Virtue of the *Authentic Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue*; CT 711). The second is a

subcommentary to \*Guo Xiang's exegesis to the \*Zhuangzi, found in the *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu* 南華真經注疏 (Commentary and Subcommentary to the *Nanhua zhenjing*; CT 745). Read together, Cheng's commentaries to the *Daode jing*, the *Zhuangzi*, and the *Duren jing* show him to be a representative of the unity of the philosophical and religious aspects of Taoism.

Besides his explication of the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* according to Chongxuan principles, Cheng also interpreted the transformations of Laozi from the viewpoint of the Buddhist theory of the Body of the Law, the Body of Response, and the Body of Manifestation (*fashen* 法身, *yingshen* 應身, and *huashen* 化身, corresponding to Sanskrit *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*). This theory, until then generally applied only to Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see \*[sanqing](#)) or to the Dao itself, explains that the body as well as the teaching of Laozi change to adapt themselves to different times and levels of understanding. The theory was also combined with three attributes ascribed to the Dao in *Daode jing* 14, namely, invisible (*yi* 夷), inaudible (*xi* 希), and imperceptible (*wei* 微). These attributes are associated in turn with the Three Primes (\**sanyuan*)—three deities who live in the three Cinnabar Fields (\**dantian*) and are the corporeal forms of the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣; see \*[santian](#) and *liutian*)—and with Essence, Pneuma, and Spirit (\**jing*, *qi*, *shen*). Each component of the various triads is connected with the other two, and all are thought to be fundamentally and originally one. Cheng Xuanying relates this view to the doctrine of the Three Ones (\**sanyi*), applying the Chongxuan dialectic of the two truths to the Three and the One, and to the Body of the Law and the Body of Response that are the single body of the Ultimate Truth. The latter has no form, and the whole world and all teachings are no more than its traces.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Ch'oe Chinsök 1995; Fujiwara Takao 1980a; Fujiwara Takao 1980b; Kohn 1991a, 192–96; Meng Wentong 1946; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 236–38 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 461–75 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Qiang Yu 1995; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 174–90; Robinet 1977, 96–261; Sunayama Minoru 1980b, 245–71; Yu Shiyi 2000

※ Chongxuan

*chengfu*

承負

“inherited burden”

The notion of “inherited burden” refers to the liability for sins and transgressions that individuals and societies inherit from their predecessors. As fault and blame are passed from one generation to another, calamities and misfortune increase. Based on this principle, later generations must make for the sins committed by their predecessors; to do so, individuals reflect upon the existence of sin (*siguo* 思過, “considering fault”), confess it to the celestial deities (*shouguo* 首過, “admitting fault”), and correct themselves (*zize* 自責).

This idea appears for the first time in the second-century *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace). Examples of sin and transgression mentioned in this text include claiming exclusive possession of the Dao and its *\*de* (virtue), neglecting to study the Dao, and accumulating riches without aiding the poor. Liability for these sins is expressed at the social level as natural disasters, epidemics, social discontent, and war. These notions are based on theories about the interrelationship of Heaven and humanity, which date from at least the time of the Warring States period (403–221). Special emphasis was given to the role of emperor as the supporter of the balance between Heaven and humanity. If the emperor acted in a manner contrary to the will of Heaven, Heaven would express its blame through portents; when such portents appeared, the emperor was supposed to “consider his faults.” Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 195–115 BCE) strongly asserted these ideas in his political thought, and it is possible to find similarities between his writings and the *Taiping jing*.

\*Ge Hong's (283–343) *\*Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity) contains evidence of an idea connected with “inherited burden,” namely that evil acts reduce the life spans of those who commit them and their descendants, and cause calamities. Later, merits and demerits came to be calculated in points, and from the Song period onward this practice became widespread in the form of the “ledgers of merit and demerit” (*gongguo ge* 功過格; Brokaw 1991).

While “inherited burden” is a kind of karmic retribution, there is a

fundamental difference between the notion of *chengfu* and the Buddhist notion of karma. In Buddhism, the good and evil performed by an individual in past lives is reflected in what form his or her present life takes, and good and evil behavior in the present life determines future rebirth. *Chengfu*, by contrast, not only considers the past and future lives of the individual, but also that individuals inherit the results of the good and evil of the behavior of their ancestors, and that these results accumulate not only at the individual level, but also at the social level. In this sense, “inherited burden” is based on the unit of the family and, as its extension, of society.

*YAMADA Toshiaki*

▣ Hendrischke 1991; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 301–37; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 324–26; Strickmann 2002, 39–50; Tsuchiya Masaaki 2002

※ ETHICS AND MORALS

## Chenghuang

城隍

God of Walls and Moats; City God

The God of Walls and Moats, more commonly known as the City God, emerged with the growth and independence of townships in late Tang and Song China. He became highly popular under the Ming and is one of the key deities of Chinese religion today. During the Ming, the Taoist establishment, in an attempt to share in the god's popularity, adopted him into the Taoist pantheon and made him a celestial executive who received orders from and reported to \*Laojun. A scripture was compiled accordingly, the *Chenghuang ganying xiaozai jifu miaojing* 城隍感應消災集福妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on the Dispelling of Disasters and Accumulation of Happiness through the Impulse and Response of the City God; CT 1447), which dates to after 1376.



Fig. 25. Chenghuang (City God): New Year's print.  
Collection Julian Pas. Photograph by Julian Pas.

The text describes Laojun seated in a jeweled hall before a great heavenly assembly, and answering the questions of a Perfected called Vast Wisdom (Guanghui 廣惠) on how to alleviate human suffering, and explaining the merits and powers of the City God as bestowed by him. The text can be divided into nine sections: 1. Opening *gāthā*, a poem in praise of the City God; 2. The setting, a description of Laojun and the heavenly assembly; 3. First dialogue, question by Vast Wisdom and negative answer that describes human sinfulness; 4. Second dialogue, rephrasing of the question and description of the great power of the City God; 5. Homage to the City God,

and a list of the god's representatives, assistants, and guardian helpers; 6. The god's pledge, his own vow to help everyone in need; 7. Third dialogue, proposal by Vast Wisdom to perform good actions toward the Dao and reconfirmation by Laojun; 8. Concluding *gāthā*, a poem highly lauding the City God's powers and dedication; 9. Conclusion, departure of the gods and transmission of the scripture to humanity.

Livia KOHN

▣ Barrett 1991a; Feuchtwang 1977; Hamashima Atsutoshi 1992; Johnson 1985b; Kohn 1996b; Little 2000b, 260–61; Maspero 1981, 105–10; Taylor R. 1977; Zito 1987; Zito 1996

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*Chifeng sui*

赤鳳髓

Marrow of the Red Phoenix

This work is a compilation of Tang, Song, Yuan, and Ming texts. Its author, Zhou Lǚjing 周履靖 (late sixteenth century), came from Jiaxing 嘉興 (Zhejiang). He held no important post, but was in touch with eminent officials of his region such as Peng Chongxi 彭冲溪 (late sixteenth century), the Minister of Justice who wrote a preface to his work in 1579, and Wang Wenlu 王文祿 (1503–86; DMB 1449–51), who wrote a postface also in 1579.

The collection includes the following texts:

1. *Taishang yuzhou liuzi jue* 太上玉軸六字訣 (Instructions on the Six Sounds [of Breathing] According to the Highest Jade Axle) by Zou Yingbo 鄒應博 (Song). This text was first included in Zou's *Yanzhan ji* 炎詹集 (Collection of Fiery Talks) and was used later by his grandnephew, the Yuan doctor Zou Xuan 鄒鉉, in the *Shouqin yanglao xinshu* 壽親養老新書 (New Writings on Fostering the Longevity and Nourishing the Old Age of One's Parents). (On the “six sounds of breathing” see the entry \**liuzi*

jue.)

2. *Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue* 幻真先生服內元氣訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of the Inner Original Breath According to the Elder of Illusory Perfection), based on a work found in the Taoist Canon in several versions, one of which (CT 828, and YJQQ 60.14a–27a; mid-eighth century) has the same title as the present text.
3. *Li zhenren changsheng yishiliu zi miaojue* 李真人長生一十六字妙訣 (Wondrous Instructions on [the Method of] Long Life in Sixteen Characters by the Perfected Li). These instructions are also found in \*Leng Qian's (ca. 1310-ca. 1371) *Xiuling yaozhi* 修齡要旨 (Essential Purport of the Cultivation of Longevity), and are similar to those in Hu Wenhuan's 胡文煥 (late sixteenth century) *Leixiu yaojue* 類修要訣 (Essential Classified Instructions on Self-Cultivation). The identity of Perfected Li is unknown.
4. *Taixi biyao gejie* 胎息祕要歌訣 (Songs and Instructions on the Secret Essentials of Embryonic Breathing). A similar text is also found in an identically-titled work in the Taoist Canon (CT 131; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 49–54). (On “embryonic breathing” see the entry \**taixi*.)
5. *Siji yangsheng ge* 四季養生歌 (Songs on Nourishing Life According to the Four Seasons), containing selections from the \**Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection). The first section, on the “six sounds of breathing,” is attributed to \*Sun Simiao (fl. 673) in the *Xiuzhen shishu* (19.7a). The next six sections, describing \**daoyin* movements beneficial for the five viscera (\**wuzang*), come from the *Huangting wuzang liufu tu* 黃庭五臟六腑圖 (Charts of the Five Viscera and the Six Receptacles, According to the Scripture of the Inner Effulgences of the Yellow Court; *Xiuzhen shishu* 54), a text which in turn is derived from the *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu* 黃庭內景五臟六腑補瀉圖 (Charts of the Strengthening and Weakening of the Five Viscera and the Six Receptacles, According to the Scripture of the Inner Effulgences of the Yellow Court; preface dated 848; CT 432), attributed to Hu Yin 胡愔 of Mount Taibai (Taibai shan 太白山, Shaanxi). The final section, on a *daoyin* method attributed to \*Lü Dongbin, corresponds to *Xiuzhen shishu*

24.3b.

6. *Qubing yannian liuzi fa* 去病延年六字法 (Method of the Six Sounds [of Breathing] to Eliminate Diseases and Extend One's Years), also found in the *Xiuzhen shishu* (19.6a) and in Hu Wenhuan's *Leixiu yaojue*.
7. *Wuqin xi* 五禽戲 (Five Animals Pattern) attributed to Hua Tuo 華佗 (142–219). The description of the pattern given in this text radically differs from that of the *\*Yangxing yanming lu* (On Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life). The *Wuqin xi* contains the first known illustrated version, and was often used in later works on *\*yangsheng* (Nourishing Life) and *daoyin*. (On the Five Animals Pattern see the entry *\*daoyin*.)
8. *Baduan jin* 八段錦 (Eight Brocades), also found in the *Xiuzhen shishu* (19.4a–5b) and in *\*Zhu Quan's* (1378–1448) *Huoren xinfa* 活人心法 (Spiritual Methods to Provide Life Energy). (On the movements of the Eight Brocades see the entry *\*daoyin*.)
9. Forty-six movements for circulating breath (*\*xingqi*) and healing diseases. Twenty-seven of these are done in a sitting position, thirteen in an upright position, and six in a reclining position. The titles of the movements evoke the names of twenty-one immortals in the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals), the Eight Immortals (*\*baxian*), and the sixteen immortals mentioned in the “Ascending in Flight” (“Feisheng” 飛昇) chapter of the *\*Xu xianzhuan* (Sequel to Biographies of Immortals). They also mention other famous Taoists and *\*neidan* adepts such as *\*Chen Tuan*, *\*Liu Haichan*, and *\*Bai Yuchan*. These movements are similar to those in Luo Hongxian's 羅洪先 (1504–64; DMB 980–84) *Wanshou xianshu* 萬壽仙書 (Writings of the Immortals for Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity). They appear again later, e.g., in the *Neigong tushuo* 內功圖說 (Illustrated Explanations of Inner Practices; late Qing), but in different versions and sometimes with different titles.
10. Twelve illustrations with poems on *neidan* techniques, each of which represents a follower of Mount Hua (*\*Huashan*, Shaanxi) in a reclining position (Teri Takehiro 1990). In another version, these techniques are attributed to Chen Tuan who lived on Mount Hua.



Despeux 1988 (trans.)

※ *yangsheng*

Chisong zi

赤松子 (*or*: 赤誦子)

Master Red-Pine

According to his hagiography in the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals; trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 35–42), Chisong zi was the Master of Rain (*\*Yushi*) for the mythical emperor Shennong 神農 (Divine Husbandman), whom he taught a method for imbibing liquid jade, and also instructed the daughter of another mythical emperor, Yandi 炎帝 (Fiery Emperor). His main prowess was self-immolation. These mythemes may be remnants of ancient shamanic rites of immolation and rain making. Referring to Chisong zi's visit to the Queen Mother of the West (*\*Xiwang mu*) on Mount *\*Kunlun*, the hagiography represents late Han conceptualizations of successful adepts.

By the early Han, Chisong zi had become a model for *\*fangshi* seeking to emulate his attainments. The *\*Huainan zi* (j. 11 and 20) reports that he was a master of circulation of breath (*\*xingqi*) and other breathing techniques. In the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 55.2047 and 2049), *\*Zhang Liang* asks Han Gaozu (r. 202–195 BCE) leave to follow the path of Chisong zi, and he subsequently quits eating grains (see under *\*bigu*) and begins practicing circulation of breath. Besides these two texts, several other Han sources mention Chisong zi (frequently together with *\*Wangzi Qiao*) as an exemplary ancient master who had attained transcendence through self-cultivation. These often formulaic references, ranging from poems collected in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 82, 116, 139) to inscriptions on Han mirrors, attest to his popularity during this period.

Taoist texts associate Chisong zi with several methods. The *\*Lingbao wufu xu* contains herbal recipes and methods which he transmitted to *\*Yue Zichang* (2.14a; see Yamada Toshiaki 1989b). This text also includes a

narrative about Huang Chuping 黃初平 who, together with his brother Chuqi 初起, had attained transcendence on Mount Jinhua (Jinhua shan 金華山, Zhejiang) and changed his name to Chisong zi (2.13a–14a, see Company 2002, 309–11). Mount Jinhua became a cultic center for the two brothers and Chisong zi. A related text, the *Jinhua Chisong shanzhi* 金華赤松山志 (Monograph of Mount Chisong in the Jinhua Range; CT 601) by Ni Shouyue 倪守約 (Southern Song) begins with the early legends about the two brothers and includes the texts of imperial enfeoffment dating to 1189 and 1263.

In his *Baopu zi*, \*Ge Hong repeatedly mentions Chisong zi as an exemplary adept. He also describes his method for an elixir based on herbal substances (4.79) and his method for ingesting liquid jade (11.204). In other sources, Chi-song zi is associated with a method for ingesting the “five stones” (\**Wushang biyao*, 87.11a–b; YJQQ 74.7b), with methods for ingesting mica (YJQQ 75.7b, 22b), and with a general discussion of the properties of minerals (YJQQ.66.13b). Ge Hong also mentions a *Chisong zi jing* 赤松子經 (Scripture of Master Red-Pine), which dealt with calculating and determining one's longevity based on a set of moral interdictions and precepts (*Baopu zi*, 6.125). This text may be related to the *Chisong zi zhong jiejing* 赤松子中誡經 (Central Scripture on Precepts by Master Red-Pine; CT 185) which is a dialogue between the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi) and Chisong zi, explaining the causes for poverty or wealth, longevity or early death, and calamities through offenses against precepts and taboos. Not long after Ge Hong wrote his *Baopu zi*, Chisong zi was absorbed into the \*Shangqing pantheon as the Perfected of the Southern Peak (Nanyue zhenren 南嶽真人) and claimed by Peijun 裴君 (Lord Pei) as his teacher (\**Zhengao*, 5.5a).

A Six Dynasties compilation, the *Chisong zi zhangli* (Master Red-Pine's Almanac of Petitions), preserves dozens of petitions and discussions of early Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) practice. Although Chisong zi is not directly associated with these documents, the prefatory section of this text ascribes its compilation to questions regarding the proper use of petitions posed by Chisong zi to the Celestial Elder (Tianlao 天老).

Gil RAZ

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 115–17; Company 2002, 309–11; Kaltenmark 1953, 35–42; Wang Qing 1998, 199–216; Yamada Toshiaki 1989b

※ Yushi; *Chisong zi zhangli*; HAGIOGRAPHY

*Chisong zi zhangli*

赤松子章曆

Master Red-Pine's Almanac of Petitions

\*Chisong zi is, together with \*Wangzi Qiao, the oldest named transcendent (\**xianren*) in the Chinese tradition. His name occurs in the *Yuanyou* 遠遊 (Far Roaming) poem of the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Kroll 1996b, 660). The *Chisong zi zhangli* (CT 615) is often said to contain some of the earliest material of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), though the final composition of the current six chapter text is usually dated to the Tang. The first chapter claims that the initial revelation to \*Zhang Daoling in 142 included a *Chisong zi li* 赤松子曆 (Master Red-Pine's Almanac) and a *Taizhen ke* 太真科 (Code of the Great Perfected) as well as other texts, and that among these were three hundred great petitions. The narrator explains that this was during the distant Han dynasty, and that at the time of composition, only “one or two out of ten” of the original petitions still survived. In fact, much of the opening two chapters consists of quotations of the *Chisong zi li* and the *Taizhen ke*, and the bulk of the scripture (*j.* 3–6) consists of sixty-seven model petitions, so this accords well with the opening description.

The first chapter lists in detail the “tokens of faith” one must donate in order to perform each ritual, the times when the gates of heaven are open to accept petitions, and lucky days for the performance of various types of rites. The second chapter consists of instructions on how to perform the rite of submission (how to write the petition, direction to face, officials to be addressed, etc.) as well as taboos surrounding the rite. The petitions address a variety of issues, ranging from a drought that affects the entire nation to family matters, and matters of the priest's own conduct. Among the most informative petitions are those dealing with the disposition of the dead and those intended to ward off sepulchral complaints or legal cases against the deceased that somehow impinge upon the living.

*Terry KLEEMAN*

▣ Kalinowski 1989–90, 96–99; Nickerson 1997; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 186–87 (list of texts cited); Verellen 2004

※ Chisong zi; Tianshi dao

### *Chongbi danjing*

冲碧丹經

#### Scripture of the Elixir of the Unfathomable Jasper Heaven

This two-chapter alchemical treatise, whose full title is *Jinhua chongbi danjing bizhi* 金華冲碧丹經祕旨 (Secret Purport of the Scripture of the Elixir of the Golden Flower of the Unfathomable Jasper Heaven; CT 914), opens with an account of the origins and uses of this Fujian tradition dated to 1225. Its editor, the Sichuan native Meng Xu 孟煦 (fl. 1218–25), asserts that both chapters stem from \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?). Anxious to learn more about alchemy, Meng first approached Bai's major disciple, \*Peng Si (fl. 1217–51), in 1218 while in Fuzhou (Fujian). Peng turned over a core chapter of his master's teachings, known as the *Jinhua chongbi danjing*. This first chapter focuses on the structure of the laboratory and its processes and contains schematic drawings of laboratory equipment, but was difficult for Meng to understand. Two years later, while at the White Crane Grotto-Heaven (Baihe dongtian 白鶴洞天, in the \*Wuyi mountains of northwestern Fujian), Meng met a Lan Yuanbai 蘭元白, who provided him with extra elucidation of the text. Meng realized that Master Lan was none other than Bai Yuchan himself. In 1221, Meng invited three utmost gentlemen intent on refining elixirs to enter into retreat, using Lan Yuanbai's interpretation as a guide. The second chapter details a nine-stage process for creating an immortal embryo (\*shengtai) using similar language to the \*Zhouyi cantong qi and its cognates.

When seen together, the texts seems to provide a \*neidan interpretation (j. 2) for what was arguably a text centered on laboratory work (i.e., \*waidan, j. 1). The long opening account ties both chapters to the same source, namely Bai Yuchan.

Lowell SKAR

※ Bai Yuchan; *neidan*

## Chongxuan

重玄

### Twofold Mystery

The term *chongxuan* derives from a phrase in the opening section of the *Daode jing*, “mystery and again mystery” (*xuan zhi you xuan* 玄之又玄). It alludes to two steps toward the understanding of the Ultimate Void, and suggests a double movement of the spirit on both a conceptual and a mystical level.

During the Six Dynasties, the \*Xuanxue (Arcane Learning) school of thought speculated on Non-being (or emptiness) and Being (\**wu* and *you*). \*Wang Bi (226–49), one of the main Xuanxue thinkers, wrote that \**xuan* (mystery) means silent, mysterious, and unspeakable, adding that “we cannot settle only on one *xuan*, or we would lose [its sense]; therefore [the *Daode jing*] says ‘mystery and again mystery’” (Robinet 1977, 109). Since Wang Bi considered *xuan* to be a synonym of *wu*, he paved the way for a reflection on emptiness. According to the Tang commentator of the *Daode jing*, \*Cheng Xuanying (fl. 631–50), *xuan* also connotes non-attachment: “When one is not bound either by Being or Non-being, and one is not attached to attachment or non-attachment, . . . this is called Twofold Mystery” (Robinet 1977, 110). Cheng Xuanying states that the first *xuan* in the *Daode jing* passage aims at rejecting the two bounds of Being and Non-being, and is equivalent to the Middle Path of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhism. The second *xuan* aims at not being attached to the first one, i.e., at not being attached to non-attachment.

Applying the Madhyamaka dialectic, the Chongxuan thinkers suggested therefore that one should go beyond the affirmation of Being and its negation, and beyond the negation of both, rejecting the error of the eternalists who maintain that an unchanging substance is at the basis of the world, and equally rejecting the nihilist view that negates the reality of the world. According to the Chongxuan thinkers, these “two truths” must be both asserted and dismissed. First the “two extremes” are rejected, then the

“middle” is equally rejected. The void (first *xuan*) is void (second *xuan*); the negation is negated; the illness of pretending that any one statement—be it *you* or *wu*, or negating as well as asserting both—is true, disappears. The second *xuan* advances the paradoxical realization that the world is neither real nor illusory, that affirmation as well as negation of the reality or unreality of the world is nonsense.

The same dialectic was applied to expound other passages of the *Daode jing*, such as the phrase “to decrease and again decrease” (*sun zhi you sun* 損之又損, sec. 48), and of the *\*Zhuangzi*, particularly the passage that reads “There is being . . . There is non-being . . . There is a there-is-non-being that has not yet begun to begin . . .” (chapter 2; Robinet 1977, 121–22). A similar dialectical progression was also applied to the Three Ones (*\*sanyi*), or to the root (*ben* 本) and the traces (*ji* 迹), as everything is a trace of the Ultimate Truth, neither real because it is not the Truth, nor false because it is its manifestation.

Buddhist thinkers such as Zhi Dun 支盾 (314–66), Sengzhao 僧肇 (374–414), and Jizang 吉臧 (549–623) used the expression *chongxuan* to speak of Laozi's truth, and identify it as a Taoist usage. In alchemical *\*neidan* texts, *chongxuan* designates the embryo of immortality; here the term has the same meaning as the expression “beyond the body there is another body” (*shenwai you shen* 身外有身), which alludes to *tuotai* 脫胎 (deliverance of the embryo) and is synonymous with the “real emptiness” (*zhenkong* 真空) that subsumes the distinction between Being and Non-being.

*The Chongxuan school of thought.* The Chongxuan school—which is not a lineage but a trend of thought based on the principles outlined above—developed around commentaries to the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*. Its existence as a school of thought was first affirmed by Cheng Xuanying, the earliest commentator who tried to classify the lineages of *Daode jing* exegesis in the preface to his own commentary. After him, *\*Du Guangting* (850–933) and then Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541–1620) also referred to the Chongxuan school. Many commentaries of this school are lost and are only known through quotations.

The first Chongxuan thinker was apparently Sun Deng 孫登, a commentator of the *Daode jing* active during the Jin 晉 dynasty (Fujiwara Takao 1961b; Lu Guolong 1994). Then came Meng Zhizhou 孟知周 (Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 255), who lived during the reign of Liang Wudi (r. 502–49). In

a passage of his lost commentary, quoted in the *\*Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching, 5.1a–3a), Meng interprets the Three Ones by applying the same dialectic used by the Chongxuan school in dealing with the notion of Mystery. Under the same dynasty also lived Zang Xuanjing 臧玄靜 (fl. mid-sixth century), who taught the *\*Shangqing* patriarch *\*Wang* Yuanzhi (528–635) and may have been Cheng Xuanying's master. The school reached its apogee in the Tang period with eminent Taoists such as Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 (ca. 560–ca. 640), to whom the first five chapters of the *\*Benji jing* (Scripture of the Original Bound) are ascribed, and who also wrote two essays on Laozi and a lost commentary to the *Daode jing*.

Another major Chongxuan thinker is Cheng Xuanying who, in 647, translated the *Daode jing* into Sanskrit with Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–64) and Cai Huang 蔡晃, also a member of this school (Pelliot 1912). Cheng's exegesis of the *\*Yijing* is now lost, but his commentaries to the *Daode jing* and the *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), and his subcommentary to *\*Guo Xiang's* commentary to the *Zhuangzi* are extant. Chen's younger contemporary, *\*Li Rong* (fl. 658–63), wrote a lost commentary to the *Zhuangzi* and an extant commentary to the *Daode jing*. The Chongxuan school also influenced other Tang Taoist texts such as the *Daojiao yishu*, and Song commentators of the *Daode jing* such as Shao Ruoyu 邵若愚 (fl. 1159) and Zhao Shi'an 趙實庵.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Fujiwara Takao 1961a; Kohn 1991a, 190–96; Kohn 1992a, 139–46; Lu Guolong 1993; Ren Jiyu 1990, 249–64; Robinet 1977, 96–203; Robinet 1997b, 194–95; Sharf 2002, 52–71; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 188–211; Yu Shiyi 2000

※ Cheng Xuanying; Li Rong; *xuan*; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun*

重陽立教十五論

Fifteen Essays by [Wang] Chongyang  
to Establish His Teaching

The *Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun* (CT 1233) is a very short treatise on Taoist life in fifteen sections: 1. Retreat in a Hermitage; 2. Travelling as an Errant Religious; 3. Studying Texts; 4. Preparing Medicines; 5. Mastering Carpentry; 6. Forming Religious Communities; 7. Meditation; 8. Firm Control of the Mind; 9. Refining One's Nature; 10. Pairing the Five Pneumas (*wuqi* 五氣, i.e., those of the *\*wuxing*); 11. Merging Inner Nature and Destiny (*\*xing* and *ming*); 12. Sagely Way; 13. Transcending the Three Realms (*sanjie* 三界); 14. Methods for Nourishing the Self; and 15. Leaving This World.

Although scholarly publications and translations into Western languages have made this work famous, its value as a source on the early history of *\*Quanzhen* is rather limited. The title suggests that it was written by *\*Wang Zhe* (1113–70) to summarize his predication, but there is no evidence to strongly support this attribution: the work is neither mentioned in any of several Yuan-period biographies of Wang, which are otherwise very detailed, nor is it quoted in any early Quanzhen work. The text, however, is generally consistent with Quanzhen rhetorics, which tends to add purely abstract meanings to the common religious vocabulary, and with the Quanzhen ideals of service to society and an austere life devoted to *\*neidan* practices.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 148; Kohn 1993b, 86–92 (trans.); Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 117–18; Reiter 1984–85 (trans.); Yao Tao-chung 1980, 73–86 (trans.)

※ Wang Zhe; Quanzhen

*Chongyang Quanzhen ji*

重陽全真集

Anthology on the Completion of Authenticity,  
by [Wang] Chongyang

This thirteen-*juan* poetic anthology (CT 1153) is the largest repository of *\*Wang Zhe's* (Wang Chongyang, 1113–70) literary production. It contains 1,009 texts, consisting of regulated poems (*shi* 詩), lyrics (*ci* 詞), songs (*ge* 歌), and a few prose works written for *\*Quanzhen* lay associations (*hui* 會);



see \*taoist lay associations). Some poems are duplicated, others are also extant in shorter anthologies—notably the *Jiaohua ji* 教化集 (Anthology of Religious Conversions; CT 1154)—and a few were carved on stone in monasteries founded by Wang's disciples. Beyond this information, the textual history of the *Chongyang Quanzhen ji* is obscure. It seems to have been part of a larger collection now lost, and its present version was edited by disciples of \*Ma Yu, Wang's favorite disciple, in 1188.

The textual history of the *\*Minghe yuyin*, another work including some of Wang's poetry, shows that poems of Taoist inspiration (*daoqing* 道情; Ono Shihei 1964) were current under the Mongols. Quanzhen predication, in particular, used poems in several ways. Their lyric tone suited the appeal to conversion, and the poems of Quanzhen masters were memorized by both adepts and devotees. Ascetics recited them at night to fight the effects of sleep deprivation. Poems were also quoted in answer to doctrinal questions, as attested in the recorded sayings (*\*yulu*) of several masters, and especially in Niu Daochun's 牛道淳 (fl. 1299) *Xiyi zhimi lun* 析疑指迷論 (Essays to Resolve Doubts and Point out Errors; CT 276). Moreover, poems were used for exchanges between master and disciple. For instance, Wang Zhe liked to write *cangtou shi* 藏頭詩, poems in which the first character of each verse is hidden so that the recipient may guess it. This pedagogical use of poetry is also noted among contemporary Quanzhen writers such as \*Tan Chuduan and non-Quanzhen Taoist authors as well. Another non-Quanzhen, twelfth-century example of its application is the *Taixuan ji* 太玄集 (Anthology of Great Mystery; CT 1061).

In the *Quanzhen ji*, most poems are ad hoc creations to exhort or stimulate disciples or acquaintances, and therefore do not offer a coherent doctrinal exposition. The *ci* tunes are similar to those used in contemporary poetry, although Quanzhen authors sometimes changed their titles to make them sound more Taoist. *\*Neidan* vocabulary is used throughout the works, but not in a didactic manner: blended with Wang's personal voice, it shapes a lyrical discourse on the promise of immortality.

While the influence exerted by Wang's poetry is difficult to determine, it is worthy of note that the *Quanzhen ji*, like most other Quanzhen works, survives only in the *Daozang* edition. Among the Quanzhen collected works, only \*Qiu Chuji's *Panxi ji* 磻溪集 (Anthology of the Master from Panxi; CT 1159) and \*Ji Zhizhen's *Yunshan ji* 雲山集 (Anthology of Cloudy Mountains; 1250; CT 1140), besides the popular anthology *Minghe yuyin*, are

also extant in separate editions that differ from those in the current *Daozang*. This suggests that the versions of these anthologies in the Canon underwent thorough editing. Moreover, Ming and Qing bibliographic catalogues show that several Quanzhen literary works did circulate, but Wang Zhe's anthologies were not among them. Their circulation after the fourteenth century was probably limited, although it was certainly widened in recent times by the *\*Daozang jiyao*, which gives a prominent place to early Quanzhen literature. Wang's original poetry was thus mainly rediscovered in the contemporary period.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 144–45; Hachiya Kunio 1992a; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 213–14; Marsone 2001b

※ Wang Zhe; Quanzhen

*chu*

廚

“cuisines”

The term *chu* or “cuisines” designates in Taoism a complex of religious practices that includes both communal rituals and techniques of meditation. The semantic field defined by this term is extensive but can be summarized in some key expressions: ritual banquets, communion with divinities, granaries (*zang* 藏, a word that also denotes the viscera), visualization of the five viscera (*\*wuzang*), and abstention from cereals (*\*bigu*) and other food proscriptions.

Taoist cuisines have an antecedent in early Chinese religion: “cuisine” was the term used for the ceremonial meals organized by communities to honor the gods of the soil (*she* 社). These “cuisine congregations” (*chuhui* 廚會) became an object of criticism, and sometimes were banned, by orthodox Taoists who objected not only to their excessive financial expenditure but also to their moral dissolution, as they involved animal sacrifice. Taoists nevertheless perpetuated the custom by adapting and codifying it, as they did with several other popular religious practices.

Cuisines thus became a major element of liturgy from the origin of Taoist organized movements. Also called “good luck meals” (*fushi* 福食), they were performed especially during the three large annual festivals (the Three Assemblies, *\*sanhui*), when *\*Tianshi dao* officiants updated the civil records of their communities and granted parochial ranks to their adepts. An appropriate number of cuisine officiants was chosen; they first observed a period of purification that included fasting and abstention from sexual intercourse. Cuisine rituals lasted for one, three, or seven days. Participants consumed exclusively vegetarian food and moderate amounts of wine, which was considered as a mandatory element of the banquet. The leftovers were shared by the faithful who could thereby participate in the communion. Cuisine ceremonies were also performed in special circumstances, such as when there was disease, sin, or death pollution. They had an exorcistic and salvific power, and conferred good luck or merit upon the adepts.

Taoist cuisines shared many features with the Retreats (*\*zhai* or “liturgical fasts”). In fact, the Taoist Fasting and Offering rituals (*\*jiao*) progressively superseded the communal cuisine feasts. The decline of these cuisine practices coincided with the development, during the Tang period, of a contemplative cuisine ritual, partaking of the long tradition of Taoist psycho-physiological techniques. The *\*Wuchu jing* (Scripture of the Five Cuisines) gives an idea of these techniques practiced by seekers of longevity. They mainly involve visualizing the five viscera of the body and chanting incantations. These methods allowed the adept to obtain satisfaction and harmony, and, after some years of training, even immortality.

The tradition of the meditational cuisines seems to have developed in a parallel and complementary manner to the communal cuisine liturgy. These “contemplative” cuisines were well known by the fourth and fifth centuries. *\*Ge Hong* refers several times to the ability of calling upon “movable cuisines” (*xingchu* 行廚) as one of the Saint's highest powers. *\*Shangqing* Taoists also practiced the technique of “making the movable cuisines come [while] sitting [in meditation]” (*zuo zhi xingchu* 坐致行廚). This method, accessible only to the initiate who possessed the proper series of talismans (*\*FU*) and had mastered certain visualization techniques, conferred powers to become invisible, to cause thunder, and to call for rain. The method was so popular during the Tang period that Tantric Buddhism also adopted it.

*Christine MOLLIER*

☐ Mollier 2000; Stein R. A. 1971; Stein R. A. 1972; Stein R. A. 1979

※ *sanhui; Wuchu jing*

*Chunyang Lü zhenren wenji*

純陽呂真人文集

Collected Works of the Perfected Lü of Pure Yang

The *Chunyang Lü zhenren wenji* in eight *juan* is a collection of stories, poems, chants, ballads, and other writings attributed to or concerning \*Lü Dongbin. Its nucleus dates to the Southern Song period. The original edition was published by Chen Deyi 陳得一 from Jianjin 劍津(Fujian) in 1166. This edition, however, had already been lost by 1423 when the forty-fourth Celestial Master Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (1364–1427) recompiled the text by gathering copies that existed in his time. The *Chunyang Lü zhenren wenji* as we know it today, therefore, is an anthology that has no precise date since it took shape from the Song through the Ming, when at least four editions were published:

1. The 1571 edition by Yao Ruxun 姚汝循 from Jiangning 江寧 (Jiangsu) in eight *juan* (now preserved at the Naikaku bunkō in Tokyo; see Mori Yuria 1992a, 46), which was reprinted in 1583 under the title *Chunyang Lüzu wenji* 純陽呂祖文集(Collected Works of Ancestor Lü of Pure Yang) with revisions and additions by Yang Liangbi 楊良弼 from Fujian (see Ma Xiaohong 1988a, 36; Ma Xiaohong 1988b, 38). It is probably on the basis of this edition that later the *Lüzu zhi* 呂祖志 (Monograph of Ancestor Lü; CT 1484) was compiled and included in the 1607 supplement to the *Daozang*.
2. The Ming edition included in the *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集 (Complete Collection of Books on the Dao), edited by Yan Hezhou 閻鶴州 from Jinling 金陵 (near Nanjing, Jiangsu) in 1591.
3. The 1636 edition by Lü Yijing 呂一經 in ten *juan* (also preserved at the Naikaku bunkō).

4. The edition preserved at the Tenri Library of Nara in eight *juan*, the last of which is missing (see Ozaki Masaharu 1986a, 108, and Mori Yuria 1992a).

*Contents.* Based on Yang Liangbi's reprint, the content of the eight *juan* is as follows. The first *juan* contains the *Zhenren ziji* 真人自記 (Personal Records by the Perfected), the *Zhenren benzhuàn* 真人本傳 (Original Biography of the Perfected) and the *Zhenzhong ji* 枕中記 (Notes Kept Inside the Pillow). These three works are also included in the *Lüzü zhi* (j. 1) under the title *Shiji zhi* 事績志 (Records of Accomplishments), with the addition of the *Yunfang shishi zhenren* 雲房十試真人 (Ten Trials of the Perfected by Yunfang) and the *Zhenren shiwen Yunfang* 真人十問雲房 (Ten Questions of the Perfected to Yunfang). The content of the *Zhenren benzhuàn* also appears with some modifications in the first ten stories reported in the *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 (Chronicle of the Divine Transformations and Wondrous Powers of the Imperial Lord of Pure Yang; CT 305) as well as in the \**Lüzü quanshu* (Complete Writings of Ancestor Lü).

The second *juan* contains more than seventy stories on miracles and traces left by Lü Dongbin when he appeared in the world. Most of them are also found in the first part of the *Lüzü zhi* (j. 2–3), in the *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji*, and in the *Lüzü quanshu*.

The remaining *juan* contain more than 230 poems, chants and ballads that are also included in the second part of the *Lüzü zhi* (j. 4–6), entitled *Yiwen zhi* 藝文志 (Literary Writings), as well as in the *Lüzü quanshu*. Some of the pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic *lüshi* 律詩 and *jueju* 絕句 are also found in the *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 純陽真人渾成集 (Anthology of the Perfected of Pure Yang, “Confused and yet Complete”; CT 1055) and in the *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Complete Poems of the Tang).

Monica ESPOSITO

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 67, 141–43; Ma Xiaohong 1988a; Ma Xiaohong 1988b; Mori Yuria 1990; Mori Yuria 1992a

※ Lü Dongbin

*chushen*

## 出神

“exteriorization of the spirits”; “egress of the Spirit”

### 1. Ritual

In Taoist ritual, “exteriorization of the spirits” means summoning forth the deities from within the body of the priest (*\*daoshi*). As these deities have features and roles of civil and military officers, *chushen* is also referred to as *chuguan* 出官 (“exteriorization of the officials”) or *qingguan* 請官 (“calling the officials”).

In the Way of the Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*), and later also in the *\*Lingbao \*zhai* (Retreat) rituals, these deities were called forth during rites for presenting petitions (*zhang* 章). In present-day rituals, it is during the rite of Lighting the Incense Burner (*\*falu*) that the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see *\*daozhang*) asks the Most High Lord Lao (Taishang Laojun 太上老君; see *\*Laozi* and Laojun) and other gods to summon forth his inner deities. Simultaneously, he performs the hand movements known as *\*shoujue*. At that time, the civil and military officers emerge from the Gate of All Wonders (*zhongmiao men* 眾妙門) which is located in the priest's Muddy Pellet (*\*niwan*, the Cinnabar Field or *\*dantian* in the head). They perform various functions to assist the performance of the ritual, and return to their posts within the priest's body after the rite of the Extinction of the Incense Burner (*fulu* 復爐; Lagerwey 1987c, 146–47).

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Schipper 1993, 55–99

※ *gongcao*; *gongde*; *jiangshen*; *jiao*; *zhai*; INNER DEITIES

### 2. *Neidan*

In *\*neidan*, the term *shen* in *chushen* does not refer to deities, but to Spirit. The “egress of the Spirit” marks the achievement of the third and final stage of the practice, the return of Spirit to Emptiness (*lianshen huanxu* 鍊神還虛). Once the Spirit is sublimated into a Yang Spirit (*yangshen* 陽神), with no further trace of Yin, it is thoroughly free from the workings of the discursive mind and permanently abides in absolute tranquillity. In this condition, it can

leave the body at will. This experience of physical and mental sublimation is described by the expression “beyond the body there is another body” (*shenwai you shen* 身外有身), signifying that a spiritual body is born from the material body that is no longer related to the aggregation of the Five Agents (*\*wuxing*). Released from transmigration, this body is one with the Dao, is equal to space, and has the same life span as Heaven and Earth.



Fig. 26. Egress of the Spirit (*chushen*). *\*Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 (Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force).

The departure of the Spirit from the body is attested by the opening of the sinciput (*tianmen* 天門, the Gate of Heaven), from which the Spirit egresses (see [fig. 26](#)). *Neidan* texts often describe this experience as heralded by the appearance of a circle of light, ambrosial fragrances, and sounds resembling the rumble of thunder. This ultimate accomplishment, in which all effort ceases and the Spirit engages in ecstatic flights (*shenyou* 神遊), should not be confused with the egress of the Yin Spirit (*chu yinshen* 出陰神). In the latter instance, the Spirit leaves the body but has not yet been entirely sublimated. This inferior practice is regarded as equivalent to a transfer into a corpse or a

matrix, because the Yin Spirit is still attached to the mundane world that is bound by the Five Agents.

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Cleary 1986a, 100–104; Despeux 1979, 79–82; Robinet 1989c, 188–90

※ *jing, qi, shen; neidan*

## Chuzhen jielü

### 初真戒律

#### Initial Precepts and Observances for Perfection

The *Chuzhen jielü* by \*Wang Changyue (?–1680) contains three prefaces. The first is signed by the author and is dated 1656, when this eminent \*Quanzhen Taoist became the chief abbot of the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing. Wang reports that he received the precepts from master Zhao Fuyang 趙復陽 whom he had met on Mount Jiugong (Jiugong shan 九宮山, Hubei), and adds that in 1656 he built an ordination platform at the Baiyun guan to transmit those precepts (see [fig. 75](#)). The two other prefaces are by Long Qiqian 龍起潛 (dated 1674) and Wu Taiyi 吳太一 (dated 1686). At the end of the text there is an undated colophon by Da Chongguang 笪重光.

Although the Quanzhen observances are influenced by the Buddhist *vinaya*, they are largely based on the precepts of Tang-dynasty Taoism shared by the \*Zhengyi, \*Lingbao and \*Shangqing schools (Schipper 1985c). They are divided into three degrees: Initial Precepts for Perfection (*chuzhen jie* 初真戒), Intermediate Precepts (*zhongji jie* 中極戒), and Precepts for Celestial Immortality (*tianxian jie* 天仙戒). The *Chuzhen jielü* is essentially concerned with the precepts of the first degree, but also contains indications and rules about the two other levels. The text can be divided into the five parts described below (page numbers are those of the \**Daozang jiyao* edition, found in vol. 24).

*Basic precepts.* This part includes four sections. The first is entitled “San guiyi jie” 三皈依戒 (Precepts of the Three Refuges; 34a–b). The Three



Refuges are the Dao, the scriptures and the master. This passage reproduces a portion of the *Sandong zhongjie wen* 三洞眾戒文 (All Precepts of the Three Caverns; CT 178, 2a–b), compiled by \*Zhang Wanfu in the early eighth century.

The second section is the “Taishang Laojun suoming jigong guigen wujie” 太上老君所命積功歸根五戒 (Five Precepts Ordered by the Most High Lord Lao to Accumulate Merit and Return to the Root; 34b–35a). The precepts consist in not killing, not stealing, not lying, not engaging in licentious behavior, and not taking intoxicants. They are akin to the five basic precepts of Buddhism and derive from the *Taishang Laojun jiejing* 太上老君戒經 (Scripture on Precepts of the Most High Lord Lao; CT 784, 14a–15a). The text specifies that each morning, those who receive these precepts should recite the *Taishang sanyuan cifu shezui jie'e xiaozai yansheng baoming miaojing* 太上三元賜福赦罪解厄消災延生保命妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Most High Three Primes that Confers Happiness, Liberates from Faults, Eliminates Dangers, Dispels Disasters, Extends One's Life, and Preserves One's Destiny; CT 1442) and the \**Taishang ganying pian* (Folios of the Most High on Retribution).

The third section (35a–36a) reproduces the *Xuhuang tianzun chuzhen shijie wen* 虛皇天尊初真十戒文 (Ten Initial Precepts for Perfection According to the Celestial Worthy, Sovereign of Emptiness; CT 180), and has the same title. It lists the five basic precepts for laymen in Buddhism as well as four of the five Confucian classical virtues (only righteousness, *yi* 義, is lacking).

The fourth section, “Xingchi zongshuo” 行持總說 (General Principles on the Practice; 36a–37a), enumerates the positive effects that accumulate according to the number of one's meritorious acts (one, ten, one hundred, or one thousand) and the inauspicious effects of bad actions.

*Post-ordination precepts.* The second part of the *Chuzhen jielü*, “Rujie yaogui” 入戒要規 (Main Rules to be Observed after the Transmission of the Precepts; 38a–46b), gives rules concerning collective life, individual practice, vestments, and washing, and lists the days on which ordinations and hundred-day retreats can take place. There follow thirty spells (*zhou* 咒) that are transmitted to the disciple on the day of ordination and are to be recited during his daily activities. At the end there are drawings of vestments and ritual objects (a vase, a bowl, and a stick) related to the three ordination

degrees.

*Precepts for monastic life.* In the third part, “Xuanmen chijie weiyi” 玄門持戒威儀 (Dignified Liturgies to be Observed when One Follows the Precepts of the School of Mysteries), the initial pages (47a–53b) describe the attitudes that a disciple should observe in twelve circumstances of monastic life: 1. when he comes in or goes out; 2. when he serves his master; 3. when he hears or looks; 4. when he speaks; 5. when he combs his hair or washes his face; 6. when he eats; 7. when he hears a religious teaching; 8. when he travels; 9. when he stands up or remains standing; 10. when he is in a sitting or reclining position; 11. when he performs any activity; 12. when he washes himself. This advice is similar to that found in the \**Zhengyi weiyi jing* (Scripture of Dignified Liturgies of Orthodox Unity) and the *Xuanmen shishi weiyi* 玄門十事威儀 (Dignified Liturgies for Ten Circumstances According to the School of Mysteries; CT 792).

There follows the “Dizi fengshi kejie” 弟子奉師科戒 (Codes and Precepts for Serving One's Master; 54a–55b), containing thirty-nine rules from the above-mentioned *Sandong zhongjie wen* (CT 178, 2b–4b), and a section entitled “Jieyi” 戒衣 (Ordination Vestments; 56a–57a), with forty-six entries from Zhang Wanfu's *Sandong fafu kejie wen* 三洞法服科戒文 (Codes and Precepts for the Liturgical Vestments of the Three Caverns; CT 788, 7b–9b).

*Precepts for women.* The precepts in the fourth part, “Nüzhen jiujie” 女真九戒 (Nine Precepts for Perfection for Women; 58a–b), emphasize the ethical virtues that women should develop (see Despeux 1990, 147–55).

*Kunyang's precepts.* Finally, the “Kunyang lüshi fuzhuo jie” 崑陽律師付囑偈 (Gāthās for the Exhortation to the Practice by the Ordination Master Kunyang; 59a–60a), entitled after Wang Changyue's original name, includes six stanzas that urge the disciple to put his clothing in order, protect his bowl, take care of his shoes, keep clean the ordination tablet, maintain a deferential attitude in public, and apply and follow these precepts.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1990, 147–55; Esposito 1993, 97–100; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 77–100; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 353–55

※ Wang Changyue; *jie* [precepts]; MONASTIC CODE; ORDINATION AND

## Ciyi jing

## 雌一經

## Scripture of the Feminine One

In \*Shangqing Taoism, the term *ciyi* 雌一 or Feminine One associates the “female” (*ci*) of the *Daode jing* with the practice of guarding the One (\**shouyi*). It also designates the Three Pure Ladies (Sansu 三素) who embody the Feminine One and live in the *jinhua* 金華 (Golden Flower) chamber of the brain. The Three Ladies are the mothers of the Five Gods (*wushen* 五神) or Five Ancient Lords (*wulao* 五老) of the Masculine One, the divinities of the registers of life (*shengji* 生籍; see \*[Taidan yinshu](#)).

The scripture that concerns them is the *Ciyi yujian wulao baojing* 雌一玉檢五老寶經 (Precious Scripture on the Five Ancient Lords, Jade Seal of the Feminine One; CT 1313). This text dates from the seventh century but contains earlier materials, possibly drawn in part from the third-century practices received by \*Su Lin and Juanzi 涓子 and adopted by the Shangqing school. Other sections are apocryphal but their content matches the original revelation. The text tries to harmonize the practices focused on the *dongfang* 洞房 (the Cavern Chamber located in the brain) and the deities of the \*[Taidan yinshu](#). It is closely related to the *Dongfang neijing* 洞房內經 (Inner Scripture of the Cavern Chamber; CT 133), which contains a later version of the *dong-fang* method, and the *Jinhua yujing* 金華玉經 (Jade Scripture of the Golden Flower; CT 254), which contains part of the *Ciyi jing* itself.

The *Ciyi jing* is based on the “formula” of the \**Dadong zhenjing* and describes methods that complement other scriptures, including the \**Basu jing*. At its core is the *dongfang* method, which consists in a meditation on the Three Pure Ladies and the chanting of hymns in their honor. The text also contains a method to have one's name written in the registers of life by the Five Ancient Lords, and a method to have one's mortal embryonic knots unraveled by the Three Ladies, their sons, and the \**bajing* (Eight Effulgences; see Robinet 1993, 139–43).

▣ Robinet 1993, 131–38; Robinet 1984, 1: 76–80 and 2: 261–83

※ Shangqing

*cun*

存

visualization, actualization

The word *cun* is a verb that commonly means “to be,” “to be present,” “to exist.” In this sense it also denotes extreme longevity, as in the famous passage of \**Zhuangzi* 11, where \*Guangcheng zi exclaims: *wo du cun hu* 我獨存乎, “I alone survive!” (see trans. Watson 1968, 179).

In Taoist meditation, the word is used in its causative mode, in the sense of “to cause to exist” or “to make present.” It thus means that the meditator, by an act of conscious concentration and focused intention, causes certain energies to be present in certain parts of the body or makes specific deities or scriptures appear before his or her mental eye. For this reason, the word is most commonly rendered “to visualize” or, as a noun, “visualization.” Since, however, the basic meaning of *cun* is not just to see or be aware of but to be actually present, the translation “to actualize” or “actualization” may at times be correct if somewhat alien to the Western reader.

Apart from its single usage, the word *cun* occurs in three typical compounds in Taoist texts. These are: *cunxiang* or “visualization and imagination,” *cunshen* or “visualization of spirit,” and *cunsi* or “visualization and meditation.”

*Visualization and imagination.* The first compound, *cunxiang* 存想 or “visualization and imagination,” is defined in \*Sima Chengzhen's \**Tianyin zi*:

Visualization (*cun*) means producing a vision of one's spirit(s); imagination (*xiang*) is to create an image of one's body. How is this accomplished? By closing one's eyes one can see one's own eyes. By gathering in one's mind one can realize one's own mind. Mind and eyes should never be separate from one's body and should never harm one's spirit(s): this is done by visualization and imagination. (CT 1026, 3b)

The result of this activity is “tranquillity,” through which one can “recover

life” and attain longevity and even immortality. The activity of *cun* here is the active creation of an intentional inner vision of the spirit energy in one's body, combined with that of *xiang* which allows one also to see one's bodily presence and thus attain longevity both physically and spiritually.

The same term also occurs in a *\*neidan* context in the *\*Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection, 24.4a–5a), in a section entitled “Cunxiang yinqi” 存想咽氣 or “Visualizing and Imagining the Swallowing of Breath.” Instructions here advise adepts to visualize their *\*qi* as it is swallowed into the lower Cinnabar Field (*\*dantian*), where it mingles with its authentic counterpart (*\*yuanqi* or Original Pneuma) and can then be gradually and with full intention guided through the spinal column, into all the different parts of the body (even to the tips of hairs and nails) and into the *\*niwan* cavity or upper Cinnabar Field in the brain. The activity of *cun* again implies the full concentration of the mind on the energy within the body.

*Visualization of spirit.* The same basic reading applies to the compound *cunshen* 存神 or “visualization of spirit,” which occurs in two titles in the Taoist Canon: *\*Cunshen lianqi ming* (Inscription on the Visualization of Spirit and Refinement of Pneuma) by *\*Sun Simiao* of the seventh century, and *Cunshen guqi lun* 存神固氣論 (Essay on the Visualization of Spirit and Stabilizing of Energy; CT 577), a *neidan* work of the Song or Yuan periods. In both instances the practice links the concentrated attention (*cun*) paid to the spirit with the improvement and increase of energy, again providing both physical and spiritual benefits for the practitioner. Also, both texts use the basic system of Yin and Yang and the *\*wuxing* to explain the inner workings of the body-mind system and insist that the effect of *cun* is one of tranquilizing and calming the mind. Like the *Tianyin zi*, the texts on *cunshen* ultimately aim at longevity and immortality, for which a calm and stable mind is a basic condition.

*Visualization and meditation.* *Cunsi* 存思 or “visualization and meditation” is the topic of the lengthy *Taishang Laojun da cunsi tuzhu jue* 太上老君大存思圖注訣 (Illustrated Commentary and Instructions on the Great Visualization and Meditation, by the Most High Lord Lao; CT 875, and YJQQ 43.3a–17b), a text that in its present version dates from the late Tang but is cited as early as the fourth century. Here *cun* refers to the visualization of the gods, whom one should see as if they were real and imagine as clearly as if looking at their pictures. This practice is illustrated with numerous examples in the four

sections of the text, which specify visualizations during ordination procedures (of the masters, gods, and scriptures), in daily activities, in heavenly audiences with the gods, and in advanced celestial interaction and translation to the higher spheres. Although more complex and colorful than the practice of *cunxiang* or *cunshen*, the basic principle of *cunsi* is the same: the intentional actualization of spirit leads to a higher awareness of the Dao, and brings about inner purity and mental tranquillity.

Livia KOHN

▣ Kohn 1987a, 119–24; Robinet 1993; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 269–76; Sakade Yoshinobu 1994c

※ INNER DEITIES; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*Cunshen lianqi ming*

存神鍊氣銘

Inscription on the Visualization of Spirit and  
Refinement of Pneuma

The *Cunshen lianqi ming* is attributed to the eminent physician \*Sun Simiao (fl. 673). The work has survived both as an independent text (CT 834) and as part of the \**Yunji qiqian* (33.12a–14b). In addition, its main portion is included in the \**Dingguan jing* (Scripture on Concentration and Observation) and in the \**Sheyang zhenzhong fang* (Pillow Book of Methods for Preserving and Nourishing Life).

The *Inscription* is an important precursor to \*Sima Chengzhen's \**Zuowang lun* (Essay on Sitting in Oblivion) and other texts of the Taoist mystical tradition. In it Sun Simiao gives a short but clear account of self-transformation and the gradual stages of merging with the Dao. He describes the mystical ascent in five stages (*wushi* 五時) for the mind and seven phases (*qihou* 七候) for the body. After adepts have practiced preliminary \**yangsheng* techniques (e.g., abstention from cereals or \**bigu*, and meditation on the Ocean of Pneuma or *qihai* 氣海) they will be able to enter the first five stages, which lead from agitation to tranquillity of mind. During the following seven phases, adepts gradually refine the body into Pneuma

(\**qi*); this is said to be the stage of the Real Man (\**zhenren*). The refinement of Pneuma into Spirit (\**shen*) results in achieving the stage of the Divine Man (\**shenren*). Those who join their spirit with the world of form are known as “accomplished men” (*zhiren* 至人).

*Ute ENGELHARDT*

▣ Engelhardt 1989; Kohn 1987a, 119–23 (trans.); Kohn 1993b, 319–25 (trans.)

※ Sun Simiao; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*Da Jin Xuandu baozang*  
大金玄都寶藏

Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin

The compilation of the *Da Jin Xuandu baozang* was completed in 1192, merely two years after the Jurchen ruler Zhangzong (r. 1190–1208) provided authorization for material and editorial assistance. It evolved as an expansion of the \**Zhenghe Wanshou daozaog* (Taoist Canon of the Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity of the Zhenghe Reign Period), printed during Huizong's reign (r. 1100–1125). The story of how it came into being is told in an undated stele inscription recorded in the *Gongguan beizhi* 宮觀碑誌 (Epigraphic Memorials of Palaces and Abbeys; CT 972, 21b–26a), an anonymous anthology compiled no earlier than 1264.

The undated epigraphic history of the *Da Jin Xuandu baozang* is authored by Wei Boxiao 魏搏霄 of Daming 大名 (Hebei), identified as a Junior Compiler in the Historiography Institute affiliated with the Hanlin Academy. Wei presents his account as the personal narrative of Sun Mingdao 孫明道, Superintendent of the Tianchang guan 天長觀 (Abbey of Celestial Perpetuity). The site of this temple compound is now home to the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) of Beijing. The clergy occupying the temple during the Jurchen regime were long hampered by the lack of a complete copy of the Taoist Canon.

In 1188, Zhangzong's grandfather Shizong (r. 1161–90) commanded the transfer of the blocks for the Song Canon held in the Southern Capital (i.e., Kaifeng) to the Tianchang guan in the Central Capital (i.e., Beijing). Scriptures from the Yuxu guan 玉虛觀 (Abbey of the Jade Void) in the Central Capital were also shifted to the Tianchang guan for purposes of collation. Zhangzong had the storage facility for the blocks of the Canon restored in 1190 and bestowed a grant of land, enlarging the temple compound of the Tianchang guan. Two unidentified Civil Officials (*wenchen* 文臣), moreover, arrived at the abbey by imperial command to assist Superintendent Sun in restoring lacunae so that a complete Canon could be



issued in print.

Sun sent members of the abbey out on a nationwide search for scriptures. He also turned his attention to recruiting block-cutters as well as gathering the necessary raw materials. A colleague named Zhao Daozhen 趙道真 vowed to come up with the funds for the timber by soliciting alms throughout the country. Within two years, everything was in place. Altogether 1,074 *juan* of additional scriptures were brought together. With the cutting of 21,800 supplementary blocks, the total came to 83,198. Sun convened fellow clergymen to organize the texts according to the Three Caverns (\*sandong) and Four Supplements (*sifu* 四輔). The compilation that resulted comprised 6,455 *juan* and was given the title *Da Jin Xuandu baozang*. The inspiration for this title may be traced to the *Buxu jing* 步虛經 (Scripture on Pacing the Void) of the \*Lingbao corpus, which locates Xuandu 玄都 in a celestial realm high above the Three Clarities (\*sanqing). Copies of this new Canon were reportedly offered as imperial gifts on occasion. Nothing printed in it seems to have survived. The blocks from which it was cut were presumably lost with the destruction of the Tianchang guan after the arrival of the Mongols in 1215.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 156–61; van der Loon 1984, 45–47 and 50; Zhu Yueli 1992, 150–52

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

### *Da Song Tiangong baozang*

大宋天宮寶藏

Precious Canon of the Celestial Palace of the Great Song

This canon of 1016 evolved as a revised, enlarged version of an earlier effort initiated by Song Taizong (r. 976–97). Like Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56), Song Taizong ordered a comprehensive search for Taoist writings. In 990, he put his Policy Adviser Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (917–92) in charge of a team of collators. An eminent Taoist Master named Zhang Qizhen 張契真 (936–1006) is known to have been among the clergy selected for this task by their

respective Metropolitan Registrars. A collection of over 7,000 *juan* was thereby reduced to a canon totalling 3,737 *juan* for copying and distribution to major temple compounds. Work on its successor began under Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022).

By the late summer of 1009, ten Taoist masters who had been sent to the capital to work on liturgical reform were selected in turn to produce a new recension of the canon. The next year this enterprise fell under the aegis of the imperial library, the Chongwen yuan 崇文院 (Institute for the Veneration of Literature). Song Zhenzong had his Minister of Rites \*Wang Qinruo (962–1025) oversee the project. Wang submitted a catalogue of the new canon to the emperor in April of 1016. Song Zhenzong composed a preface and gave it the title *Baowen tonglu* 寶文統錄 (Comprehensive Register of Precious Literature). A search list for the imperial library issued in 1145 alternatively credits Wang with the *Sandong sifu bu jingmu* 三洞四輔部經目 (Catalogue of the Scriptures Categorized in the Three Caverns and Four Supplements) in seven *juan*. The catalogue of the older canon from which Wang's work was derived in fact bore the title *Sandong sifu jingmu* 三洞四輔經目 (Catalogue of the Scriptures of the Three Caverns and Four Supplements).

A bibliographic postface surviving from the lost *Sanchao guoshi* 三朝國史 (State History of Three Reigns) of 1030 states that the *Baowen tonglu* accounted for altogether 4,359 *juan*, but lists components totalling 4,350 *juan*: *Dongzhen* 洞真 620, *Dongxuan* 洞玄 1,013, *Dongshen* 洞神 172, *Taixuan* 太玄 1,407, *Taiping* 太平 192, *Taiqing* 太清 576, and *Zhengyi* 正一 370. Variant resources, moreover, disagree on the number of *juan* deleted from and added to the old canon of 3,737 *juan*. Wang did convince the emperor to shift the *Daode jing* and \**Yinfu jing* from the supplements to the opening component of *Dongzhen* and to include the \**Huahu jing* that earlier had been excised by imperial decree because of its provocative nature.

Sometime in late 1015 or early 1016, the Assistant Draftsman Zhang Junfang 張君房 (961?–1042?) was sent to Yuhang 餘杭 (Zhejiang) to oversee the copying of the texts. Zhang writes in his preface to the \**Yunji qiqian* (ca. 1028–29) that Zhu Yiqian 朱益謙 and Feng Dezhi 馮德之 were among the Taoist masters lined up by the Yuhang Prefect Qi Lun 戚綸 (954–1021) to serve as collators. It was when Qi was transferred to a new post, according to Zhang, that he was then put in charge, on the endorsement of both the Prefect himself and Wang Qinruo. The incomplete classification of texts at the time, Zhang claims, led him to draw on collections of Taoist

writings from Suzhou (Jiangsu), Yuezhou 越州 (Zhejiang), and Taizhou 台州 (Zhejiang), as well as Manichaean scriptures found in the Fuzhou (Fujian) region. The final product, by his count, totalled 4,565 juan and was entitled *Da Song Tiangong baozang*. Seven sets, Zhang states, were presented to the emperor by the spring of 1019. Wang Qinruo is known to have petitioned the emperor four years earlier to authorize the imperial library to produce fifteen copies of the new canon for distribution to temples. By 1018, Song Zhenzong himself had already presented a copy on request to the ruler of Jiaozhi 交趾 (present-day Vietnam). Several temples in the far west of what is now Sichuan province, however, did not receive copies of the canon until after a special petition had been submitted in 1064. The successor to this hand-copied collection of Taoist texts is the *\*Zhenghe Wanshou daoze*, the first Taoist Canon to be produced as a woodcut printing.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 130–46; van der Loon 1984, 4–6, 29–39, and 74; Lu Ren-long 1990

※ Wang Qinruo; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

Dacheng

大成

Great Perfection; Great Completion

Dacheng (or Da Cheng) was the name of the state founded by \*Li Xiong in 306 CE. The Li family, and the ruling group of the Dacheng state as a whole, had been followers of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) for generations, and belonged to the Ba 巴 ethnicity which supplied many of the faith's early followers. Their ancestors had been transferred to the northwest (modern Gansu province) in 215, when the Celestial Master kingdom of \*Zhang Lu surrendered to Cao Cao, and they had returned to the Sichuan region only around 300, driven by plague, famine, and rebellion.

The name Dacheng was taken from a poem in the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Odes; Mao 毛 179), and by the Han dynasty was understood to refer a future utopian age. Li Xiong chose this name to reflect his own belief in a Taoist

kingdom of Great Peace (*\*taiping*), the advent of which he hoped to hasten through enlightened Taoist rule. He took as his chancellor a Taoist sage and local leader named *\*Fan Changsheng* and is said to have consulted him in all matters. Governmental policies attributed by some to Li's Taoist beliefs include a simplified code of laws, leniency in the enforcement of corporeal punishment, reduced taxes, aid to the needy, fair markets, and the avoidance of warfare.

After Li Xiong's death in 334, the Taoist character of the state waned. With the accession of Li Shou 李壽 in 338, the name of the state was changed to Han 漢, implicitly abandoning the utopian vision of the state, but Taoist influence remained, as evidenced by an attempt to restore the state, after its demise in 347, under the son of Fan Changsheng. The Dacheng state was a concrete manifestation of the early Taoist millenarian political vision and the fact that it was non-Chinese members of the church who realized this reflects the significance the Taoist promise of salvation held to ethnic minorities.

*Terry KLEEMAN*

▣ Kleeman 1998; Seidel 1969–70, 233–36

※ Fan Changsheng; Li Xiong; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

### *Dadong zhenjing*

大洞真經

Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern

The *Dadong zhenjing*, also known as “Sanshijiu zhang” 三十九章 or “Thirty-Nine Stanzas,” is the central scripture of the *\*Shangqing* revelations. The term *dadong*, which also means Great Profundity and is sometimes used as a synonym of “Shangqing,” is glossed as “supreme, unlimited darkness where one attains the Void and guards tranquillity.” It alludes therefore to the primordial Origin, the state in which the two complementary principles (Yin and Yang, or Heaven and Earth) are not yet separated and nothing can be seen.

The Taoist Canon contains several versions of this scripture, all of which date from the Song or Yuan periods. All have undergone interpolations but are largely authentic. The version in the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern of the Highest Clarity; CT 6) is the closest one to the original text, except for the first and the sixth *juan* which are later additions. This version bears a preface by \*Zhu Ziyong (976–1029) and two postfaces dated to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The version in the *Wenchang dadong xianjing* 文昌大洞仙經 (Immortal Scripture of the Great Cavern by Wenchang; CT 5) is named after the god \*Wenchang and has Song prefaces; it is also available with a commentary and with prefaces dating from the early fourteenth century (*Wenchang dadong xianjing* 文昌大洞仙經; CT 103). Another version of the scripture in the Taoist Canon is entitled *Dadong yujing* 大洞玉經 (Jade Scripture of the Great Cavern; CT 7), while three other fragmentary editions and commentaries are in the \**Daozang jiyao* (vol. 3).

The *Dadong zhenjing* teaches how to join the celestial and corporeal spirits, and accordingly follows a double structure. Each of its thirty-nine sections contains two levels, one celestial and one corporeal. The central part of each section consists of stanzas addressed to celestial kings; they describe heavenly palaces and the salvation of the believer and his ancestors who, once delivered from the bonds of death, participate in the heavenly frolicking of the deities. These stanzas are inserted between two shorter parts devoted to the inner deities (see figs. 14 and 27) who close the “gates” of the body where mortal breaths blow in. Before the practitioner recites the celestial stanzas, he must summon and visualize the guardian of each mortal breach, and cause him to descend from the brain (corresponding to heaven within the body) to the mortal “gate” to guard it. The end of each section is concerned with the drawing and manipulation of a talisman (\*FU) that represents the correspondent inner deity.



Fig. 27. Visualization of the Lords of the thirty-nine gates (*hu* 戶) of the human body. *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern of the Highest Clarity; CT 6), 1.19b–20a. (For other deities of the *Dadong zhenjing* see [fig. 14](#).)

The *Dadong zhenjing* is the kernel of a cluster of texts that describe a complete meditational liturgy. A first set of texts consists of original revealed scriptures containing the esoteric (*nei* 內) names of the heavens, stanzas addressed to the kings of the Yuqing 玉清 (Jade Clarity) heaven, and a “revealed commentary” attributed to Daojun 道君, the Lord of the Dao. This group includes the following texts:

1. *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* (CT 6) and *Shangqing jiutian Shangdi zhu baishen neiming jing* 上清九天上帝祝百神內名經 (Shangqing Spell of the Nine Heavens and the Highest Emperor, Scripture of the Esoteric Names of the Hundred Spirits; CT 1360)
2. *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* (CT 6) and *Miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing* 滅魔神慧高玄真經 (Exalted and Mysterious Authentic Scripture on the Extermination of Demons and Spiritual Wisdom; CT 1355)
3. *Shi sanshijiu zhangjing* 釋三十九章經 (Exegesis of the Scripture in Thirty-Nine Stanzas; YJQQ 8.1a–14)

The second set of texts includes later, probably apocryphal writings mainly concerned with two meditation techniques. The first is the *huifeng* 迴

風 (whirlwind) method, which consists in visualizing a white pneuma that spreads through the whole body and becomes purple. Then, as one exhales it, the pneuma transforms itself into a newborn infant who is the androgynous Emperor One (Diyi 帝一), father and mother of all. This method exists in two variants. One appears in the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* (CT 6), the *Miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing* (CT 1355), and the *Huifeng hunhe diyi zhi fa* 迴風混合帝一之法 (Method of the Emperor One for the Unitive Fusion through the Whirlwind; YJQQ 30.10b–22a). The other variant is in the *Jinhua yujing* 金華玉經 (Jade Scripture of the Golden Flower; CT 254) and the *Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing* 長生胎元神用經 (Scripture of the Divine Operation of Embryonic Origin for Long Life; CT 1405, 8a–9a). The second method, called *Xuanmu bajian* 玄母八簡 (Eight Tablets of the Mysterious Mother), consists in the visualization of divinities who ride in carriages of light and clouds into the eight directions of the world, and is described in the \**Ciyi jing*.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 15–16 and 17–19; Mugitani Kunio 1992; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 173 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang ms.) and 2: 355 (reprod. of the Dunhuang ms.); Robinet 1983c; Robinet 1984, 2: 29–44; Robinet 1993, 97–117; Robinet 1997b, 132–34

※ Shangqing

*dafan yinyu*

大梵隱語

“secret language of the Great Brahmā”

The *dafan yinyu* refers to words and phrases found in the \*Lingbao scriptures that are said to be powerful words from the language of the Thirty-two Heavens (\**sanshi'er tian*) in past *kalpas* (\**jie*). These appear both transliterated into Chinese graphs, for recitation, and in the form of a complex talismanic script, the “original forms” of the graphs. In that portions of the Lingbao scriptures are held to be translated from this “language,” the *dafan yinyu* clearly mimics the translation of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit and

other languages, called *fanwen* 梵文. In fact, recognizable Buddhist translation terms sometimes occur in the scriptures. For these reasons, *dafan yinyu* has been called “pseudo-Sanskrit.”

The transliterations appear in the *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), where they are divided into eight syllables for each of the Thirty-two Heavens (see [table 19](#)). The original graphs in which they were written figure in the *Zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 諸天內音自然玉字 (The Self-Generating Jade Graphs and Inner Sounds of All the Heavens; CT 97), which also provides a celestial commentary on the language. This commentary reveals the words said to be written on the gates and palaces of the Thirty-two Heavens and demonstrates that each graph making up these words in fact represents further words, the names of gods, palaces, and celestial locales.

In that each graph represents further words, the “secret language” betrays Taoist awareness of the mnemonic use of the *arapacana* syllabary as revealed in such Buddhist *sūtras* as the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) in 25,000 lines, translated as the *Scripture of Radiant Prajñā* (*Fanguang banruo jing* 放光般若經; T. 221) by Moksala in 291. Recitation of the syllables of *arapacana* enabled the practitioner to memorize points of doctrine and conferred miraculous abilities. Recitation of the *Duren jing*, in continuation of the ancient Chinese belief that knowledge of a demon or spirit's name sufficed to control it, held out the hope that through knowledge of the origins of the universe, the names and locations of the celestial bureaucracy, and its orderly workings, practitioners might hope to ensure the proper functioning of that bureaucracy. A further concept underlying the *dafan yinyu* is that possession of these secret words marked the bearer as part of the celestial order.

In line with this hope, the graphs are employed in Lingbao burial rites outlined in the *Miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* 滅度五鍊生尸妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on Salvation through Extinction and the Fivefold Refinement of the Corpse; CT 369). Examples of stones bearing these graphs have been found in tombs dating to the Tang and later periods near Xi'an, Luoyang, and Chengdu. The earliest practice seems to have been to bury the graphs associated with the appropriate one of the five directions with the deceased, though priests' graves might hold all 256 graphs for the Thirty-two Heavens in the four directions, plus sixteen additional graphs associated with the center.



The *dafan yinyu* in time became fairly widely known. At least one of the words of this language entered the common poetic vocabulary during the Tang.

Stephen R. BOKENKAMP

▣ Bokenkamp 1989; Bokenkamp 1991; Bokenkamp 1997, 385–89; Wang Yucheng 1996; Zürcher 1980, 107–12

※ *sanshi'er tian*; *Duren jing*; Lingbao; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

Daluo tian

大羅天

Great Canopy Heaven

The Great Canopy Heaven appears in \*Lingbao texts as the highest heaven in two different cosmological systems. In the first, it is associated with the Thirty-two Heavens (\**sanshi'er tian*). Although these heavens are located horizontally in the four directions with the Great Canopy Heaven situated above them, their number brings to mind the thirty-three heavens of Indian Buddhist cosmology. In the second system, the Great Canopy Heaven is placed above a vertical series of three heavens that represent a synthesis of earlier Taoist ideas. In this system, the \*Tianshi dao idea of the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣; see \**santian* and *liutian*), which sequentially arose at the beginning of the cosmos, was combined with the Heavens of the Three Clarities (\**sanqing*), which developed simultaneously. According to Lingbao cosmogony, the division into three pneumas led to the creation of Great Clarity (Taiqing 太清), Highest Clarity (Shangqing 上清), and Jade Clarity (Yuqing 玉清). These three heavens are topped by the Great Canopy Heaven, the residence of Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see \**sanqing*) who is the highest Lingbao celestial being.

In Tang dynasty Taoist texts, an attempt was made to synthesize the various cosmologies. In one systematization, the Great Canopy Heaven is placed above the twenty-eight heavens of the Three Realms (*sanjie* 三界, i.e., desire, form, formlessness), the Four Heavens of the Seed-People (*si zhongmin tian* 四種民天), and the Heavens of the Three Clarities (see [table](#)

20). As were many Taoist cosmological terms and imagery, the Great Canopy Heaven was also adopted as a metaphor for a celestial palace by Tang poets, particularly in the creations of Li Bai 李白 (Li Bo, 701–62) and \*Wu Yun (?–778).

Amy Lynn MILLER

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 382–83

※ *sanshi'er tian*

### *Danfang jianyuan*

丹方鑑源

#### Mirror-Origin of the Alchemical Methods

Compiled by Dugu Tao 獨孤滔 in the middle of the tenth century, this work (CT 925) consists of an enumeration of about 240 substances used in \**waidan*. The samples are classified into twenty-five sections according to their nature, appearance, or color (e.g., Salts, *zhuyan* 諸鹽; Sands, *zhusha* 諸砂; Yellows, *zhuhuang* 諸黃), with short notes describing their properties. With the \**Shiyao erya* and the *Jinshi bu wujiu shu jue* 金石簿五九數訣 (Instructions on an Inventory of Forty-Five Metals and Minerals; CT 907; Pregadio 1997), both dating from the Tang period, the *Danfang jianyuan* is one of the main sources on the use of *materia medica* in *waidan*. None of these three texts belongs to the main literary tradition of pharmacology, so they provide information not always found in the standard pharmacopoeias.

The main source of the *Danfang jianyuan* is an anonymous text dating from the middle of the eighth century, entitled *Danfang jingyuan* 丹房鏡源 (Mirror-Origin of the Chamber of the Elixirs) and partly preserved in *j.* 4 of a Song or later alchemical collection, the *Qianhong jiageng zhibao jicheng* 鉛汞甲庚至寶集成 (Complete Collection on the Ultimate Treasure Made of Lead and Mercury, *jia* [= Real Mercury] and *geng* [= Real Lead]; CT 919). Both the *Danfang jianyuan* and its source are available in a critical edition by Ho Peng Yoke (1980), based on a comparison with quotations in Li Shizhen's 李時珍 (DMB 859–65) *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (The Pharmacopoeia Arranged into Headings and Subheadings; ca. 1593) and with a Japanese

manuscript dated 1804 (on the edition of the Taoist Canon on which this manuscript is based, see Barrett 1994a).

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Fung and Collier 1937 (part. trans.); Ho Peng Yoke 1980 (crit. ed.); Meng Naichang 1993a, 65–67; Needham 1976, 180–81

※ *waidan*

### *Danfang xuzhi*

#### 丹房須知

#### Required Knowledge for the Chamber of the Elixirs

The *Danfang xuzhi* (CT 900) is a \**waidan* work compiled in 1163 by Wu Wu 吳, 悟, who also wrote a \**neidan* text, the *Zhigui ji* 指歸集 (Anthology Pointing to Where One Belongs; CT 921). Its twenty-one sections (the last of which is incomplete; see Boltz J. M. 1993b, 92) describe a method for compounding an elixir based on lead and mercury. Each section concerns one stage or facet of the method, with topics ranging from the choice of one's companions to the ingestion of the elixir.

Although the *Danfang xuzhi* is one of the few late *waidan* works that describe rites performed during the alchemical process, it consists almost entirely of quotations from about a dozen earlier sources, including a *neidan* work, the \**Ruyao jing* (Mirror for Compounding the Medicine). This format suggests that its account of the process does not derive from actual practice, and that Wu Wu's purpose was to provide a survey of the *waidan* alchemical process by selecting and arranging passages from other works into a logical sequence.

The information given on the ritual features of the alchemical process is nonetheless valuable. The elixir is made by three people, who are first to perform the purification practices (*zhai* 齋); one of the helpers takes care of the levels of water and fire in the furnace, and another of fire phasing (\**huohou*). The elixir is to be compounded away from tombs, closed wells, and places in which wars have been fought or women have delivered

children. Women, Buddhist monks, and domestic animals are not allowed to enter the laboratory (the Chamber of the Elixir, *danshi* 丹室), in which incense should constantly burn (a method for making incense is given in the text). The alchemical altar is protected by an invocation addressed to Xuanyuan huangdi taishang Laojun 玄元皇帝太上老君 (Most High Lord Lao, August Emperor of Mysterious Origin; trans. Sivin 1980, 289–90). Other invocations are uttered before compounding the elixir, before kindling the fire, and before opening the furnace.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Meng Naichang 1993a, 69–71; Sivin 1980, 289–90 and 293

※ *waidan*

*dantian*

丹田

Cinnabar Field(s); Field(s) of the Elixir

The *dantian* are three loci in the human body that play a major role in breathing, meditation, and *\*neidan* practices. Located in the regions of the abdomen, heart, and brain, but devoid of material counterparts, they establish a tripartite division of inner space that corresponds to other threefold motives in the Taoist pantheon and cosmology.

*The three Fields.* The lower Cinnabar Field is the *dantian* proper and is the seat of essence (*\*jing*). Different sources place it at 1.3, 2, 2.4, 3, or 3.6 inches (*cun* 寸) below or behind the navel, and consider it to be the same as, or closely related to, other loci in the same region of the body: the Gate of the Vital Force (*\*mingmen*), the Origin of the Pass (*guanyuan* 關元), and the Ocean of Pneuma (*qihai* 氣海). The lower *dantian* lies near the *huiyin* 會陰 (“gathering of Yin”), at the meeting point of the Control Channel and the Function Channel (*\*dumai* and *renmai*; see [fig. 31](#)). In the first stage of the *neidan* process (“refining essence into pneuma,” *lianjing huaqi* 鍊精化氣), circulating the essence along these two channels generates the inner elixir.

The middle Cinnabar Field is at the center of the chest according to some authors, or between the heart and the navel according to others. It is the seat of pneuma (*\*qi*) and is also called Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭), Crimson Palace (*jiangong* 絳宮), or Mysterious Female (*\*xuanpin*). Its central position in the body also inspired the names Central Palace (*zhonggong* 中宮) and “One Opening at the Center of the Person” (*shenzhong yiqiao* 身中一竅). In the second stage of the *neidan* process (“refining pneuma into spirit,” *lianqi huashen* 鍊氣化神), the elixir is moved from the lower to the middle *dantian* and is nourished there.

The upper Field is located in the region of the brain and is the seat of spirit (*\*shen*). Also known as Muddy Pellet (*\*niwan*) or Palace of Qian 1 (*qiangong* 乾宮, with reference to the trigram representing Pure Yang), it is divided into Nine Palaces (*\*jiugong*) or nine chambers arranged in two rows. *Niwan* denotes both the upper *dantian* as a whole and the innermost palace or chamber (the third one in the lower row; see [fig. 62](#)). Moving the inner elixir to the upper Field marks the third and last stage of the *neidan* process (“refining spirit and reverting to Emptiness,” *lianshen huanxu* 鍊神還虛).

*Dantian and meditation.* The *neidan* tradition has inherited and developed several notions that have evolved in various contexts since Han times. The term *dantian* first occurs in two sources related to the divinization of Laozi, both dating from 165 ce: the *\*Laozi ming* (Inscription for Laozi) mentions the

term in connection to the Purple Chamber (*zifang* 紫房, the gallbladder), and the *Wangzi Qiao bei* 王子喬碑 (Stele to Wangzi Qiao) relates it to meditation practices (Seidel 1969, 44, 58–59, and 123; Holzman 1991, 79). One of the two main sources on early Taoist meditation, the third-century *\*Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court), frequently refers to the three *dantian* as the Three Fields (*santian* 三田) and the Three Chambers (*sanfang* 三房), and also mentions the Yellow Court and the Muddy Pellet. The other main early Taoist meditation text, the *\*Laozi zhongjing* (Central Scripture of Laozi), gives the first detailed description of the lower Field, saying that it contains the whole cosmos and is the residence of the material carriers of essence (*jing*), i.e., semen for men and menstrual blood for women (1.12b–13a). The same passage shows that the appellation “cinnabar” originally derives from the red color of the innermost part of the *dantian*, with no direct relation to the mineral cinnabar or to the elixir.

In several early descriptions, the three *dantian* appear as residences of inner gods visualized by adepts in meditation practices—in particular, the One who moves along the three Fields. The best-known occurrence of the term *dantian* in this context is in the *\*Baopu zi*:

The One has surnames and names, clothes and colors. In men it is nine tenths of an inch tall, in women six tenths. Sometimes it is in the lower *dantian*, two inches and four tenths below the navel. Sometimes it is in the middle *dantian*, the Golden Portal of the Crimson Palace (*jiangong jinqu* 絳宮金闕) below the heart. Sometimes it is in the space between the eyebrows: at one inch behind them is the Hall of Light (*\*mingtang* 明堂), at two inches is the Cavern Chamber (*dongfang* 洞房), and at three inches is the upper *dantian*. (*Baopu zi*, 18.323)

The *\*Shangqing* sources further develop this view of the *dantian*. The *\*Suling jing* outlines a meditation method on the Three Ones (*\*sanyi*) residing in the three *dantian* (see the entry *\*sanyi*) and describes the upper Field using the same terminology as the *Baopu zi* (Robinet 1993, 127–31; see [fig. 62](#)). The practice of embryonic breathing (*\*taixi*), also known as “breathing of the Cinnabar Field” (*dantian huxi* 丹田呼吸) further contributed to shape the *neidan* view of the *dantian*.

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■ Darga 1999, 95–98; Despeux 1979, 23–27; Despeux 1994, 74–80; Maspero 1981, 298–99, 360–63, 383–86, and 455–59; Needham 1983, 38–40 and 107–8; Robinet 1984, 1: 125–26; Robinet 1993, 81–82 and 127–31; Wang Mu 1990, 264–66

Dao

道

“The Way”

Among the most difficult issues in the study of Taoism is that of explaining the term *dao*. The public often sees little difficulty, since a century of writers have “explained” the idea, based on simplistic understandings of the *Daode jing*. For twentieth-century philosophers, the issue was more complicated, but their task was ultimately given comfortable boundaries by the notion that Taoism was a “school of thought” consisting merely of the *Daode jing*, the \**Zhuangzi*, and a few commentaries. Such misunderstandings, though enshrined by generations of sinologists, deserve repudiation, for, rooted in Confucian perspectives, they are often at odds with the facts of both Taoist tradition and East Asian cultural history. Achieving an accurate understanding of the term *dao* requires us to break with such interpretive frameworks and put aside decades of orientalist romanticization. By recognizing the wide range of meanings that the term carried through Taoism's long evolution in China, we can achieve an understanding that, while more complex, is also more accurate and properly nuanced.

“*Dao*”: *Polysemy and non-reification*. To be faithful to the values of premodern and modern Taoists, we must beware allowing our interpretations of the term *dao* to be tainted by other, non-Taoist concepts that may initially appear analogous. The Taoists’ Dao does not quite correspond to concepts of “the Absolute” in other Asian or Western philosophical or religious systems. Taoists of many ages warned against reifying the term: the celebrated opening words of the *Daode jing* warn that verbalizations cannot truly convey what the term *dao* signifies, and its twenty-fifth section repeats such warnings. Later Taoists often insisted that the term is “empty” of definable content, and throughout Chinese history Taoists generally maintained its polysemy—its rich variety of meanings, which Taoists seldom disentangled in pursuit of intellectual clarity. For example, the seventh-century \**Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching) opens: “This Dao is the

ultimate of reality (*zhen* 真), the ultimate of subtlety, and yet there is nothing that is not penetrated by its emptiness.” At times, Taoist intellectuals of many periods went further, to express conceptually exactly *what* that inexpressible Dao actually was, and exactly *how* it relates to the sensible world—though not always in terms that seem accessible to religious practice.

To a great extent, Taoists’ ambivalence about reification of Dao prefigures, and parallels, the struggles of Chan/Zen Buddhists (who were deeply influenced by elements of classical Taoism, like *Zhuangzi*). The reason for Taoists’ resistance to reifying Dao is that, like many Chan/Zen Buddhists, Taoists valued spiritual practice over intellectualization, and refused to allow philosophical conceptualization to supplant the practice of self-cultivation. To Taoists, “being Taoist”—i.e., achieving the goals of Taoist practice—could take place without necessarily having any intellectually coherent explanation of what Dao “is.” In that sense, to *be* Taoist was to ignore an assumption familiar to modern minds—that one cannot pursue or achieve what one has not first coherently conceptualized. Taoists often preferred to leave Dao as a mystery—“mystery beyond mystery.”

“*Dao*”: *The range of meanings in classical sources.* In traditional China, *dao* was a term forced to bear many burdens of meaning, by people of different eras and inclinations. Some were imposed by people who were never, in any sense, Taoists. The original term—perhaps pre-Taoist—denoted a set of teachings that allow us to live life on optimal terms. Confucians, and others in classical China, used the term in that sense. But among those who would apparently become the forerunners of Taoism—i.e., the people who produced such texts as the *\*Neiye* and the *Daode jing*—the term took on a broader range of meanings. Though the *Daode jing* became the touchstone of many of the theoretical frameworks of many later forms of Taoism, we should beware assuming that it was a *summa* of classical Taoist thought or practice. For instance, many other elements of later Taoist theory and practice can be traced to the *Neiye*, and there the term *dao* is used—quite imprecisely—as a synonym for terms referring to the salubrious life-forces (like *\*qi*) that the practitioner is working to cultivate. While there, as in the *Daode jing*, one reads that, “What gives life to all things and brings them to perfection is called the Way,” the *Neiye* otherwise seldom uses the term *dao* as in the *Daode jing* or *Zhuangzi*, or even in terms that are common in other forms of later Taoist thought and practice. For instance, the *Neiye* presents no



conceptualization of Dao as the “Mother” of all things, nor differentiates Dao in terms of Non-being and Being (\**wu* and *you*). Such conceptualizations, which evidently first appear in the *Daode jing*, came to inform such later Taoist systems of thought/practice as \**neidan*. But the *Daode jing* also uses the term *dao* to mean, “the way life operates”: there, Dao is not only a primordial unity from which all phenomena evolve, and to which they ultimately return, but also a benign, if imperceptible, force that operates *within* the phenomenal world—a natural guiding force that leads all things ineluctably to their fulfillment. To some in ancient China, such characteristics clearly suggested the qualities that a healthy person is bequeathed by a loving Mother, and the *Daode jing* goes on to identify the qualities and operations of Dao in terms of “feminine” qualities like humility, passivity, and selfless love. Thus, the *Daode jing* and the *Neiye*—both important sources of later Taoist thought and practice—provided centuries of theorists and practitioners with a wide array of images, models, and concepts concerning Dao and its cultivation.

“*Dao*”: *The object of personal transmission.* Another authentic Taoist context for understanding the term *dao* takes the issue beyond the explication of texts, and into the actual lives of practicing Taoists. For instance, an eighth-century biography of \*Sima Chengzhen reports that, upon his ascension, “only \*Li Hanguang and Jiao Jingzhen 焦靜真 received his Dao” (*Zhenxi* 真系; YJQQ 5.15b–16a) Such language compels us to interpret the term *dao* in terms of *Daode jing* 62, which (in the received text) says that rather than offer luxurious gifts at a ducal enfeoffment, one should “sit and present this Dao.” Here, *dao* refers not to some transcendental abstraction, but rather to something very precious, which can be transmitted. Comparable uses of the term appear in Japanese culture, where *dao* was long ago integrated not only into the names of such “religions” as Shintō 神道 (“the Way of the Gods”) and Butsudō 佛道 (“the Way of the Buddha”), but also into those of such “martial arts” as *aikidō* 合氣道 (“the way of harmonious *qi*”) and *kendō* 劍道 (“the way of the sword”), as well as those of such unique cultural phenomena as *sadō* 茶道 (“the way of tea”). There, the term *dao* had come, by Tang times, to mean something like “a venerable complex of traditional practices.” Such connotations resonate with many traditional Taoist usages, where the term *dao* seems to denote “what we, as heirs to our wise forebears, do in order to live our lives most meaningfully.” That most

basic meaning of the term correlates with its usage by Confucius.

*“Dao”*: *The focus of group identity.* Through much of Chinese history, the term *dao* was also used as a label for a group within society that shared a particular set of principles or practices. For instance, in late antiquity Chinese historians labelled the followers of \*Zhang Daoling as the \*Wudoumi dao, i.e., “(the members of) the Way of the Five Pecks.” Increasingly, the term *dao* became a convenient cultural label for real, or imagined, “groups.” Some such labels, like *Taiqing dao* 太清道 (used by \*Tao Hongjing for practitioners of alchemical ideals; see \*Taiqing) have no clear relationship to any socially identifiable group. Hence, the term *dao* came to be used, rather liberally, as a designator of any real or imagined group, based upon the recognition or assignment of group identity on the basis of a real or alleged common adherence to some real or imagined set of ideals or practices.

*“Dao”*: *The focus of personal spiritual practice.* Such sociocultural usages conflict with many modern interpretations, which overemphasize the speculation found in texts like the *Daode jing*. But such usages can easily be explained in terms of the pre-Qin groups that engaged in certain forms of “bio-spiritual cultivation.” In the *Neiyue*, the term *dao* was a nebulous denominator for “realities that one ought to cultivate,” often used synonymously with such terms as \**shen* (spirit). That use of the term clearly retained a central place throughout later Taoism. Generally, all Taoist meditation, from classical times through modern \*Quanzhen practices, involve the “cultivation of Dao,” i.e., an effort by individuals and groups to cultivate within themselves a numinous reality that constitutes the deepest and purest essence of reality.

A common element of many explanations of Taoist practice—by insiders and outsiders alike—is that such practices are directed toward the “getting” or “achieving” of Dao: from classical to modern times, the person who has fulfilled the spiritual life is commonly styled “he/she who ‘has (the) Dao’” (*youdao zhe* 有道者). A common assumption, both within Taoism and, more broadly throughout Chinese culture, is that people's ordinary life lacks an important quality, which must be *acquired or achieved* by appropriate practice and effort. In that sense, *dao* is the term generally applied, by Taoists and non Taoists alike, to the *goal* of Taoist religious practice, which is to be achieved by moral and spiritual self-development, under the instruction of

those who have already fully achieved the goal. (Japanese cultural usages resonate with such meanings.) So Taoists generally used the term *dao* to suggest a deepest and purest essence of reality that is universal and everlasting, but can only be attained by the religious practices specified in a given oral/textual tradition.

“*Dao*”: “*The divine.*” In broadest terms, Taoists also used the term *dao* as shorthand for what Westerners might simply term “the divine.” Assuredly, Chinese culture eschewed many elements of Western concepts of “God” (i.e., as creator, lawgiver, or judge). Zhang Daoling did reportedly claim to transmit an authoritative covenant from Lord Lao (\*Laojun), and in later Taoism, Lord Lao was often associated with or assimilated to the Lord of the Dao or Lord Dao (Daojun 道君), to whom was often assigned the title Most High (Taishang 太上). Meanwhile, \*Lingbao texts say that the world's evolution was initiated by the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊). As Taoism developed a cult to serve the needs of the general populace and its rulers, it also developed a pantheon. But Lingbao theology seems to have left its mark on modern Taoism, in that all members of the pantheon have their own identity, but are ultimately understood as personifications of the transcendent reality called Dao.

Modern interpreters' secularistic world-view often makes them uncomfortable with Taoism's theistic dimensions. Some moderns have imagined “Taoism” as no more than a “naturalistic philosophy” that may allow for individualistic mystical practice but does not demand, or even encourage, belief in beings beyond ourselves. But the reality is that Taoism, from Han times to today, has not only tolerated a rich array of theistic beliefs, but has cherished them. And to Taoists, Laozi was often a powerful and revered divine being, Lord Lao, who periodically descends into the human world to reveal correct practices or establish a sanctified sociopolitical order (Lagerwey 1987c, 23; Schipper 1993, 113–24; Kohn 1998b; Kohn 1998g).

Still, while untrained visitors to Taoist temples may imagine the beings enshrined there as deities to be worshipped, such establishments have usually been staffed by practitioners who understand such deities as emanations (or even symbolizations) of the universal Dao. For them, the core of Taoist life has always been personal self-cultivation: that life requires them to labor productively—through moral elevation and through meditation and/or ritual—to ascend to such a level that he/she participates fully in the reality of the

“transcendental” Dao. Ultimately, therefore, Dao is not truly “impersonal,” though it does transcend the liminary boundaries that individuals generally ascribe to their personal reality. In senses that are thus impossible in Western religions, Taoists could—and indeed were expected to—effectively *become* the Dao, and to act in this world as its living embodiment. In those senses, the liturgical activities (\**jiao*, \**zhai*) of the Taoist priest (\**daoshi*) always constituted a meditative/ritual embodiment of the divine power of the Dao (Schipper 1978; Lagerwey 1987c; Schipper 1993). So in the liturgical traditions, as in the meditative and monastic traditions, the authentic Dao of the Taoists—from classical times to the present—is a spiritual reality that is attained and embodied by conscientious practitioners of traditional religious practices.

*“Dao”*: *The matrix of spiritual transformation*. Taoist usages of the term *dao* thus had various focuses, whose interrelationship has often been difficult for modern minds to perceive. Perhaps more importantly, modern philosophers and spiritual seekers alike—including some in modern China—sometimes unconsciously translate *dao* into terms with which they are more comfortable, finding in it something pleasing that they do not find within their own society's accepted range of ideas. Such rereadings inevitably oversimplify, and sometimes falsify, such terms' meanings, for the act of interpreting it for today's mind strips it of connotations that moderns dislike, and preserve only those that modern interpreters can accept.

A particular problem in this regard is that moderns—heirs of the Western Enlightenment—tend to read Dao only as a transcendental Absolute, which can be accessed only by the solitary mystic. Moderns—in China and the West alike—have been indoctrinated to disregard, or even denounce, elements of “religion” that take place outside the “enlightened person's” individualized pursuit of truth. Taoism's rich array of spiritual models does feature an ancient tradition of ideas and practices that harmonizes well with such pursuits: from the *Neiye* through *neidan* to today's Quanzhen self-cultivation practices, Taoists have envisioned the spiritual life as a re-unification of one's personal reality with “the absolute Dao” that lies beyond—and is ultimately more real than—the more familiar range of phenomena. But while devotees of such traditions often did ignore Taoism's other spiritual models, they seldom labored to distance themselves from those other models. Modern Quanzhen Taoists, like most of the “ecumenical” Taoists of Tang times, have almost

always been quite content to bring their lives, and their world, into harmony with Dao by any means that others throughout Chinese history have found useful, including liturgical activities. Despite many twentieth-century protestations, especially from Westernized Chinese intellectuals, Taoists never really opposed liturgical models to mystical models, in theory or in practice; and they certainly never denounced the former as “superstitious” (the way that early Western interpreters taught the modern public to do). To the contrary, China's Taoists, down to the present, are—by tradition if not by temperament—people who holistically embrace all aspects of reality: models that focus on the individual are complemented (often in the very same tradition) by acknowledgment of the value and importance of society, the political order, and even the non-human world; and models that focus on cultivation of consciousness are complemented by teachings explaining the value and importance of our bodily existence—once it is properly understood. What Dao therefore “is” can—on Taoist terms—be explained in terms of sagely government, or in terms of physiological refinement, or in terms of the *daoshi*'s transformation of a community through liturgy. Viewed holistically—i.e., as the universal key to all Taoist models of activity—Dao can be defined as the true matrix of authentic life in this world. In all Taoist contexts, participants are led (whether through study of intellectuals' texts, or through practices that may not easily be explained in terms of “theoretical” models) to engage themselves in a disciplined process of spiritual transformation. The term *dao* thus refers to the spiritual realities that underlie every aspect of such transformation, whether that transformation be carried out within the individual's mind/body, within the community within which one's life takes place, or within the world as a whole.

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▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 12–15; Kohn 1992a, 162–76; Kohn 1993b, 11–32; Robinet 1997b, 1–23; Robinet 1999b; Schipper 1993, 3–5

※ *de*; *wu* and *you*; *wuji* and *taiji*; *wuwei*; *xiang*; *xing*; Yin and Yang; *ziran*; *Daode jing*; TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMORTALITY

*daochang*

## 道場

1. ritual area, sacred space;
2. Land of the Way

The word *daochang* is used in both Taoism and Buddhism to mean the sacred space where the Dao is practiced (Lagerwey 1993a). It is also used in Taoism as the name of a ritual. In the latter sense, it can indicate either the whole ritual with its many parts lasting several days, or, as described below, the central rite in a *\*jiao* (Offering), when the priest goes in audience before the Celestial Worthies (*tianzun* 天尊) and other divinities.

The Land of the Way is one of the oldest Taoist rites; its form was established by *\*Lu Xiujing* (406–77) and after that underwent little change. It passed through *\*Du Guangting* (850–933) and, preserved in the corpus of the *\*Lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) from the Song to the Ming periods, has come down to modern times. It is identical in structure to the Three Audiences (*\*sanchao*), which in southern Taiwan are performed in the morning, at noon, and at night on the third day of a five-day *jiao*. According to Wang Qizhen's 王契真 (fl. ca. 1250) *\*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1221, j. 57), performing the audience rites three times a day reenacts the audience before the supreme deity. The scripture explains that every day, at the *yin* 寅, *wu* 午, and *xu* 戌 hours (formally corresponding to 3–5 am, 11 am–1 pm, and 5–7 pm), the Drum of the Law (*fagu* 法鼓) is sounded in the Palace of Purple Tenuity (Ziwei gong 紫微宮) in the heaven of Jade Clarity (Yuqing 玉清), and then all the highest gods go in audience before Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊, the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement. As a result, the rite of the Land of the Way must include an audience before the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*).

As described in the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* (CT 1221, 57.1b–2a), the rite is composed of the following sections:

1. The high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see *\*daozhang*) ascends the altar and offers incense to express his reverence and sincerity.
2. The priest consecrates the incense burner and announces the purpose of the ritual to the deities. He exteriorizes the deities within his body (see *\*chushen*) and summons the local earth

deities so that together they will carry the message to the abode of the celestial deities and announce it there.

3. The priest notifies the assembled deities of his charge and name, and invokes the high-ranking deities, respectfully announcing the reason for holding the ritual.
4. He reads the Green Declaration (*qingci* 青詞), a summary of basic information about the ritual and the intent of the community representatives who are sponsoring it.
5. Incense is offered three times to each of the Three Clarities so that through the merit of the audience, the world may enjoy fortune and happiness, the nine generations of ancestors may attain salvation, and all living beings may gain liberation.
6. Out of concern that the sins of both the living and the dead may remain in the world and exert an evil influence, obeisance is made to the Celestial Worthies of the ten directions, repentance (*\*chanhui*) is made in each direction, and forgiveness is sought from the deities of the Sun, the Moon, the stars, the mountains, the rivers, and the netherworld.

The rite is followed by a final section that comprises chanting the Pacing the Void lyrics (*\*Buxu ci*), venerating the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶, i.e., the Dao, the Scriptures, and the Masters), extinguishing the incense burner in order to return the deities who presented the Statement to their positions within the priest's body, and descending from the altar.

*MARUYAMA Hiroshi*

▣ Lagerwey 1987c, 106–48; Lü Chuikuan 1994; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 271–322

※ *gongde; jiao*

*Daode jing*

道德經

Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue

The *Daode jing*, also known as *Laozi* 老子, is ascribed to Laozi, who allegedly gave it to \*Yin Xi as he left the Middle Kingdom to go to the west. Scholars have long debated its authorship and date. Some think that it is not the work of a single author, some maintain that most of it originated as oral tradition during the Warring States period (403–221), and some suggest that it reached its final form in the late third or the early second century BCE. The \*Guodian manuscripts, datable to between 350 and 300 BCE, seem to prove that the *Daode jing* existed at that time in a form very close to the received version.

*Editions and manuscripts.* The *Daode jing* is a short work, sometimes called the “Text in Five Thousand Words” (*Wuqian zi wen* 五千字文). Most printed editions derive from one of four main versions: the \*Yan Zun version, the Heshang gong 河上公 version (see \*[Laozi Heshang gong zhangju](#)), the \*Wang Bi version, and the so-called “ancient version” (*guben* 古本) recovered from a tomb dated to 202 BCE. The latter exists in turn in two distinct but closely related redactions: one edited by \*Fu Yi (554–639) and another edited by Fan Yingyuan 范應元 in the Song period. Two \*Dunhuang manuscripts are also worthy of note: the Suo Dan 索紉 manuscript, dated 270 CE, which seems to belong to Heshang gong's tradition (Boltz W. G. 1996), and the \**Xiang'er* commentary, which lacks the second half and is not divided into sections. None of these versions yield notable differences from the point of view of meaning.

The text is usually divided into two main parts, called *Daojing* 道經 (Scripture of the Dao) and *Dejing* 德經 (Scripture of Virtue), and into eighty-one sections or chapters (*zhang* 章). The two \*Mawangdui manuscripts, dated to the second century BCE, reverse the sequence of the two parts, placing the *Dejing* first. The division of the text into eighty-one sections first appears in Heshang gong's version but was not universally accepted until perhaps the Tang period. While some versions are divided into sixty-four, sixty-six, or seventy-two sections, others do not have sections at all. The Guodian slips, in particular, have no division into sections, and while the wording is close to that of the received version, the sequence of the individual passages is often different.

*Description.* The *Daode jing* combines sentences, often rhymed, expressing general laws dogmatically asserted with aphorisms that may contain traces of oral sayings, and with instructions on self-cultivation and practical or



sociopolitical life. The text is often paradoxical, lyrical, and poetical, containing plays on words, contradictions, ambiguous statements, and enigmatic images. Whether the text proposes an art of ruling or ways of self-cultivation or both, imbued or not with mystical and gnostic views, is an open question that scholars often debate on hypothetical grounds. The following description outlines some of the main features on which scholars generally agree, and that were retained in later Taoism.

*The Dao.* The main contribution of the *Daode jing* to Taoism and Chinese thought lies in the new meaning given to the word *dao* 道. Usually and broadly understood as “way,” “method,” or “rule of life,” *dao* takes on for the first time in the *Daode jing* the meaning of Ultimate Truth, one and transcendent, invisible (*yi* 夷), inaudible (*xi* 希), and imperceptible (*wei* 微; sec. 14), not usable and not namable (sec. 1). Since the Dao is beyond all relationship of differentiation and judgement, it cannot be “*daoed*,” or “said” (*dao*), or practiced as a way. One cannot make use of it, as it is “neither this nor that.” However, in spite of this apophatic or negative approach, the Dao, through its Virtue (\**de*), is said to be the source of all life, the “mother,” “pervading” (*tong* 通), “rich in promises” and the only certain reference point (sec.25); in this sense, it is “both this and that.” All that can be said (*dao*) and has a name is transient and pertains to the world; only the Dao that has no name is permanent. “Naming” and language, however, are said to be the “mother” of all things.

This dimension of the Dao was retained, with varying emphases, by all schools of Taoism. The Dao is the source of the world, the point to which everything flows, the “treasure of the world” (sec. 62), that by which Heaven and Earth can exist. It has an evanescent and mysterious hypostatized presence that one would like to grasp or see (sec. 14 and 21), and seems to allude to an inner experience resulting from meditation practices aiming at quiescence (see \*[qingjing](#)), and from a multidimensional view of the world. This gives the *Daode jing* a poetic and lyrical tone, and endows its teaching with a character different from that of other texts of its time.

*Ambivalence and totality.* The *Daode jing* repeatedly names pairs of opposites such as good and evil, high and low, Being and Non-being, naming and not naming, because they all imply and support each other, and pertain to a common whole. As does the \**Yijing*, it points both to the binary structure of our thinking and to the unity from which oppositions proceed, their relativity

and their correlation. The consequences drawn from this view, however, are different from those of the *Yijing*. Whereas the *Yijing* holds that one can know and prevent coming negative events by understanding the laws of the cosmos, the *Daode jing* strives to show that thought is by nature dualistic and cannot grasp the Dao, which lies before and beyond any differentiation. The *Daode jing* not only aims to clarify the inadequacy of language to know the reality of things; in saying that every assumption implies its own negation, it also seeks to unite the two as the reverse and obverse of a coin, or to invert the common order of things so that one can grasp the foundation of all assumptions: for example, to ascend means to begin from the bottom (sec. 39). In doing so, the text sets up a logic of ambivalence that is typical of Taoist thought. Priority is not given to assumption or negation, but to the infinite totality of the Dao where every dualism “has a common origin” (sec. 1).

The Dao encompasses all possibilities because it has no form and no name. Its Virtue is its operation that accomplishes everything in the world. Cosmogonic metaphors connected with mythological themes (Chaos, Mother) call for a Return (*\*fan*) to its primordial undifferentiation, and the infant is taken as a model because it has not yet separated from its Mother. In accord with the logic of ambivalence, however, return to the Origin is not separated from return to the ordinary world, as shown by the simple fact that the *Daode jing* was written for the benefit of human beings.

*The void.* The *Daode jing*'s notion of the void (see *\*wu* and *you*) is the first enunciation of an idea that would later evolve and take a major place in Taoism and Chinese thought. In the *Daode jing*, the void has two levels of functional and existential meaning. Concretely, it is the interstice that allows movement, the receptive hollow in a vessel (sec. 11). As such it also has a cosmic significance: it is the necessary void space that is both the matrix of the world and the place from which the Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*) can spring forth and circulate. On the human level, the void is mental and affective emptiness, the absence of prejudices and partialities dictated by the desire or will to attain a goal.

*The saint and the sage ruler.* The vision of the world introduced in the *Daode jing* is the ideal of the Taoist sage who does not choose between one thing and its opposite, but remains neutral. The saint (*\*shengren*) is serene, withdraws from the affairs of the world, and rejects the established values

(the ordinary *dao* or ways) as artificial, in favor of a spontaneous way of life with no virtuous effort toward improvement, and no competition that might introduce disturbances. He lets the Dao and Nature freely operate in him, claiming that if one does so both the world and oneself will go along very well on their own. “Cease all learning,” says the sage, the learning that in Confucian terms means striving for something better: one can reach the Truth only by letting it operate naturally (\**ziran*).

The image of the sage ruler in the *Daode jing* is combined with a “primitivist” tendency that is not unique to this text but can be found in other trends of Chinese thought, including later Taoism. In the Great Antiquity (*shanggu* 上古, the ideal state of humanity projected into the past), the sage ruler does not interfere and is not even known to the people. Like the Dao, he has no name; like the saint, he lets the laws of nature operate spontaneously so that order is established harmoniously among human beings.

*Variety of interpretations.* The *Daode jing* is open to many interpretations and in fact demands them. The various readings of the commentators have been sometimes classified into schools. For instance, Heshang gong reads the text on two levels, one concerned with self-cultivation and the other with ruling the state; the *Xiang'er* commentary is an example of its use as a catechism for the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao); and the \*Chongxuan (Twofold Mystery) school of thought gives it a Buddhistic and dialectical interpretation. Legalist, Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist physiological or alchemical interpretations have also been advanced. The *Daode jing* moreover has been used as a sacred text that, like all sacred writings, must be recited in conjunction with meditation and ritual practices for exorcist and healing purposes.

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▣ Studies: Baxter 1998; Boltz W. G. 1993; Chan A. K. L. 1991b; Chan A. K. L. 2000; Csikszentmihalyi and Ivanhoe 1999; Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 1: 170–91; Graham 1989, 213–35; Harper 1995; Kaltenmark 1969b, 5–69; Kohn 1998h; Kohn and LaFargue 1998; Kusuyama Haruki 1983b; LaFargue 1994; LaFargue and Pas 1998; Robinet 1977; Robinet 1996a, 17–30; Robinet 1997b, 25–30; Robinet 1998b; Robinet 1999b; Roth 1999b; Schwartz 1985, 186–254; Sunayama Minoru 1983

▣ Translations: Chan Wing-tsit 1963; Chen E. M. 1989; Ch'en Ku-ying 1977; Henricks 1989 (trans. of the Mawangdui mss.); Henricks 2000 (trans. of the Guodian mss.); LaFargue 1992; Larre 1977; Lau 1982 (trans. of the Wang Bi text and the Mawangdui mss.); Mair 1990 (trans. of the Mawangdui mss.); Waley 1934

※ Laozi and Laojun; DAOJIA; DAOJIAO; TAOISM AND EARLY CHINESE THOUGHT

### *Daodian lun*

#### 道典論

#### Essays on Taoist Materials

This fragmentary encyclopedia of Taoism survives in four chapters in the Taoist Canon (CT 1130); even the beginning of the first is incomplete. But a reference in the *Bishu sheng xubian dao siku quesu mu* 祕書省續編到四庫書目 (Imperial Library's Supplementary Catalogue of Books Missing from the Four Repositories; 1145; van der Loon 1984, 151) shows that in the Northern Song an edition in thirty chapters existed in the imperial library. Two manuscripts from \*Dunhuang (S. 3547 and P. 2920), equating to part of the first chapter, support the impression derived from the materials it cites (none of which seem later than the sixth century) that the work dates to the Tang; the former manuscript includes seventeen lines of material before the start of the Taoist canon text (see Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 348–49).

Like other Taoist handbooks of the Tang period, the *Daodian lun* is composed of extracts from Taoist scriptures from one or two to over a dozen lines in length, arranged so as to illustrate a number of Taoist terms and concepts, though given its fragmentary state, it is not possible to divine much about its organizing principles. Nor has it been compared with other texts in order to determine whether its pattern of organization is reflected elsewhere, though material from handbooks of the same period like the \**Sandong zhunang* (The Pearl Satchel of the Three Caverns) would appear to have been absorbed into the early Song \**Yunji qiqian* (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds). The compilation of so many similar digests—for one case of thematic overlap between the *Daodian lun* and another Tang compendium see Stein R. A. 1979, 67—has raised questions as to their function. It is

unlikely that a work like this would have served as an aide-mémoire to a trained Taoist priest, but it could have acquainted educated laypersons, especially serving officials, with non-arcane knowledge of a religion which had started to win imperial support, but which hitherto had been seen as too occult for all but the most erudite to explore. Whether the wealth of knowledge of Taoism that appears in literature from the mid-Tang onward was due to direct reading of the original scriptures or consultation of ready reference works such as the *Daodian lun* must also await future research. It is not even clear that its own citations were at first hand; if so, then it is more likely to be prior to ca. 756, since it cites (2.7a) the *Xuanshi jing* 玄示經 (Scripture of Mysterious Manifestations), a work whose direct transmission had evidently ended thereafter (Barrett 1982, 41).

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 348–49 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 797–800 (reproductions of Dunhuang mss.); Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 165–69 (list of texts cited); Ozaki Masaharu 1983c, 192–93

*Daofa huiyuan*

道法會元

Corpus of Taoist Ritual

By far the most voluminous text in the Taoist Canon of 1445, the *Daofa huiyuan* (CT 1220) is a collection of ritual manuals and subsidiary writings drawn from various schools of Taoist practice that flourished throughout south China during the Song and Yuan. The history of this massive 268-juan compilation remains a mystery. No copy of the text is known beyond that in the Taoist Canon, where it appears without any indication of provenance. The only preliminary matter accompanying the anthology is a table of contents. Many headings listed in it vary with those in the text proper, revealing a lack of coordination in the anonymous editorship of the text.

Clues to the textual history of individual units of writings can in some cases be derived from prefaces and colophons scattered throughout the *Daofa huiyuan*. The latest internal date recorded in these supporting documents is

1356. The latest identified contributor is the renowned syncretist \*Zhao Yizhen (?–1382), whose name appears repeatedly within the opening fifty-five *juan* devoted to \*Qingwei teachings. Several selections in this predominant body of texts include posthumous ritual invocations of the Perfected Zhao (Zhao zhenren 趙真人). Thus, the editorial task of gathering and organizing such a vast assortment of texts would not have been completed any earlier than twenty-five years before the compilation of the Ming Canon was initiated in 1406. It is not at all unlikely that Zhao's own disciples may have had a hand in this pedagogical enterprise. If not Cao Dayong 曹大鏞 (?–1397) or \*Liu Yuanran (1351–1432), then perhaps Liu's esteemed disciple \*Shao Yizheng (?–1462) may have overseen the completion of the *Daofa huiyuan* at the time he took over the editorship of the so-called \*Zhengtong daoze (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period).

Like the opening corpus of Qingwei teachings, the majority of writings in the *Daofa huiyuan* provide instruction on \*leifa (Thunder Rites). Many guides on the therapeutic application of such rituals prescribe close cooperation between spirit-mediums (*tongzi* 童子; see \**tang-ki*) and experts in specific schools of exorcistic practice. Equally outstanding in this anthology are the detailed and richly illustrated instructions for producing and applying talismans (\*FU). It is overall a rich source of documentation for the diverse and highly colorful ritual practices that have stimulated many scenes in Chinese narrative and operatic literature for centuries. Representative units of texts with datable features are listed below by chapter number:

1–55. Qingwei manuals with *Daofa jiuyao* 道法九要 (Nine Essentials of Taoist Rites) by \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) in *j.* 1, a colophon dated 1268 by the Qingwei codifier \*Huang Shunshen (1224–after 1286) in *j.* 9, and selections by Zhao Yizhen in *j.* 5, 7, 8, 14, and 17.

56. Five Thunder Rites of Yushu 玉樞 (Jade Pivot), with a preface by \*Wang Wenqing (1093–1153).

61. Five Thunder Rites of \*Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean), with preface by Wang Wenqing.

66–67. Thunderclap (Leiting 雷霆) writings, with a postface dated 1287 by Huang Shunshen and selections by \*Sa Shoujian (fl. 1141–78?) and Wang Wenqing.

70. *Xuanzhu ge* 玄珠歌 (Song of the Mysterious Pearl) by Wang Wenqing, with commentary by Bai Yuchan.

71. *Xujing tianshi powang zhang* 虛靖天師破妄章 (Stanzas by the Celestial Master of Empty Quiescence on Smashing Falsity) by the thirtieth Celestial Master \*Zhang Jixian (1092–1126).

76. Thunderclap teachings transmitted by Wang Wenqing in the name of Wang Zihua 汪子華 (714–89), with a preface by Bai Yuchan and a postface dated 1103 by the annotator Zhu Weiyi 朱惟一.

77. Thunderclap writings with contributions by Bai Yuchan, \*Mo Qiyao (1226–94), and Wang Wenqing's disciple Zou Tiebi 鄒鐵壁.

80–82. Variant Thunder Rites transmitted by Yang Xie 楊燮 (fl. 1225–52), \*Lei Shizhong (1221–95), and Bai Yuchan, respectively.

104–8. Jingxiao 景霄 (Effulgent Empyrean) Thunder Rites transmitted from \*Chen Nan (?–1213) to Bai Yuchan, with postface ascribed to Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348).

111–13. Five Thunder Rites of Baozhu 寶珠 (Precious Pearl) transmitted to the thirty-sixth Celestial Master \*Zhang Zongyan (1244–91).

122–23. Thunder Rites of Shaoyang 邵陽, inspired by \*Xu Xun (trad. 239–374), with a preface by Chen Nan.

147–53. Yushu (Jade Pivot) Thunderclap Rites, with an introduction dated 1296 by Xue Shichun 薛師淳, providing a biographical account of Bai Yuchan.

156–68. Tianpeng 天蓬 Rites (see under \**Tianpeng zhou*), citing \*Tongchu founder Yang Xizhen 楊希真 (1101–24).

171–78. Tongchu teachings with a postface dated 1225 by Jin Yunzhong 金允中, compiler of the \**Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1222–23).

188–94. Five Thunder Rites of the Great One (\**Taiyi*) formulated by Yang Xie, with an introduction dated 1271 by Huang Yixuan 黃一炫.

195–97. Five Thunder Rites of the Eight Trigrams (\**bagua*), with a postface by Zhang Jixian.

198–206. \*Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) manuals on \**liandu* (Salvation through Refinement), with a postface by Liu Yu 劉玉 (or Liu Shi 劉世, fl. 1258) and *Huoling ge* 火鈴歌 (Song of the Fire-Bell) ascribed to \*Lin Lingsu (1076–1120).

207. *Shishi* 施食 (Oblation) ritual manual with instructions ascribed to \*Ge Xuan (trad. 164–244), Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121) and Zhang Zongyan.

210. Danyang 丹陽 ritual manual on *jilian* 祭鍊 (oblatory refinement), with a preface dated to the eighth month of 1356 by Wang Xuanzhen 王玄真 and postface dated to the twelfth month of 1356 ascribed to Zhang Yu 張雨 (1283-after 1356?).

244–45. \*Lingbao ritual teachings of \*Ning Benli (1101–81) and Lin Weifu 林偉夫 (1239–1302), as transmitted to the thirty-ninth Celestial Master \*Zhang Sicheng (?–1344?).

246–47. Variant ritual manuals inspired by Yin Jiao 殷郊, deity of Taisui 太歲 (Jupiter), with a preface and postface by Peng Yuantai 彭元泰, dated 1274 and 1290, respectively, and a postface dated 1316 by Chen Yizhong 陳一中.

253–56. Dizhi 地祇 (Tutelary Deity) ritual manuals inspired by \*Wen Qiong, with a preface dated 1258 by Liu Yu and a colophon dated 1274 by Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾.

264–68. \*Fengdu ritual manuals, compiled or annotated in part by Lu Ye 盧埜, master of Liu Yu.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 39–41 and 47–49; van der Loon 1979; van der Loon 1984, 63; Schipper 1987

※ *leifa*; Lingbao dafa; *neidan*; Qingwei; Shenxiao

*daojia*

道家

Taoism; “Lineage(s) of the Way”

See entry in “Taoism: An Overview,” p. 5.

*daojiao*



## 道教

Taoism; Taoist teaching; “Teaching(s) of the Way”

See entry in “Taoism: An Overview,” p. 8.

### *Daojiao lingyan ji*

#### 道教靈驗記

Records of the Numinous Efficacy of the Taoist Teaching

The *Daojiao lingyan ji*, compiled by \*Du Guangting (850–933) in 905 or shortly thereafter, is the sole surviving example of a literary genre devoted to relating miracles that attested to the efficacy of faith in Taoism. Two earlier compilations of the same sort, completed between 600 and 710, have apparently perished without a trace. Most of the material in Du's work dates from the eighth and ninth centuries so he probably took little from those earlier texts.

There are two versions of the *Daojiao lingyan ji* in the Taoist Canon: an independent work (CT 590) and a collection of excerpts from an early edition of it in the *\*Yunji qiqian* (j. 117–22). The former includes 169 episodes, but is incomplete as it lacks the last five fascicles of the original twenty. The latter duplicates eighty-three accounts from CT 590, often with variant readings and missing portions, but also contains an additional thirty-five records missing from CT 590. In sum, 204 passages from the original compendium, corresponding to most of the text or about eighteen fascicles, have survived.

According to Du Guangting's preface, “the sage teaches the people to abandon evil and pursue good,” and that is essentially the message of the *Daojiao lingyan ji*. To accomplish that objective, Du relates stories that exemplify the principle of reciprocity (*baoying* 報應). Those who attack Taoism—officials who attempt to dismantle temples in order to construct offices for themselves, monks who alter Taoist scriptures to serve the ends of Buddhism, and the like—will be punished. Conversely those who adhere to, defend, or promote Taoism will be rewarded: the sick will be healed, the drought-stricken will be saved with rain, and so forth. In short the *Daojiao*

*lingyan ji* is a polemical work, intended to advance the cause of Taoism by demonstrating that the faith and the faithful enjoy the special protection of the gods and nature.

There are altogether eight divisions to the *Daojiao lingyan ji*:

1. “Palaces and Abbeys” (“Gongguan” 宮觀): temples, *j.* 1–3.
2. “Images of the Venerables” (“Zunxiang” 尊像): icons of the highest deities, *j.* 4–5.
3. “Lord Lao” (“Laojun” 老君): icons of Laozi deified as well as his epiphanies, *j.* 6–7.
4. “Celestial Master” (“Tianshi” 天師): icons of \*Zhang Daoling, *j.* 8.
5. “Images of the Perfected, the Queen Mother of the West, Generals, and Divine Princes” (“Zhenren, Wang Mu, Jiangjun, Shenwang” 真人王母將軍神王), *j.* 9.
6. “Scriptures, Practices, Talismans, Registers” (“Jing, fa, fu, lu” 經法符籙), *j.* 10–12.
7. “Bells, Chimes, Ritual Paraphernalia” (“Zhong, qing, fawu” 鐘磬法物), *j.* 13 (includes materials on swords and seals).
8. “Retreats, Offerings, Presenting petitions” (“Zhai, jiao, baizhang” 齋醮拜章), *j.* 14–15.

Besides the above, *j.* 122 of the *Yunji qiqian* contains sections devoted to miracles involving temple property, trees, caves, rivers, stones, wells, and so forth.

The *Daojiao lingyan ji* is one of the main sources for the study of medieval beliefs in the supernatural, but it also supplies a wealth of materials on Taoist practices, priests, abbeys and their accouterments, and gods. In addition, it contains much information on secular subjects—emperors, ministers, literati, rebels, folklore, dreams, natural disasters, epigraphy, geography, salt wells, graves, childbirth, and the like—that is not available elsewhere.

Du Guangting also compiled two other works on miracles that have survived in part: the *Luyi ji* 錄異記 (Records of the Extraordinary; 921/925; CT 591; Verellen 1989, 171–77) and the *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 神仙感遇傳 (Biographies of Those who Encountered the Immortals; after 904; CT 592).

▣ Verellen 1989, 139–40 and 206–7; Verellen 1992

※ Du Guangting

*Daojiao yishu*

道教義樞

Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching

This doctrinal compendium in ten chapters (CT 1129; part of the fifth and all of the sixth chapter are lost) was put together by Meng Anpai 孟安排, of whom we only know that he was in 699 in receipt of the patronage of the Empress Wu at a monastery on Blue Brook Mountain (Qingxi shan 青溪山) in Hubei. Earlier attempts by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo and Kamata Shigeo to pin down his era without this information by means of the contents of his book had reached significantly different conclusions. Meng's stated aim of producing a compendium of greater concision than the *\*Xuanmen dayi* (Great Meaning of the School of Mysteries) also allowed him scope for producing a summary more suited to his time (the reign of the Empress Wu, whose chief legitimation derived from Buddhism; see under *\*Zhenzheng lun*) and place (an area where Taoists and Buddhists had long been living in close proximity and exploring their rival doctrines). In fact this was the very same environment that had earlier produced the redoubtable Buddhist polemicist Falin 法琳 (572–640), author of the *\*Bianzheng lun* (Essays of Disputation and Correction). Meng's link with the Empress seems to have been the result of her father's governorship of the area, although her interests in provincial religion were considerable, and not confined to Buddhism.

Even so, Meng probably considered a Buddhist emphasis in his work as expedient, and one result was his articulation of the implications of the concept of Dao-nature (*daoxing* 道性) for the spiritual destiny of the inanimate world, which appears to have anticipated—if not prompted—the parallel and uniquely East Asian Buddhist conception of “trees and plants achieving Buddhahood.” Other themes in his compilation have been less well explored, though his copious citations yield much useful information. In

particular he is our chief source for the threefold and sevenfold formation of the Taoist Canon in two stages, in the fifth and sixth centuries (see \*DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS). The *Daojiao yishu* represents the high water mark of the influence of Buddhist doctrinal compendia on Taoism; the influence of Tiantai Buddhism (which had a strong center at the nearby Yuquan si 玉泉寺 or Jade Spring Monastery) has in particular been identified. As a result, and as a result perhaps also of the decline and disappearance of Blue Brook Mountain as a religious center, it seems to have fallen quite rapidly into neglect by later Taoists.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Barrett 1991b; Chen Guofu 1963, 107; Kamata Shigeo 1968, 67–74, 173–211; Kohn 1992a, 149–54; Nakajima Ryūzō 1980 (index); Ōfuchi Ninji 1979, 255–56; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 264–82; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 150–60 (list of texts cited); Robinet 1997b, 191–92; Sharf 2002, 57, 67–71; Wang Zongyu 2001; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1959a

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*Daomen kefan da quanji*

道門科範大全集

Great Complete Compendium of Ritual Protocols of the School of the Dao

The *Daomen kefan daquan ji* (CT 1225) is a collection of \*zhai (Retreat) and \*jiao (Offering) rituals in eighty-seven *juan*. Although the collection was largely edited by \*Du Guangting (850–933), *juan* 25–45, 63, and 65–69 were probably compiled by Zhong Li 仲勵 in the Ming period. Since this work is a compilation of documents dating from different times, it must be used with care as a historical source; there is, furthermore, no agreement among scholars about Zhong Li's dates.

The work contains a large number of rituals dating from the Tang and Song periods, classified under the following categories: 1. Time of birth (*j.* 1–3); 2. Averting illnesses (*j.* 4–6); 3. Averting disasters (*j.* 7–9); 4. Praying for rain or snow (*j.* 10–18); 5. \*Wenchang (*j.* 19–24); 6. Praying for posterity (*j.* 25–29); 7. Averting calamities and controlling fire (*j.* 30–36); 8. Securing the

household from theft (*j.* 37–44); 9. Exorcizing inauspicious fate (*j.* 45–48); 10. Southern and Northern Dippers (*j.* 49–54); 11. Longevity (*j.* 55–62); 12. \*Zhenwu (*j.* 63–68); 13. Immortality (*j.* 75–78); 14. Presenting the Petition for Salvation to the Eastern Peak (*j.* 79–85); 15. Revering the deities (*j.* 86–87). It is not always clear on what basis or principle of classification the individual rituals are allocated to these categories. Each ritual is divided into two parts: Inaugurating the Altar (*qitan* 啟壇) and the Three Audiences (\**sanchao*) of morning, noon, and evening.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 150–51

※ Du Guangting; *jiao*; *zhai*

### *Daomen kelüe*

#### 道門科略

#### Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community

The *Daomen kelüe* (CT 1127) is a polemic written in the fifth century for both rulers and the religious elite, calling for reform of the Taoist church. Attributed to \*Lu Xiujing (406–77), the first systematizer of \*Lingbao texts and rituals, it includes a commentary not clearly distinguished from the main text. Both the text and the commentary may have been written by Lu himself, or one of his disciples may have abridged the original text and appended a commentary.

As a normative text, the *Daomen kelüe* provides not only an ideal image of the Taoist organization but also an invaluable view of social and religious life in fifth-century China. Lu Xiujing supports the Taoist organizational structure directly derived from the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), one of whose cornerstones was the family register (see \*LU). According to the *Daomen kelüe*, in the original Celestial Masters community of the late second century the names of all members of the community were entered into records that listed the dates of births, deaths, and marriages. Nominally meant to avoid confusion in the otherworld, and thus prevent premature summonses from otherworldly officials, these registers were modeled on records used by

the government, and organized the community for social and religious purposes such as taxes, corvée labor, rituals, and healing. The records were updated three times a year by both Taoist priests and otherworldly officials at the Three Assemblies (\**sanhui*). Similarly, cuisine-feasts (\**chu*) were performed at each birth and marriage. However, by Lu's time such practices had fallen into disuse, and Lu attributes the disorganization of the Taoist community to their neglect.

Another issue discussed in the *Daomen kelüe* is the ordination and promotion of novices and priests. The advancement of believers in the Taoist hierarchy traditionally followed a strict form and order. At each level, novices were invested with a higher rank and more registers, which provided them with a larger number of otherworldly beings under their command. Lu complains that by the fifth century these rules were no longer being followed, with people arbitrarily receiving registers and advanced ranks in the Taoist hierarchy.

The *Daomen kelüe* also shows the high degree of competition between the Taoist community and other religious or healing specialists. The author condemns the use of divination and mediums, any form of healing that falls outside the traditional Celestial Masters practices of repentance (see \**chanhui*) and prayer, and the use of talismans (\*FU). The so-called “licentious cults” (\**yinsi*) are especially censured for their blood sacrifices. In contrast, Lu emphasizes that Taoism offered only pure (i.e., non-meat) offerings in their interactions with the otherworldly bureaucracy.

Amy Lynn MILLER

▣ Lai Chi-tim 1998b; Nickerson 1996a (trans.)

※ Lu Xiuqing; Lingbao; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*Daomen shigui*

道門十規

Ten Guidelines for the Taoist Community

\*Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), Celestial Master of the forty-third generation,

compiled this reference work (CT 1232) following an imperial commission in the summer of 1406 to work on a collation of texts that eventually resulted in the so-called *\*Zhengtong daoze* (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period). His concise handbook opens with an undated statement of presentation sketching the textual history of Taoism from the *Daode jing* to the commentary authorized by the Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368–98). It is essential, according to Zhang's view, to be well-informed on the origins of two schools of instruction, *\*Zhengyi* and *\*Quanzhen*, and of three lineages of ritual practice, *\*Qingwei*, *\*Lingbao*, and *Leiting* 雷霆 (Thunderclap). He also writes that he compiled the *Daomen shigui* with the hope that it would help lead to a revitalization of the legacy of *\*qingjing* (clarity and quiescence). The ten subjects covered in his text are:

1. “Origins and Branches of the Taoist Teaching” (“*Daojiao yuanpai*” 道教源派) expands on the introduction concerning the history of Taoism. Teachings conveyed to *\*Huangdi* prior to the appearance of the *Daode jing* are traced to Taishang [*\*Laojun*] in his manifestation as *\*Guangcheng zi*. The textual transmission of *Zhengyi* by the ancestral Celestial Master (*zu tianshi* 祖天師), i.e., *\*Zhang Daoling* (second century), *\*Jingming dao* by *\*Xu Xun* (trad. 239–374), *Lingbao* by *\*Ge Xuan* (trad. 164–244), and *\*Shangqing* by Lord Mao (*\*Maojun*), i.e., Mao Ying 茅盈, are all likewise said to have originated with Taishang [*Laojun*]. Followers of the Dao are advised to investigate the origins of scriptural writings so that they will be able to discriminate between authentic and deviant teachings.
2. “Scriptures and Registers of the Taoist Community” (“*Daomen jinglu*” 道門經錄) lists the scriptural writings of the Three Caverns (*\*SANDONG*) of *Laojun* critical to both esoteric and exoteric practices and recommends faithful recitation according to established procedure. Talismanic registers (*\*LU*) conveyed by Zhang Daoling, Ge Xuan, and Mao Ying are commended as historically efficacious but many registers in circulation are said to be defective and in need of careful review by qualified instructors.
3. “Guarding Quiescence in Seated Confinement” (“*Zuohuan shoujing*” 坐圜守靜) outlines the essentials for pursuing a *Quanzhen* practice of solitary contemplation, from the selection of an enlightened master and establishment of a retreat in the wilderness to a list of readings.

4. “Practice of the Retreat Ritual” (“Zhaifa xingchi” 齋法行持) links the sacrificial offerings of high antiquity to the scriptural foundation of the Lingbao revelations and finds unity in the schools behind major compilations on ritual practice.
5. “Lines of Transmission of Taoist Ritual” (“Daofa chuanxu” 道法傳緒) points out the difficulty in recognizing false writings from the many branches of \*leifa (Thunder Rites) that arose from Qingwei and \*Shenxiao schools of ritual. Finding a qualified instructor is considered essential, as is staying clear of profiteers selling registers and anyone engaging in spirit writing (see \*fuji) or other dubious practices.
6. “Leadership of Abbots” (“Zhuchi lingxiu” 住持領袖) takes up the qualifications, responsibilities, and restrictions governing those in charge of monastic communities, with emphasis on seniority, profound devotion, and unswerving dedication to established codes of conduct.
7. “Pursuing a Quest among Beclouded Waterways” (“Yunshui canfang” 雲水參訪) concerns the physical and mental demands inherent in leaving home to undertake a solitary study of the way of clarity and quiescence.
8. “Establishing Abbeys and Saving Humankind” (“Liguan duren” 立觀度人) sets forth the responsibilities and regulations governing Taoist masters (\*daoshi) who dedicate themselves to what is considered to be the mission of highest priority, the salvation of others.
9. “Cash Crops and Land Taxes” (“Jingu tianliang” 金穀田糧) takes up the financial management of a monastic estate, largely dependent upon annual tax revenue for structural maintenance as well as for the various rituals conducted throughout the year on behalf of the community. Any attempt to sell goods and services for personal profit reportedly leads to commensurate punishment.
10. “Restoration of Palaces and Abbeys” (“Gongguan xiuqi” 宮觀修葺) makes a case for state support on the basis of historical precedent, owing to the insufficiency of local tax revenue for keeping an abbey fully maintained.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*



■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 241–42

※ Zhang Yuchu; Zhengyi; MONASTIC CODE

*daoshi*

道士

“master of the Dao”; Taoist master; Taoist priest or priestess

Since about the sixth century, Taoist organizations have commonly used the term *daoshi* to denote an ordained cleric. In relation to the broader community, such a person “represented Taoist culture on a professional basis” (Reiter 1998, vii). Within the Taoist community, the designation was generally reserved for a person who (a) has mastered specific efficacious knowledge connected to the Dao, and the ritual skills whereby such knowledge can be put into effect in the world; and (b) who has therefore been authorized to employ such knowledge and skills for the benefit of the community. The precise nature of such knowledge and skills were determined by the traditions of the specific religious community that authorized and conducted the ordination.

Modern scholars have yet to produce a complete and balanced picture of the roles and functions of *daoshi* throughout history. Their explanations usually mirror their general conceptions of the nature and contours of Taoism itself. In addition, understanding the Taoist priesthood has been hampered by its marginalization in modern China: while scholars studying the Buddhist or Christian priesthood have always been able to observe and interact with many such priests—from the ordinary cleric who fulfills only standard roles, to the outstanding exemplars of the tradition's highest ideals—students of Taoism have seldom had such opportunities, for historical, social, political and cultural reasons. The exiguity of such contact has impoverished, and sometimes skewed, scholarly depictions of the *daoshi*. Moreover, the disdain with which most modern Chinese (especially the educated) and virtually all Westerners have looked upon all practitioners of living Taoist traditions has sometimes resulted in depictions of the Taoist priesthood that are focused solely upon past eras or upon sociological data. One thus rarely finds depictions of the ordained representatives of organized Taoist traditions that

demonstrate how those representatives can be understood as fulfilling the deepest spiritual ideals of the Taoist heritage. A depiction of *daoshi* that is accurate and properly nuanced must overcome such inherited dichotomizations as \*DAOJIA and \*DAOJIAO, or “mystical” and “liturgical,” and must place the *daoshi* in his or her proper context within the vast continuum of ideals, practices, and institutions that Taoism encompasses. Furthermore, one must beware some writers’ tendency to confuse literary images with historical data, or to conflate modern phenomena with data from ancient or medieval texts, thereby creating anachronistic amalgams that are false and misleading. In addition, some writers have used the term “priest” (or “master”) as an indiscriminate translation for a variety of historical and contemporary Chinese terms, further muddling our understanding of the realities involved.

*Historical overview.* The term *daoshi* is first attested in Han-dynasty texts. In some, it appears as a vague appellation for idealized persons of ancient times, i.e., as a literary figure, comparable to \*Zhuangzi’s \*zhenren (Real Man, or Perfected) or *zhiren* 至人 (Accomplished Man). Other Han texts use the term for living people with uncommon abilities, i.e., as a synonym for \*fangshi. Based on such usages, formulators of later Taoist institutions forged the word into a technical term, which would serve as a standard designation for any person ordained into a specific, elevated rank of the clergy.

Yet, the institutions of the Taoist priesthood evolved slowly and fitfully, and only recently have scholars begun analyzing pertinent texts and unraveling the evolution of Taoist clerical institutions. From the earliest days of the \*Tianshi dao organization, participants had been ranked hierarchically, with certain terms (like \*jijiu or libationer) reserved for members of the higher levels. But Taoist leaders of the fifth century, like \*Kou Qianzhi and \*Lu Xiujing, saw their tradition’s ranks as muddled and disordered when compared to the ranks of Buddhist contemporaries. They therefore began trying to standardize and elevate the Taoist clergy. Idealized rankings of clerical categories appear in late Six Dynasties texts, like the *Chujia yinyuan jing* 出家因緣經 (Scripture on the Causes of Becoming a Renunciant; CT 339; see Benn 1991, 185–86 n. 41). Much fuller were the seventh-century \*Fengdao kejie (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao), which outlines the standards expected of the *daoshi*, and \*Zhang Wanfu’s (early eighth century) *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經戒法籙

略說 (Synopsis of Transmissions for Scriptures, Precepts, and Liturgical Registers of the Three Caverns; CT 1241) of 713 (Benn 1991, 148–51). Such texts distinguish the *daoshi* from lower functionaries, such as various classes of *\*fashi* (ritual masters) and *dizi* 弟子 (disciples). But the specifications for each class varied from text to text, and some classes even extended to transcendent beings. So it remains unclear how much such formulations ever really reflected, or even affected, actual practices or even standard expectations.

*Functions, roles, and images.* In general, it is safe to say that from the late Six Dynasties to the present, Taoists have used the term *daoshi* to designate religious specialists of Taoist organizations, as distinguished from specialists of other recognized traditions, like Buddhism, and from specialists of non-recognized traditions, like local cults. Since the latter distinction seems to have been difficult for some non-Taoists to grasp, Taoists periodically took pains to distinguish themselves from the officiants of cults they deemed less sophisticated or less admirable (Stein R. A. 1979; Schipper 1985e). In such connections, the term *daoshi* denoted a religious specialist who was properly initiated and trained in the noble traditions of the Dao, was operating under the auspices of a reputable and duly instituted organization, and deserved the respect of all members of society. Someone who lacked the proper initiation or training, or was not operating under duly instituted authority, was identified by Taoists as someone alien to their tradition. That distinction endures in Chinese communities to the present (Schipper 1985e). As a result, the social status of *daoshi* per se usually remained high, though their other characteristics often varied. Modern accounts often dwell upon whether certain clerics married or observed certain dietary restrictions. History, however, reveals that such categorizations were often vague idealizations, rather than institutions enforced by ecclesiastical authority. Taoists' general disinterest in formalizing rigid standards led Tang emperors to establish imperial oversight, and even to attempt to set clerical standards for Taoists loath to do so for themselves (Barrett 1996). Government supervision of the Taoist clergy has lingered, in some form, to the present day.

Many modern presentations of the Taoist priesthood privilege the institutions of the Tianshi and *\*Zhengyi* traditions. *Zhengyi* priests, like the *\*Lingbao* liturgists of the Six Dynasties, still conduct liturgies (such as the *\*jiao* and *\*zhai*) intended to protect, order, and sanctify the local community.

But Zhengyi really represents only one important variation among Taoist religious institutions, and overemphasis on its traditions has obscured several fundamental facts about the Taoist priesthood more broadly. For instance, during the Tang, women were duly ordained as *daoshi* (Despeux 1986; Kirkland 1991), and women clerics continue to participate in modern \*Quanzhen liturgy, on a basis comparable to that of men. In modern Zhengyi lineages, however, “hereditary *tao-shih* (*daoshi*) are always men” (Schipper 1993, 58). Also, the sociopolitical marginalization of Taoism in late imperial times led to a decline in the number of *daoshi* who participated in the cultural and intellectual activities of the educated elite. In Tang times, many *daoshi* were highly educated, composed a wide range of scholarly and literary secular and religious works, and were often honored by rulers and *ru* 儒 scholars/officials alike (Kirkland 1986a). In modern times, the ideal of *daoshi* as members of the sociocultural elite endures: “The *tao-shih* belong to the lettered class; they are minor notables” (Schipper 1993, 57). But in fact, since Qing times, truly distinguished “literati” *daoshi* have been few, for the antagonism toward Taoism of some imperial regimes, and of Cheng-Zhu 程朱 Neo-Confucians, drove centuries of intellectuals away from the Taoist priesthood. Further research into the many historical dimensions of the Taoist priesthood will help correct lingering misunderstandings.

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▣ Asano Haruji 1994; Chen Guofu 1963, 258–59; Dean 1993; Kohn 1997a; Kohn 2000a; Lagerwey 1987b; Lagerwey 1987c; Lagerwey 1987d; Ozaki Masaharu 1986b; Reiter 1998; Robinet 1990a; Sakai Tadao and Fukui Fumimasa 1983, 20–25; Schipper 1985c; Schipper 1985e; Schipper 1993, 55–60

※ *daozhang*; INITIATION; LU; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

*Daoshu*

道樞

Pivot of the Dao

The *Daoshu* is a large compendium of texts dealing with \**neidan* (inner

alchemy) and *\*yangsheng* (Nourishing Life) theory and techniques, compiled by the scholar-official Zeng Zao 曾慥 (?–1155). The author, who came from Jinjiang 晉江 (Fujian), was appointed Secretarial Court Gentleman (*shangshu lang* 尚書郎) during the reign of Song Gaozong (r. 1127–62) and served as Compiler (*xiuzhuan* 修撰) of the Imperial Archives. Two years before his death, he became prefect of Luzhou 廬州 (Jiangxi) and Compiler of the Pavilion for Aiding Learning (Youwen dian 右文殿), a section of the imperial library.

Zeng Zao is mainly known for his literary works. Besides collections of poetry and lyrics, these include the *Leishuo* 類說 (Classified Accounts; 1136), which consists of an anthology of stories, novelettes and excerpts drawn from over two hundred sources dating from the Han to the Song periods. His main works on Taoism are the *Daoshu* and the *Ji xianzhuan* 集仙傳 (Collected Biographies of Immortals), both completed late in life. The *Ji xianzhuan* was soon lost and survives only in quotations in the *Shuofu* 說郛 (Outskirts of Literature), with a preface by Zeng dated 1151. The *Daoshu* is undated, but internal evidence suggests that it was completed around the same time.

The version of the *Daoshu* in the Taoist Canon (CT 1017) contains 108 texts and essays, arranged into forty-two *juan* and 118 *pian* or sections. According to a mid-thirteenth-century library catalogue (van der Loon 1984, 154), the work originally had 122 *pian*; four *pian*, therefore, appear to be missing from the received version. The *\*Daozang jiyao* edition of the *Daoshu* (vols. 18–19) contains the same number of *pian* as the one in the *Daozang*, without the division into *juan*. Another work, the anonymous *Zhiyou zi* 至游子 (Book of the Master of Ultimate Wandering) that bears a preface dated 1566, includes the first twenty-five sections of the *Daoshu*.

The arrangement of the *Daoshu* follows an orderly pattern. The work opens with philosophical discussions on the Dao and ends with the main *neidan* texts of the *\*Zhong-Lü* corpus. Its range of subjects also covers meditation, breathing, *\*daoyin*, sexual practices (*\*fangzhong shu*), and *\*waidan*. The first *pian* is a discussion of the Dao and other doctrinal principles by legendary or semilegendary figures. The second through the tenth *pian* contain excerpts from texts such as the *\*Huashu*, the *\*Zuowang lun* (Miyazawa Masayori 1988b), the *\*Xisheng jing*, and *\*Wu Yun's Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun* 宗玄先生玄綱論 (Essay on the Outlines of Mystery, by the Elder Who Takes Mystery as His Ancestor; CT 1052); the

seventh *pian*, however, consists of a criticism of sexual practices authored by Zeng Zao himself (“Rong Cheng pian” 容成篇, 3.4b–7b). Other texts are selected and reproduced next to each other because of a common word in the title: for instance, “Huangdi wen pian” 黃帝問篇 (Folios of the Questions of the Yellow Emperor; 5.3b–5a; Miyazawa Masayori 1990) and “Baiwen pian” 百問篇 (Folios of the Hundred Questions; 5.7a–22a); “Jindan pian” 金丹篇 (Folios on the Golden Elixir; 10.11b–13b) and “Huanjin pian” 金丹篇 (Folios on Reverting to Gold; 12.1a–b); “Xiuzhen pian” 修真篇 (Folios on Cultivating Perfection; 18.7b–9b) and “Wuzhen pian” 悟真篇 (Folios on Awakening to Perfection; 9b–13b; Miyazawa Masayori 1988a). While the sections in the first part of the anthology are quite short, the later excerpts are longer. Zeng concludes his anthology with the three main texts of the Zhong-Lü tradition: the \**Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* (j. 38), the \**Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (j. 39–41), and the \**Lingbao bifa* (j. 42).

The *Daoshu* mirrors the interest of the lettered classes in self-cultivation and is at the same time an invaluable collection comprising unique materials. Among the works included, those on *neidan* are preponderant and bear much interest for the student of this tradition. Pre-Song and Northern Song sources otherwise lost but preserved in the *Daoshu* include the “Huanjin pian” (Reverting to Gold; 12.1a–b); excerpts from the *Huanyuan shi* 還元詩 (Verses on Reverting to the Origin; 12.1b–5b) by Zhang Wumeng 張無夢 (Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 307–8); and several texts belonging to the Zhong-Lü corpus, such as the above-mentioned *Huanjin pian* (attributed to \*Liu Haichan) and *Baiwen pian* (trans. Homann 1976).

In his capacity as Compiler of the imperial library, Zeng Zao had access to a wealth of documents and books. His method, however, was not always accurate as some texts were paraphrased, arbitrarily abridged, or wrongly copied. Zeng's own addition to the anthology consist of two rhyming couplets placed at the head of each section to summarize its content, some essays, and comments occasionally interspersed in the main body of a text.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 231–34; Miyazawa Masayori 1984b; Miyazawa Masayori, Mugitani Kunio, and Jin Zhengyao 2002 (concordance); Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 323–25 and 2: 163–65

※ *neidan*; *yangsheng*

*Daoshu shi'er zhong*

道書十二種

Twelve Books on the Dao

The *Daoshu shi'er zhong* is a collection of works written by \*Liu Yiming (1734– 1821), a master belonging to the \*Longmen lineage of \**neidan*. First printed in 1819, it contains a total of nineteen works consisting of both original writings and commentaries to earlier texts. The collection developed around an earlier compilation of twelve works entitled *Zhinan zhen* 指南針 (The Compass), which was later included in the *Daoshu shi'er zhong* with a preface dated 1801. The original twelve works (two of which bear in the present *Daoshu shi'er zhong* new prefaces by Liu Yiming dated later than 1801) are the following:

1. *Yinfu jing zhu* 陰符經注 (Commentary to the Scripture of the Hidden Accordance; 1779; trans. Cleary 1991a, 220–38), on the \**Yinfu jing*.

2. *Qiaoyao ge zhijie* 敲爻歌 直解 (Straightforward Explication of the Songs Metered According to the Hexagram Lines), on a text ascribed to \*Lü Dongbin and included in the *Lüzu zhi* 呂祖志 (Monograph of Ancestor Lü; CT 1484, 6.5a–9a).

3. *Baizi bei zhu* 百字碑注 (Commentary to the Hundred-Word Stele; trans. Cleary 1991a, 239–52), on a short text also ascribed to Lü Dongbin and included in the *Lüzu zhi* (6.2b).

4. *Huanghe fu* 黃鶴賦 (Rhapsody on the Yellow Crane).

5. *Xiyou yuanzhi* 西遊原旨 (The Original Purport of the *Journey to the West*; 1778; trans. Yu Anthony 1991), one of the works that interpret the popular late Ming novel, *Xiyou ji* 西遊記, as an allegory of *neidan* principles and practices (Despeux 1985).

6. *Xiuzhen biannan* 修真辨難 (Discussions on the Cultivation of Authenticity; 1798), cast in the form of a dialogue between Liu and his disciples.

7. *Xiuzhen houbian* 修真後辨 (Further Discussions on the Cultivation of Authenticity), a continuation of the previous work dealing with *neidan* notions and principles.

8. *Shenshi bafa* 神室八法 (Eight Methods for the Divine Chamber; 1798), whose title alludes to the immaterial location where the inner elixir is refined.

9. *Xiuzhen jiuyao* 修真九要 (Nine Essentials in the Cultivation of Authenticity; 1798).

10. *Wugen shu jie* 無根樹解 (Explication of *The Rootless Tree*; 1802), on a work attributed to \*Zhang Sanfeng.

11. *Huangting jing jie* 黃庭經解 (Explication of the *Scripture of the Yellow Court*), on the \**Huangting jing*.

12. *Jindan sibaizi jie* 金丹四百字解 (Explication of the *Four Hundred Words on the Golden Elixir*; 1807; trans. Cleary 1986a, 1–48), on the \**Jindan sibaizi*, with additional poems by Liu Yiming.

“Twelve Books on the *Dao*” was an alternative title of the *Zhinan zhen*. The collection retained that title when it was expanded into the present *Daoshu shi'er zhong* with the addition of the following seven texts:

13. *Zhouyi chanzhen* 周易闡真 (Uncovering the Reality of the *Changes of the Zhou*; 1798; trans. Cleary 1986b), a commentary to the \**Yijing*.

14. *Xiangyan poyi* 象言破疑 (Smashing Doubts on Symbolic Language; 1811; trans. Cleary 1986a, 51–118), centered on a set of diagrams that describe the unfolding of the *Dao* into the cosmos and the return to the *Dao*.

15. *Tongguan wen* 通關文 (Crossing the Passes), on obstacles that adepts face in their practice.

16. *Cantong zhizhi* 參同直指 (Straightforward Directions on the *Agreement of the Three*; 1799), a commentary to the \**Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi*.

17. *Wuzhen zhizhi* 悟真直指 (Straightforward Directions on the *Wuzhen pian*; 1794; trans. Cleary 1987), a commentary to the \**Wuzhen pian* (see Miyakawa Hisayuki 1954).

18. *Wudao lu* 悟道錄 (Account of an Awakening to the *Dao*; 1810; trans. Cleary 1988), composed of jottings on *neidan* and other subjects.

19. *Huixin ji* 會心集 (Anthology of Gathering [the *Dao*] in the Heart; 1811), mostly in poetical form.

The first edition of the *Daoshu shi'er zhong* was published by the Huguo an 護國庵 in Changde 常德 (Hunan). A valuable, movable-type reedition was published in 1880 issued by the Yihua tang 翼化堂 in Shanghai. The widely distributed reprint entitled *Jingyin* 精印 *Daoshu shi'er zhong* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1975 and 1983) is based on a reedition of the Jiangdong shuju (Shanghai, 1913). Another publication, also entitled *Daoshu*



*shi'er zhong* (Beijing: Zhongguo Zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1990), reproduces parts of the Yihua tang and Jiangdong shuju editions.

Fabrizio PREGADIO

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 180–83

※ Liu Yiming; *neidan*

### *Daoxue zhuan*

#### 道學傳

#### Biographies of Those who Studied the Dao

The *Daoxue zhuan* is a collection of Taoist biographies compiled by Ma Shu 馬樞 (522–81) during the Chen dynasty: it forms part of the tradition that originates with the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals) and the *\*Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals). However, it is notable that the characters in the *Daoxue zhuan* are said to gain immortality much less frequently than in these earlier collections, often simply dying and being buried. Originally in twenty *juan*, the complete text is now lost and survives only in fragments from a few more than one hundred biographies. Fortunately, these fragments are extensive, being found in Taoist works such as the *\*Sandong zhunang* (The Pearl Satchel of the Three Caverns), the *\*Sandong qunxian lu* (Accounts of the Gathered Immortals from the Three Caverns), and the *\*Shangqing dao leishi xiang* (Classified Survey of Shangqing Taoism), as well as in secular collections such as the *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Records for Entering Studies; ca. 720), the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period; 983), and Li Shan's 李善 (ca. 630–89) commentary to the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Literary Anthology). This extent of citation indicates that the text circulated widely. It also appears in the bibliographical treatises of the *Suishu* (History of the Sui), of both histories of the Tang dynasty (*Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu*), and of the *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Monographs). However, it also appears in the *\*Daozang quejing mulu* (Index of Scriptures Missing from the Taoist Canon) so must have been lost by the Ming. Chen Guofu located and collected these fragments and published them as Appendix 7 of his *Daozang yuanliu kao*

(Chen Guofu 1963).

It is in the nature of fragments to be partial and while most of the chapters of the original are represented in Chen Guofu's compilation, some are not, and we have no way of ascertaining what the original table of contents looked like. In addition many of the fragments are notices of just a few sentences. While some of the biographies concern ancient figures, most of the subjects lived in the few centuries immediately prior to Ma Shu's own time. Easily the longest fragment concerns \*Lu Xiujing, an entry that has proved important in piecing together his biography.

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▣ Bumbacher 2000a; Bumbacher 2000c (crit. ed. and trans.); Chen Guofu 1963, 239 and 454–504; Eskildsen 1998, 31–42

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

*daoyin*

導引

“guiding and pulling”; gymnastics

“Guiding and pulling” is a set of gymnastic techniques aimed to let \**qi* properly circulate, expel pathogenic *qi*, heal certain diseases, keep old age away, and nourish life (\**yangsheng*). They are performed in an upright, sitting, or reclining position, and can be combined with ingestion of breath (\**fuqi*), abstention from cereals (\**bigu*), massage, and visualization.

The term *daoyin* first occurs in \**Zhuangzi* 15, which criticizes this type of exercise (see the entry \**tuna*). The individuals associated with it (e.g., the two rain masters \*Chisong zi and Ningfeng zi 甯封子) and especially its relation to dance suggest that the original purpose of the practice was to expel demonic influences (see Harper 1985). Gymnastic practices and shamanic dances share the same animal symbolism: practitioners imitate the crane, snake, swallow, turtle, stag, dragon, and tiger, all known for their powers against demons or for their longevity.

*Early sources.* The earliest descriptions of *daoyin* techniques appear in a

\*Mawangdui (Hunan) manuscript entitled *Daoyin tu* 導引圖 (Drawings of *Daoyin*; trans. Harper 1998, 310–27), which contains illustrations of forty-four movements, and in a Zhangjiashan 張家山 (Hubei) manuscript entitled *Yinshu* 引書 (Book on Pulling; see Harper 1998, 30–33). The Han-dynasty \**Huangdi neijing* also mentions *daoyin* as a therapeutic technique, especially in *Suwen* 素問 (Plain Questions), sec. 4.12, where various healing methods are related to different geographic areas. *Daoyin* is associated with the people of the central regions, who suffer from breath reflux, heat, and cold, and can be cured by *daoyin* and massage.



Fig. 28. Daoyin postures in a \*Mawangdui manuscript.

The single main early source on *daoyin* is the \**Zhubing yuanhou lun* (Treatise on the Origin and Symptoms of Diseases; 610), a medical text that expounds methods for “nourishing life” in relation to various ailments. This treatise largely quotes methods originally found in the lost \**Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life; early fourth century). The only source in the Taoist Canon that deals exclusively with this subject is the *Daoyin yangsheng jing* 導引養生經 (Scripture on Nourishing Life Through *Daoyin*; CT 818). Also based on the *Yangsheng yaoji*, it records methods associated with Chisong zi, Ningfeng zi, \*Wangzi Qiao, and \*Pengzu. Another work, the

*Shesheng zuanlu* 攝生纂錄 (Compilation of Texts for Preserving Life; CT 578), attests to techniques associated with Indian *yoga*. Its “Methods of Brahmanic *Daoyin*” (*Poluomen daoyin fa* 婆羅門導引法) are essentially gymnastic movements.

*Codification.* The trend to codify sets of movements to be regularly repeated developed at an early time. The first known set is the Five Animals Pattern (*wuqin xi* 五禽戲; Miura Kunio 1989, 353–55), attributed to Hua Tuo 華佗 (142–219) and mentioned in his biography in the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms; trans. DeWoskin 1983, 149). The earliest descriptions of this set appear in two texts probably dating from the Tang period, the \**Yangxing yanming lu* (On Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life) and the *Taishang Laojun yangsheng jue* 太上老君養生訣 (Instructions on Nourishing Life by the Most High Lord Lao; CT 821). Later descriptions, which differ from the earlier ones, are found in the Ming-dynasty \**Chifeng sui* (Marrow of the Red Phoenix; trans. Despeux 1988, 103–11), in the *Neigong tushuo* 內功圖說 (Illustrated Explanations of Inner Practices) of the late Qing period, and in more recent works.

Another set of movements, known as the Eight Brocades (*baduan jin* 八段錦), is outlined in the \**Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection, 19.4a–5b). A “civil” (*wenshi* 文式) and a “martial” (*wushi* 武式) version are described by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202) in his *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Heard and Written by Yijian). An advanced form of the eight basic exercises resulted in the Twelve Brocades (*shi'er duan jin* 十二段錦), described in \*Leng Qian's *Xiuling yaozhi* 修齡要旨 (Essential Purport of the Cultivation of Longevity), in Gao Lian's 高濂 (fl. 1573–81; IC 472–73) *Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋 (Eight Essays on Being in Accord with Life), and in Hu Wenhuan's 胡文煥 *Leixiu yaojue* 類修要訣 (Essential Classified Instructions on Self-Cultivation).

Other methods dating from the Song period associate the *daoyin* movements with the different periods of the year. The *Taichu yuanqi jieyao baosheng zhi lun* 太初元氣接要保生之論 (Essay on Protecting Life and Joining with the Essential through the Original Pneuma of the Great Beginning; CT 1477) describes a method related to the twelve months. Another exercise, attributed to \*Chen Tuan, consists of twenty-four movements corresponding to the twenty-four *jieqi* 節氣 (energy nodes) of the year. This system is described and illustrated in the *Baosheng xinjian* 保生心

鑒 (Spiritual Mirror for Protecting Life; preface dated 1506), a work published by Hu Wenhuan in the *Shouyang congshu* 壽養叢書 (Collectanea on Longevity and Nourishment [of Life]; ca. 1596) under the title *Taiqing ershisi qi shuihou jusan tu* 太清二十四氣水火聚散圖 (Charts of the Great Clarity on the Accumulation and Dispersion of Water and Fire According to the Twenty-Four Pneumas). The twenty-four movements embody the theory of the “five circulatory phases and six seasonal influences” (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣), which was developed during the Song period and integrated into official medicine after the mid-eleventh century. Each movement is associated with a type of *qi*, an agent (see \**wuxing*), and a climatic quality.

A particular set of movements is described in Lu Zhigang's 魯至剛 (Ming) *Jinshen jiyao* 錦身機要 (Essentials of the Process for Obtaining a Smooth Body). This is divided into three parts. The first consists of twelve “dragon movements” for women, the second of twelve “tiger movements” for men, and the third of twelve movements or positions for the “union of dragon and tiger.” The aim of these preliminary exercises for codified sexual union is the preservation of health.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1988, 23–29, 38–44; Despeux 1989; Harper 1985; Harper 1998, 132–35; Hu Fuchen 1989, 286–90; Kohn 1993b, 141–48; Li Ling 2000a, 341–81; Maspero 1981, 542–54; Sakade Yoshinobu 1980; Sakade Yoshinobu 1986b

※ *yangsheng*

*daoyuan*

道院

Taoist cloister

*Daoyuan* is both a common term meaning Taoist cloister, and, in an unrelated sense, the name of a modern sectarian movement. The *daoyuan* (lit., “cloister of the Dao”) is one of many institutions used by Taoism during its long history. Unlike the *guan* 觀 (abbey) or the *gong* 宮 (palace), which serve as both the locus of a cult (sometimes a state-mandated one) and the seat of a

clerical community, the *daoyuan* focuses mainly on communal life. The term may be used to denote either a small community that has not yet acquired the official status of *guan* (thus being similar to a hermitage, *an* 庵 or 菴), or a place that remains largely closed to outsiders to foster its spiritual atmosphere and discipline, very much like a Buddhist *chanyuan* 禪院 (meditation cloister). Moreover, large institutions, such as the \*Shangqing gong (Palace of Highest Clarity) on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), had more than ten different *daoyuan*, each with its own rules, lineage, and specialization. In a \*Quanzhen context, the various *daoyuan* attached to a large monastery would not be used to keep different traditions separate, but rather to allow small groups of dedicated ascetics to live away from the noise and agitation of the main residence hall.

Independently of this meaning, Daoyuan is the name of one of many sectarian groups that appeared during the late Qing and Republican periods, based on spirit-writing cults, initiation into self-perfection techniques, and active charity. The Daoyuan was founded in 1916, and in 1922 established the Red Swastika (Hong wangzi hui 紅卍字會), a very large relief organization.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR SECTS; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

*Daozang*

道藏

Taoist Canon

See the entry \*DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS in “Taoism: An Overview,” p. 28.

*Daozang jinghua*

道藏精華

Essential Splendors of the Taoist Canon

The *Daozang jinghua* is a series of Taoist texts edited by Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石 (1908–86). It was published from 1956 onward by Ziyou chubanshe in Taipei, a publishing house established by Xiao himself in 1953. It consists of seventeen “anthologies” (*ji* 集), each containing one or more texts. The publication project lasted more than two decades, after which several single volumes were reprinted (or, in some instances, republished under the same title but with different texts). The whole collection was again reprinted in 1983. The scattered nature of this publishing effort has led to various authors attributing different dates to the series; for example, William Chen (1984) indexes a 1963 edition containing 108 titles in 115 volumes, while Zhu Yueli (1992) mentions a 1956 and a 1973 edition.

In the foreword to the 1983 reprint, entitled “Xinbian Daozang jinghua yaozhi liyan” 新編道藏精華要旨例言 (Introductory Remarks to the New Edition of the *Daozang jinghua*), Xiao states that he focuses on works on self-cultivation instead of the doctrinal foundations of Taoism, as he intends to make available texts that adepts can use in their practice. Xiao also provides details on his sources, which include the \**Zhengtong daoze* (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period), the \**Daozang xubian* (Sequel to the Taoist Canon), the \**Daozang jinghua lu* (Record of the Essential Splendors of the Taoist Canon), and the \**Daoshu shi'er zhong* (Twelve Books on the Dao). He has also added a number of Taoist texts from \*Dunhuang and from private libraries. Some materials in the last category might well have come from temples in Sichuan, where Xiao was forced to live from 1939 to 1949, and where his interest in Taoism arose. One example is the *Nü jindan fayao* 女金丹法要 (Essentials of the Methods of the Golden Elixir for Women; Wile 1992, 202–4), a text of \**nüdan* (inner alchemy for women) privately printed in Sichuan by \*Fu Jinqian in 1814.

Xiao had a clear bias in favor of later works, especially those dealing with \**neidan*. The most prominent authors in the collection are \*Lu Xixing, \*Wu Shouyang, \*Liu Yiming, Fu Jinqian, and \*Li Xiyue, all of whom lived in the late Ming or the Qing periods. Moreover, several works are related to \*Zhang Sanfeng, a *neidan* patron of the Ming period. The collection also includes fourteen works by Xiao himself dealing with *neidan* and self-cultivation.

Besides the *Daozang jinghua*, Xiao published two collections under the title *Daozang jinghua waiji* 道藏精華外集 (Essential Splendors of the Taoist Canon: Additional Anthologies). The first is the *Daojia yangshengxue gaiyao* 道家養生學概要 (Overview of the Taoist Nourishment of Life), published in

1963, and the second is the *Daohai xuanwei* 道海玄微 (Mystery and Subtlety of the Ocean of the Dao), published in 1974. In 1958 Xiao had also published a work entitled *Zuodao pangmen xiaoshu jiyao* 左道旁門小術輯要 (Essentials of the Minor Arts of the Heterodox Schools). Although Xiao defines this work as a supplement to the *Daozang jinghua*, he did not publish it under his own name but used a sobriquet, Taiyi shanren 太乙山人 (The Mountain Man of Great Unity), and did not list it in the table of contents of the 1983 edition. This may be due to the book's subject matter, which deals with unconventional practices and includes two texts on *nüdan*.

Elena VALUSSI

■ Chen W. Y. 1984; Gong Qun 1995; Xiao Tianshi 1983; Zhu Yueli 1992, 336–48

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*Daozang jinghua lu*

道藏精華錄

Record of the Essential Splendors  
of the Taoist Canon

The eminent bibliophile Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952) selected and published one hundred texts under this somewhat misleading title (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1922; repr. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1989). Approximately one-third of the compilation is derived from sources in the Taoist Canon and \**Daozang jiyao*. It is divided into ten *ji* 集 (collections), with ten titles contained in each. The introduction includes three essays entitled “Origins and Development of the Taoist Teaching” (“Daojiao yuanliu” 道教源流), “Origins and Development of the Taoist Canon” (“Daozang yuanliu” 道藏源流), and “Editorial Intent” (“Bianji zongzhi” 編輯宗旨). In the last essay, Ding states that he turned to a study of the Dao as a middle-aged man. He was greatly inspired by the teachings of the forty-third Celestial Master \*Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410) found in the *Xianquan ji* 峴泉集 (Anthology of Alpine Spring; CT 1311).

Major components of the ten units are:



1. *\*Daozang mulu xiangzhu* (Detailed Commentary on the Index of the Taoist Canon); a catalogue of the *Daozang jiyao* by Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (1755–1819); *Du Daozang ji* 讀道藏記 (Notes on Reading the Taoist Canon) by Liu Shipai 劉世培 (1884–1919; ECCP 536); and *Daoxue zhinan* 道學指南 (Guide to the Study of the Dao) compiled in 1922 by a Sunsun zhai zhuren 損損齋主人 (Master of the Studio of “Decreasing and Further Decreasing”), with advice on how to read the *Daozang jinghua lu*.
2. Manuals of *\*yangsheng* (Nourishing Life) techniques, including texts from the *\*Yunji qiqian* (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds) and the writings of *\*Qiu Chuji* (1148–1227).
3. Commentaries to the *\*Yinfu jing* (Scripture of the Hidden Accordance) and guidebooks on massage and other exercises, including texts from the *Yunji qiqian* and the *\*Daoshu* (Pivot of the Dao).
4. Scriptures on contemplative practices in the name of the Most High Lord Lao (Taishang Laojun 太上老君; see *\*Laozi* and Laojun) and related treatises found in the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Complete Prose of the Tang; 1814).
5. Scriptural teachings and discourse records ascribed to *\*Wenchang*, *\*Lü Dongbin*, and *\*Ma Yu* (1123–84), and two scriptures on daily practice, one of which was inscribed in 1352 on a stele at *\*Louguan* (Tiered Abbey).
6. Scriptural writings linked with *\*Yuhuang* (Jade Sovereign) and Chunyang zhenjun 純陽真君 (i.e., Lü Dongbin); commentaries to the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi*; and teachings attributed to *\*Zhongli Quan*.
7. Treatises on *\*neidan*, including Qing editions of texts ascribed to *\*Zhang Boduan* (987?–1082), *\*Bai Yuchan* (1194–1229?), and an anthology of verse attributed to *\*Sun Bu'er* (1119–83).
8. Writings on *neidan* by *\*Nanzong* (Southern Lineage) patriarchs, including *\*Shi Tai* (?–1158), *\*Xue Daoguang* (1078?–1191), *\*Chen Nan* (?–1213), and Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260–64), and two anthologies of the teachings of *\*Wu Shouyang* (1574–1644).
9. Annotated editions of the *\*Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court) and three early hagiographies, including the *\*Xu xianzhuan* (Sequel to Biographies of Transcendents).

10. Hagiographic accounts dedicated to \*Tao Hongjing (456–536), \*Xu Xun (trad. 239–374), and the \*Quanzhen legacy, three pre-Song topographies, and an exegesis of the \**Taishang ganying pian* by Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1906; ECCP 944–45).

Ding also provides a table of contents by way of a conspectus (*tiyao* 提要), listing the one-hundred titles with notes on the textual history and attributes of each.

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Chen Yuan 1988, 1217; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 465–68; Zhu Yueli 1992, 329–31

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*Daozang jiyao*

道藏輯要

Essentials of the Taoist Canon

The *Daozang jiyao* is the main collection of Taoist texts after the *Daozang*. Despite its relatively recent date of compilation, its bibliographic history is not entirely clear. According to the most common account, the first edition was published by \*Peng Dingqiu (1645–1719) around 1700. About a century later, during the Jiaqing reign period (1796–1820), the Vice Minister Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (1755–1819) published an enlarged version containing 173 texts, all of which were also found in the *Daozang*. The *Jiyao* was reedited once or twice in the nineteenth century and in the process ninety-six texts were added, bringing the total number of texts to 269. The current edition was published in 1906 by He Longxiang 賀龍驤 and Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 at the Erxian an 二仙庵 (Hermitage of the Two Immortals), part of the \*Qingyang gong (Palace of the Black Ram) in Chengdu (Sichuan). Their edition, known as *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要, added eighteen more works for a total of 287 texts. He and Peng also supplied five indexes and eighteen bibliographies of Taoist works drawn from various sources. Taking these into account, the *Jiyao* would contain 310 titles.

A different reconstruction is provided in *Zhongguo daojiao shi* (History of Chinese Taoism; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 455–65). The original collection edited by Peng Dingqiu contained 200 texts, all of which were found in the *Daozang*. Jiang Yuanting added seventy-nine texts, not found in the *Daozang*; and the reedition by He Longxiang and Peng Hanran supplied seventeen more texts, bringing the total to 296. Including indexes and bibliographies, the *Daozang jiyao* would contain altogether 319 titles.

Both accounts appear to be only partly reliable. In particular, there seems to be no trace—either material or bibliographic—of Peng Dingqiu's original compilation, and no evidence is provided in *Zhongguo daojiao shi* for the statement that it included 200 titles. The authors of *Zhongguo daojiao shi* arrive at this number based on a catalogue of Jiang Yuanting's edition (“*Daozang jiyao zongmu*” 道藏輯要總目) included in Ding Fubao's 丁福保 \**Daozang jinghua lu*. While this catalogue does list 279 titles, the seventy-nine supposedly additional titles (Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 456–59) derive from a list of *Daozang jiyao* texts not found in the *Daozang*, which is appended to the Harvard-Yenching index of the *Daozang* (Weng Dujian 1935; see Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 465). That list is not entirely dependable (to give one example, the first text cited in Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 456 corresponds to CT 7). As for the seventeen texts indicated in *Zhongguo daojiao shi* as having been added in 1906, the list provided by He Longxiang and Peng Hanran contains nineteen titles, but the last six of them actually are not included in the collection. This list is printed in the 1906 edition as the third of three indexes to the version they edited:

1. A general index entitled “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zongmu” 重刊道藏輯要總目 (1: 12–34), with a preface signed by He Longxiang and dated 1906
2. An index containing the table of contents of each text included in the collection, except for those added in 1906, entitled “Chongkan Daozang jiyao zimu chubian” 重刊道藏輯要子目初編 and consisting of four *juan* (1: 48–214)
3. An index containing the table of contents of each text added in 1906, entitled “Chongkan Daozang jiyao xubian zimu” 重刊道藏輯要續編子目 (1: 215–242) and indicated as the “fifth *juan*” of the previous index

To further complicate the bibliographic history of the *Jiyao*, it should be noted that at least one of its texts was printed after 1906: the *Xiyi zhimi lun* 析疑指迷論 (Essays to Resolve Doubts and Point out Errors; 14: 6188–94) bears a postface dated 1917 (Minguo 6), i.e., more than one decade after the entire collection is deemed to have been completed.

Further research is required to solve these and similar questions raised by the *Daozang jiyao*. Also worthy of attention is the intent of its compilation. Besides those mentioned above, the collection includes an index and a table of contents of texts on *\*nüdan* (inner alchemy for women) entitled “Nüdan hebian zongmu” 女丹合編總目 (1: 245–49). These indexes are also part of the “fifth *juan*” of the general catalogue of the *Jiyao*. This suggests that He Longxiang and Peng Hanran planned to include those texts in the *Jiyao*, but later decided to publish the *Nüdan hebian* 女丹合編 (Collected Works on Inner Alchemy for Women) as an independent collection (also printed in 1906). It seems clear, though, that He and Peng compiled the *Nüdan hebian* as part of a single undertaking aiming to collect and publish texts that reflected Taoist traditions more recent than those represented in the *Zhengtong daozaog*. Both the *Daozang jiyao* and the *Nüdan hebian* achieved this goal.

The 1906 edition has been reprinted twice, first by the Kaozheng chubanshe (Taipei, 1971) and later by the Xinwenfeng chubanshe (Taipei, 1977). The two reprints appear to be identical to each other (volume and page numbers indicated above refer to them). Large-size reprints are occasionally produced at the Qingyang gong, which still houses the original woodblocks.

*Contents.* The composition of the *Daozang jiyao* follows a fairly definite plan. The texts are divided into twenty-eight sections, marked by the names of the twenty-eight lunar lodges (*\*xiu*). Each section is further divided into a varying number of subsections (between four and thirteen) marked by numbers.

Although the collection is especially important for its wide selection of *neidan* works, it provides a valuable overview of Taoist literature, except for works dealing with ritual. The first six sections (or “lodges”) are modeled on the Three Caverns (*\*SANDONG*) of the *\*Zhengtong daozaog*, with the *\*Duren jing* placed here too as the opening text. Sections 7 and 8 are largely devoted to texts related to *\*Yuhuang*, *\*Huangdi*, and the Lords of the Five Dippers (*wudou* 五斗). Sections 9 to 11 include works dating (or traditionally deemed

to date) from the early history of Taoism. Section 12 consists of \*Zhong-Lü and \*Jingming texts. Sections 13 to 17 include texts related to saints, patriarchs, and masters of \*Nanzong and \*Quanzhen. Sections 18 and 19 are mainly devoted to *neidan* works of various authors and dates. Sections 20 to 22 contain anthologies and encyclopedias. Finally, sections 23 to 28 include more *neidan* texts, as well as litanies (*chan* 懺), texts related to \*Wenchang, collections of monastic rules, and biographic and topographic works.

In more detail, the contents of the individual sections are as follows (section numbers correspond to the lunar lodges; see [table 26](#)):

1–3: *Duren jing* and other works spoken by or related to the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊).

4: Commentaries to the \**Shengshen jing* and other works spoken by or related to the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊).

5–6: Commentaries to the *Daode jing* (including one by \*Bai Yuchan not found in the *Daozang*) and other works spoken by or related to the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Virtue (Daode tianzun 道德天尊), i.e., the deified Laozi: \**Huangting jing*, \**Taishang ganying pian*, and hagiographies of Laozi.

7: Works related to Yuhuang, including commentaries to the *Yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經 (Collected Scripture on the Deeds of the Jade Sovereign) and the \**Xinyin jing*.

8: Texts on the Five Dippers (see under \**Wudou jing*) and commentaries to the \**Longhu jing* and the \**Yinfu jing*.

9: Commentaries to the \**Zhuangzi*.

10: Commentaries to the *Wenshi zhenjing* 文始真經 (Authentic Scripture of Master Wenshi; see under \*Yin Xi), the \**Liezi*, the \**Wenzi*, and the *Dongling zhenjing* 洞靈真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Cavernous Numen; see under \*Gengsang zi).

11: \**Huainan zi*, \**Baopu zi*, and commentaries to the \**Zhouyi cantong qi* and the \**Ruyao jing*.

12: Zhong-Lü texts and works related to \*Xu Xun and the Jingming dao.

13–14: Collections of texts attributed or related to \*Lü Dongbin, including the \**Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*.

15: Texts by the Nanzong patriarchs.

- 16: Texts by Bai Yuchan.  
 17: Texts by the Quanzhen patriarchs.  
 18: Various pre-Ming texts on meditation and *neidan*.  
 19: Works by \*Wu Shouyang and works attributed to \*Zhang Sanfeng.  
 20–22: Encyclopedic collections and anthologies, including the \**Zhengao* and the \**Daoshu*.  
 23: *Neidan* texts, including the *Zhenquan* 真詮 (Veritable Truth) edited by Peng Dingqiu.  
 24: Litanies (*chan*).  
 25: Hagiographies and works related to Wenchang.  
 26: Ledgers of merit (*gongge* 功格) and a remarkable collection of precepts and monastic rules.  
 27–28: Biographic, hagiographic, and epigraphic collections; topographic works.

As Peng Hanran states in his preface to the 1906 edition (1:303), the compilation that he and He Longxiang inherited and expanded derived partly from the *Daozang* and partly from extracanonical editions. This accounts for the variants, sometimes noticeable, found in works that the *Jiyao* shares with the *Daozang*.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Chen W. Y. 1978 (index); Liu Ts'un-yan 1973, 107–10; Mori Yuria 2001; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 32–33; Wong Shiu Hon 1982, 3–8; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955, 175–76

※ Peng Dingqiu; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

### *Daozang mulu xiangzhu*

道藏目錄詳注

Detailed Commentary on the Index of the Taoist Canon

The *Daozang mulu xiangzhu* in four *juan* is an annotated catalogue of the Ming Canon, compiled in 1626 by the Taoist Master Bai Yunji 白雲霽 of the

Chaotian gong 朝天宮 (Palace in Homage to Heaven) in Nanjing (Jiangsu). Two copies of the text included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Writings of the Four Repositories) of 1782 have been published, one from the Wenyuan ge 文淵閣 (Tianjin: Tuigeng tang 退耕堂, n.d.) and one from the Wenjin ge 文津閣 (repr. Taipei: Commercial Press, 1968). Another copy is included in the \**Daozang jinghua lu* compiled in 1922 by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952). In his prefatory notes on the text, Ding identifies Bai Yunji as the author, but the title page of the edition he reproduces bears the name Li Jie 李杰 of Liaozuo 遼左 (Shandong). The text proper is preceded by a copy of the “Baiyun guan chongxiu Daozang ji” 白雲觀重修道藏記 (Records on Restoring the Taoist Canon at the Abbey of the White Clouds) dating to 1845. It is likely that Ding simply published a slightly variant Qing printing of the text with faulty attribution. The Jesuit scholar Léon Wieger likewise seems to have had access to just such an edition when he compiled his index to the Taoist Canon in 1911. Copies of the text in rare book collections include a Qing manuscript of ca. 1736–1820 at Seikadō Bunko in Tokyo and a fragmentary Qing printing ascribed to Li Jie in the Tenri Library of Nara (repr. Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1975).

Discrepancies between this catalogue and the present form of the 1445 Taoist Canon and its 1607 supplement suggest that Bai had a different printing at hand. It is known that his home temple received a copy of the Canon by imperial decree in 1476. The number of *juan* cited for several titles in the catalogue conflicts with the actual quantity found in the Canon. Information on provenance appears to have been copied directly from the scant data that are sometimes recorded following the title of a text in the Canon. Similarly, summaries of the contents largely replicate the headings or subdivisions of a text. The serial characters of the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand-Word Text) appear at the close of each entry.

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 9–10; Chen Guofu 1963, 178 and 183–89; Ozaki Masaharu 1987; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 18–22; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 28–31; Wieger 1911; Zhong Zhaopeng 1986

※ *Wanli xu daozaang; Zhengtong daozaang; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS*

*Daozang quejing mulu*

道藏闕經目錄

Index of Scriptures Missing from the Taoist Canon

The *Daozang quejing mulu* (CT 1430) is an inventory of lost texts, followed by a copy of a stele inscription of 1275 entitled “*Daozang zunjing lidai gangmu*” 道藏尊經歷代綱目 (Historical Survey of the Revered Scriptures of the Taoist Canon). The editors of the Taoist Canon of 1445 apparently drew up this list of nearly 800 missing titles according to what was known at the time about the contents of earlier editions of the Canon. Four titles recorded at the end of the list can be traced to Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188–1244), editor-in-chief of the *\*Xuandu baozang* (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis) of 1244. Some, but not all, titles proscribed by an imperial decree of 1258 are also registered in this inventory.

Over one-third of the titles listed can be found in catalogues of imperial and private libraries of the Song. Among glaring omissions are a significant number of well-attested components of the *\*Da Song Tiangong baozang* of 1016 and the *\*Zhenghe Wanshou daozaog* of ca. 1119. A copy of one scripture printed in the 1244 Canon that was declared missing at the time this list was compiled now rests in the National Library of Beijing. Entitled *Taiqing fenglu jing* 太清風露經 (Scripture of Great Clarity on Wind and Dew), it may well be what compilers of the Song imperial catalogue of 1144 knew as the *Fenglu xianjing* 風露仙經 (Transcendent Scripture of Wind and Dew). A photographic reproduction of the scripture is available in the *\*Zangwai daoshu*.

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 11; van der Loon 1984, 53–62, 124; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 25–27; Shi Zhounen and Chen Yaoting 1996, 350–63 (index)

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*Daozang xubian*

道藏續編



## Sequel to the Taoist Canon

The *Daozang xubian* is a collection of twenty-three texts compiled by the eleventh \*Longmen patriarch, \*Min Yide (1748–1836). The first xylographic edition, printed in 1834 on Mount Jingai (Jingai shan 金蓋山, Zhejiang), constituted the core of the *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書 (Collection of the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 184–86) also edited by Min Yide. The scholar and bibliophile Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952) reprinted the *Daozang xubian* in 1952 (Shanghai: Yixue shuju); later reprints were published in 1989 (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe) and 1993 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe).

The collection is largely devoted to \**neidan* teachings and practices, especially those of the Longmen school. Its texts can be divided into five categories: 1. Doctrinal views of *neidan* and meditation practices such as those described in the \**Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* (The Ultimate Purport of the Golden Flower of the Great One), better known in the West as *Secret of the Golden Flower*; 2. Psycho-physiological practices; 3. Ethical texts outlining precepts; 4. Texts on universal salvation; 5. Exegesis. For a complete table of contents see [table 3](#).

*Doctrines and practices.* The first two categories of texts are closely linked to each other. According to Min Yide, the *Secret of the Golden Flower* is related to two manuscripts found in the \*Qingyang gong (Palace of the Black Ram) of Chengdu, both attributed to the legendary Yin zhenren 尹真人 (Perfected Yin). Their titles are *Donghua zhengmai huangji hepi zhengdao xianjing* 東華正

Table 3

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- 1 *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* 太一金華宗旨 (The Ultimate Purport of the Golden Flower of the Great One)
  - 2 *Yin zhenren Donghua zhengmai huangji hepi zhengdao xianjing* 尹真人東華正脈皇極闡證道仙經 (Immortal Scripture by the Perfected Yin Testifying to the Path of Opening and Closing the August Ultimate According to the Orthodox Lineage of the Eastern Florescence)
  - 3 *Yin zhenren Liaoyang dian wenda bian* 尹真人廖陽殿問答編 (Questions and Answers of the Perfected Yin from the Liaoyang Hall)
  - 4 *Xie tianji* 泄天機 (Disclosing the Celestial Mechanism)
  - 5 *Gufa yangsheng shisan ze chanwei* 古法養生十三則闡微 (Uncovering the Subtleties of the Thirteen Principles Concerning the Ancient Methods of Nourishing Life)
  - 6 *Shangpin danfa jieci* 上品丹法節次 (Alchemical Process of Highest Rank)

- 7 *Guankui bian* 管窺編 (A Personal View)
- 8 *Jiuzheng lu* 就正錄 (Account of the Realization of Rectitude)
- 9 *Yu Lin Fenqian xiansheng shu* 與林奮千先生書 (Letter to Elder Lin Fenqian)
- 10 *Lü zushi sannü yishi shuoshu* 呂祖師三尼醫世說述 (Explanations of the Three Sages' Doctrine of Healing the World by the Ancestral Master Lü)
- 11 *Du Lü zushi sannü yishi shuoshu guankui* 讀呂祖師三尼醫世說述管窺 (A Personal Reading of the Explanations of the Three Sages' Doctrine of Healing the World by the Ancestral Master Lü)
- 12 *Lü zushi sannü yishi gongjue* 呂祖師三尼醫世功訣 (Practical Instructions on the Three Sages' Doctrine of Healing the World by the Ancestral Master Lü)
- 13 *Tianxian xinchuan* 天仙心傳 (Heart-to-Heart Transmission of Celestial Immortality)
- 14 *Tianxian dao jieji xuzhi* 天仙道戒忌須知 (Required Knowledge on Precepts and Prohibitions for the Path to Celestial Immortality)
- 15 *Tianxian dao Cheng Baoze* 天仙道程寶則 (Precious Principles for the Path to Celestial Immortality)
- 16 *Erlan xinhua* 二懶心話 (Heart-to-Heart Dialogue between the Two Leisurely [Masters])
- 17 *Sanfen zhenren xuantan quanji* 三丰真人玄潭全集 (Complete Collection of the Mysterious Words by the Perfected [Zhang] Sanfeng)
- 18 *Rushi wo wen* 如是我聞 (Thus I Have Heard)
- 19 *Xiwang mu nüxiu zhengtu shize* 西王母女修正途十則 (Ten Principles of the Queen Mother of the West on the Correct Path of Female Cultivation)
- 20 *Niwan Li zushi nüzong shuangxiu baofa* 泥丸李祖師女宗雙修寶筏 (Precious Raft of Joint Cultivation in Inner Alchemy for Women by Patriarch Li Niwan)
- 21 *Jindan sibai zi zhushi* 金丹四百字注釋 (Commentary and Explanations on the *Jindan sibai zi*)
- 22 *Suoyan xu* 瑣言續 (Sequel to an Ignored Transmission)
- 23 *Xiuzhen biannan qianhou bian canzheng* 修真辯難前後編參証 (Annotations to the *Xiuzhen biannan*, in Two Sections)

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Contents of the \* *Daozang xubian* 道藏續編 (Sequel to the Taoist Canon).

脈皇極闔闢證道仙經 (Immortal Scripture Testifying to the Path of Opening and Closing the August Ultimate According to the Orthodox Lineage of the Eastern Florescence; no. 2 in [table 3](#)) and the *Liaoyang dian wenda bian* 廖陽殿問答編 (Questions and Answers from the Liaoyang Hall; no. 3). Although both texts focus on the cultivation of the Vital Force, their purpose is to help adepts to achieve the joint cultivation (\**shuangxiu*) of both Original Nature and Vital Force (\**xing* and *ming*). The *Daozang xubian* accordingly includes several texts describing methods to awaken adepts to the “Celestial Mechanism” (*tianji* 天機; see \*[ji](#)), i.e., their Original Nature. These texts contain alchemical and symbolic methods, such as the *Xie tianji* 泄天機 (Disclosing the Celestial Mechanism; no. 4) and the *Shangpin danfa jieci* 上品丹法節次 (Alchemical Process of Highest Rank; no. 6); physiological techniques, like the *Gufa yangsheng shisan ze chanwei* 古法養生十三則闡

微 (Uncovering the Subtleties of the Thirteen Principles Concerning the Ancient Methods of Nourishing Life; no. 5); and methods of visualization and practice close to those of Tantrism, such as the *Erlan xinhua* 二懶心話 (Heart-to-Heart Dialogue between the Two Leisurely [Masters]; no. 16; trans. Esposito 1993, 2: 389–440, and Esposito 1997, 97–120). Finally, some texts in this group contain explanations of moral and ethical principles inspired by Confucianism, including the *Jiuzheng lu* 就正錄 (Account of the Realization of Rectitude; no. 8) and the *Yu Lin Fenqian xiansheng shu* 與林奮千先生書 (Letter to Elder Lin Fenqian; no. 9).

*Ethics, universal salvation, and exegesis.* The third category of texts testifies to the importance of moral precepts within the Longmen school, which was formally charged with the education of Taoist clergy. As explained in the *Tianxian xinchuan* 天仙心傳 (Heart-to-Heart Transmission of Celestial Immortality; no. 13), adepts can achieve the highest stage of immortality through strict ethical discipline. The relevant texts are the *Tianxian dao jieji xuzhi* 天仙道戒忌須知 (Required Knowledge on Precepts and Prohibitions for the Path to Celestial Immortality; no. 14) and the *Tianxian daocheng baoze* 天仙道程寶則 (Precious Principles for the Path to Celestial Immortality; no. 15). This program of moral and practical precepts is specific to the Longmen school and is a product of its officially standardized teachings.

Also typical of the Longmen school are many technical terms found only in texts of the *Daozang xubian*. One of them is *yishi* 醫世 (lit., healing the world), which defines the Longmen doctrine of universal salvation (see [\\*pudu](#)). This term delimits the fourth category of texts in the collection, namely, the *Lü zushi sannu yishi shuoshu* 呂祖師三尼醫世說述 (Explanation of the Three Sages' Doctrine of Healing the World by the Ancestral Master Lü; no. 10), the *Du Lü zushi sannu yishi shuoshu guankui* 讀呂祖師三尼醫世說述管窺 (A Personal Reading of the Explanation of the Three Sages' Doctrine of Healing the World by the Ancestral Master Lü; no. 11), and the *Lü zushi sannu yishi gongjue* 呂祖師三尼醫世功訣 (Practical Instructions on the Three Sages' Doctrine of Healing the World by the Ancestral Master Lü; no. 12). The “three sages” mentioned in these titles are Laozi, Confucius, and the Buddha. In addition, the *Daozang xubian* contains alchemical methods for female adepts (see [\\*nüdan](#)) because, in the Longmen's universal salvation program, women too can obtain enlightenment. These are the *Xiwang mu*

*nüxiu zhengtu shize* 西王母女修正途十則 (Ten Principles of the Queen Mother of the West on the Correct Path of Female Cultivation; no. 19; trans. Wile 1992, 192–201) and the *Niwan Li zushi nüzhong shuangxiu baofa* 泥丸李祖師女宗雙修寶筏 (Precious Raft of Joint Cultivation in Inner Alchemy for Women by Patriarch Li Niwan; no. 20; trans. Wile 1992, 204–12).

Finally, the *Daozang xubian* contains two exegeses of \*Zhang Boduan's *Jindan sibai zi*, commented on by \*Peng Haogu and edited by Min Yanglin 閔陽林 (no. 21); and an explication of \*Liu Yiming's *Xiuzhen biannan* 修真辨難 (Discussions on the Cultivation of Perfection), commented on by Min Yide himself (no. 23).

Altogether, the *Daozang xubian* exhibits the intention of clarifying alchemical teachings in order to make them more accessible through techniques that suit individual dispositions and tastes. Accordingly, one notes various levels of alchemical practices and a particular classification of texts. This variety of techniques forms the richness of the *Daozang xubian* and shows the syncretism of the Longmen school beyond its officially accepted doctrine.

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Despeux 1990, 163–68; Esposito 1992; Esposito 1993; Esposito 2001, 221–24 (index)

※ Min Yide; *neidan*; Longmen; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*dao Zhang*

道長

“dignitary of the Dao”

The *dao Zhang* is an ordained Taoist priest (\**daoshi*) who is qualified to perform \**zhai* (Retreat) and \**jiao* (Offering) rituals as chief officiant. Having formally received the registers (\*LU), he is also known as “master of registers” (*lushi* 籙士). Originally, the registers were bestowed by the Celestial Master (\**tianshi*) on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). In

Taiwan, however, because of the distance from the Celestial Master headquarters, few priests received their registers directly, and ordination took the form of a ceremony in which authorization was obtained from the Jade Sovereign (\*Yuhuang). This changed in 1949, when \*Zhang Enpu, the sixty-third Celestial Master, left Mount Longhu and later settled in Taipei (Taiwan). Since then, those receiving the registers from the Celestial Master in person have increased. At the same time, there are others who become *dao Zhang* without following the established custom, which is one reason for the remarkable rise in the number of *dao Zhang* in recent times.

Although the *dao Zhang* in Taiwan traditionally followed their calling along hereditary lines, the majority of *dao Zhang* in present-day Taiwan have not inherited their positions. Their residences serve as ritual spaces in which they perform minor rites and ceremonies for clients, and daily morning services in front of the enshrined deities. The necessary scriptures, ritual texts, paintings, ritual implements, musical instruments, and vestments are also kept in their homes. When a client requests a major ritual, the *dao Zhang* calls upon his colleagues and musicians to form a troupe, and takes charge of its performance at the client's home or at a shrine. He functions then as the high priest (*gaogong* 高功), and as such must memorize the invocations that only he can chant, and the actions and meditations that only he can perform. Books called \**mijue* (“secret instructions”) contain the knowledge that he must acquire. Additionally, the *dao Zhang* must prepare the documents required during rituals, using the examples found in the handbooks called *wenjian* 文檢 (“writing models”) that they receive from their masters. Collections of Taoist terms with explanations, called *zaji* 雜記 (“miscellaneous notes”), are also circulated among the *dao Zhang*.

ASANO Haruji

▣ Asano Haruji 1994; Maruyama Hiroshi 1992; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 161–69, 200–201; Schipper 1977b

※ *daoshi*

*Dasheng miaolin jing*

大乘妙林經

## Scripture of the Wondrous Forest of the Great Vehicle

The *Dasheng miaolin jing* (CT 1398) consists of three *juan*. Its date is unclear, but it was probably compiled toward the end of the Six Dynasties. It begins with a description of Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see \*[sangling](#)) sitting in the Palace of Original Yang (Yuanyang gong 元陽宮) in the City of the Seven Treasures (Qibao cheng 七寶城) on top of a high mountain in the paradisiacal otherworld. His divine radiance illuminates all corners of the universe as various followers come forward and ask him questions.

The major topics touched upon in the text are reflected in the ten section headings: 1. Introduction (“Xu” 序); 2. Observation of the Marks of Perfection (“Guan zhenxiang” 觀真相); 3. Discerning True and False (“Bian xiezheng” 辯邪正); 4. Observation of the Self (“Guanshen” 觀身); 5. Beginners’ Questions (“Tongzi wen” 童子問); 6. Following in Accordance (“Suishun” 隨順); 7. The Host of Perfected Explain the Dharma (“Zhongzhen shuofa” 眾真說法); 8. Observation of the Nature of Dharmas (“Guan faxing” 觀法性); 9. Purity and Wisdom (“Jinghui” 淨慧); 10. Eulogium (“Zantan” 讚歎).

The text emphasizes the theory that the afflictions of *karma* (*kleśa*) are identical with enlightenment (*bodhi*, “awakening”). In structure and argumentation, it is similar to an apocryphal Buddhist scripture of approximately the same period, the *Jiujing dabei jing* 究竟大悲經 (Scripture of the Great Ultimate Compassion; T. 2880). In both worldview and phrasing, the influence of the Huayan 華嚴 school of Buddhism is clearly discernible.

*Livia KOHN*

📖 Kamata Shigeo 1966

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*de*

德

## virtue; power

The concept of *de* is central to the early Chinese religious conception of the relationship between human beings and Heaven (or nature, *tian* 天). In early texts, such as the *Daode jing* (lit., “Scripture of the Dao and Virtue”), the term refers to a characteristic of the sage that both results in good actions and confers authority. In the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace) the term continues to refer to an innate quality correlated with good actions, but also begins to be used to signify Heavens's conferral of life (*sheng* 生) as it is does in later imperial texts.

Arthur Waley's translation of the term as “power” in the context of the title of the *Daode jing* reflects the fact that the ruler's possession of *de* confers authority. This connection between *de* and political authority may be seen as far back as the Shang dynasty oracle bones, where the ruler's “shining” *de* (*xinde* 馨德) correlated with an ability to secure the Heavenly Mandate (*tianming* 天命). David Nivison explains that this property of a good Shang king is demonstrated by generosity and humility, and generates a debt of gratitude in others (1994b, 29–30). The power that *de* confers may be seen in the second chapter of the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects) of Confucius: “Carrying out governance by *de* is like the pole star staying fixed in place while all the other stars revolve around it.” The pole star analogy links the exercise of *de* to a stillness reminiscent of its link to *\*wuwei* (non-action) in early texts such as the *Daode jing*.

In those Warring States period texts later classified as belonging to the *\*DAOJIA* (Lineage of the Dao), *de* connotes a similar complex of morality and power, but it is most closely aligned with a return to intuitive actions and natural behavior. In the *Daode jing*, *de* is not the sole possession of the ruler, but rather, according to Philip J. Ivanhoe (1999, 249), achieved by “paring away the influences of socialization and intellectualization and ‘turning back’ to a simple, agrarian way of life.” In the *\*Zhuangzi*, *de* expresses a similar kind of “original power” that coincides with the text's assumption of an intuitive human morality. In the case of figures like the madman Jie Yu 接輿 and Hundun 渾沌 from *Zhuangzi* 7, virtue is a characteristic of the denizens of the world prior to its corruption by distinctions and the values based on them. *De* is complete when a person or an age has returned to its original nature, and in this sense it shows congruence with *tian* (Heaven). In *Zhuangzi* 21, when Confucius remarks that Laozi's *de* is the equal of Heaven and Earth,

Laozi explains that he achieved this by following his nature like water flows in a stream. The notion of *de* was also sometimes contrasted with the practices of “popular religion.” Wang Chong 王充 (27-ca. 100 CE), in his *Lunheng* 論衡 (Balanced Discussions), held that accumulating *de* was a superior pursuit compared with sacrifice and exorcism (see Forke 1907–11, 1: 532–37).

The pairing of *de* with the concept of *dao* first seen in Warring States texts becomes the primary context in which the former term appears in later Taoist texts. The relationship between the two, however, changes over time. Chen Guying finds three similar relationships between the two terms in the *Daode jing*: *de* as a projection of the formless Dao, as the individual characteristics of objects that formed from Dao, and as the manifestation of the Dao in the material world (1987, 152). In some chapters of the *Taiping jing*, *dao* and *de* form a triad with *ren* 仁 (benevolence) as ideal expressions of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity, respectively (e.g., Wang Ming 1960, 157). Because *de* connotes a unity with Heaven, to the extent that Heaven was providential in early medieval Taoism, being a *dejun* 德君 (virtuous lord) meant receiving blessings from Heaven. In other chapters of the *Taiping jing*, *dao* and *de* are paired with Yang and Yin in discussions about the way that Heaven sustains life among the myriad creatures through birth and nourishment, respectively (e.g., Wang Ming 1960, 218–19). This connection with life becomes central for \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735), who sees life as being the *de* of Heaven (Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 253). Zhuangzi's sense of *de* as an innate characteristic therefore reappears in the late imperial conception of *de* as a primal endowment less directly tied to morality, but one that it is similarly conferred by Heaven.

Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI

▣ Ames 1989; Chen E. M. 1973b; Emerson 1992; Ivanhoe 1999; Munro 1969, 99–110 and passim; Nivison 1987b; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 251–55

※ Dao

Deng Yougong

鄧有功



fl. late eleventh-early twelfth century

Deng Yougong was the editor of one of the two earliest comprehensive compilations of the methods of the \*Tianxin zhengfa tradition, *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法 (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart of the Highest Clarity; CT 566), and of the so-called “devil's code” (i.e., the religious code) of the tradition, *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü* 上清骨髓靈文鬼律 (Devil's Code of the Spinal Numinous Script of the Highest Clarity; CT 461), which originally was established by \*Rao Dongtian. He appears to have lived on Mount Huagai (Huagai shan 華蓋山) in central Jiangxi. He seems not to be identical with the man by the same name who lived 1210–79 and in the same area (see *Quan Song ci* 全宋詞, 4.2977). For one thing, it seems difficult to make the line of transmission through four masters stretch over a period of more than two hundred years, and furthermore none of the available information concerning the Deng Yougong of the thirteenth century affords any grounds for associating him with Taoism, let alone with the priesthood and the ritual traditions that emerged from Mount Huagai. It may be added that some of the place names occurring in Deng's prefaces appear to indicate that he lived during the period of the end of the Northern Song dynasty, rather than in the thirteenth century. Note also that the totality of the “devil's code” that he edited, *Gusui lingwen guilü*, is included also as *juan* 6 of the other early compilation of the methods of the Tianxin tradition, \**Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*, contributed to the Taoist Canon of emperor Song Huizong by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 in 1116. The information found in the preface to the “devil's code” by Deng Yougong, concerning his procedure in searching for and collating different versions of the text, together with a comparison of his version with the one included in the *Zongzhen biyao*, appears to indicate that the latter was derived from the text established by Deng Yougong, rather than the other way around. The inescapable conclusion thus would seem to be that an important part of Deng's activity occurred before the year 1116.

As for the date of the *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, it is worth noting that a text with this title is listed in the *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Monographs; completed 1161), though in this catalogue the book is said to consist of three *juan*, as opposed to the seven *juan* of the compilation by Deng Yougong transmitted in the Taoist Canon (van der Loon 1984, 75). It has been suggested that the three-*juan* work mentioned in the *Tongzhi* was another,

earlier compilation transmitted by Rao Dongtian himself (see Zhong Zhaopeng 1993, 33), but we have no evidence for the existence of such a work. In his preface to the current seven-*juan* version, Deng Yougong mentions having divided his work into two *juan*, a fact that would seem to indicate a certain fluidity in the *juan* divisions during the early transmission of the work. It also seems possible that, in fact, Deng Yougong's preface originally belonged to a version earlier than the current seven-*juan* edition of the *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, which certainly contains elements that must have been incorporated later than the first decades of the twelfth century—for instance, materials adopted from the \*Shenxiao tradition, which did not emerge until around 1117, and the description of a set of talismans that is said to be copied verbatim from the text edited by the thirtieth Celestial Master, \*Zhang Jixian (1092–1126; *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, 5.8a–9a and 3.9b–20a). The overall content of the *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* closely resembles that of the *Zongzhen biyao*, and together they constitute the main sources for the early forms of the ritual methods of the Tianxin tradition.

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Andersen 1991, 15–17, 81–96; Andersen 1996, 145–47; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 25; Drexler 1994, 24–25; Hymes 2002, 26–46 and 271–77; Qing Xitai 1999

※ *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*; *Tianxin zhengfa*

### *Dengzhen yinjue*

登真隱訣

Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Reality (*or*: to Perfection)

The *Dengzhen yinjue* (CT 421) was compiled by \*Tao Hongjing sometime between 493 and 514. Only three of the original twenty-four chapters are extant, while the preface is preserved in the *Huayang Tao yinju ji* 華陽陶隱居集 (Anthology of Tao, the Hermit of Flourishing Yang; CT 1050, 1.19a–21a). The extant portions consist of fragments from \*Shangqing revealed texts with notes added by Tao Hongjing.

Unlike the \**Zhengao* (Authentic Declarations), also compiled by Tao, the

*Dengzhen yinjue* is addressed to Shangqing adepts and provides guidance for their practices. The first chapter contains instructions on the practice of \*shouyi (guarding the One) or method of the Nine Palaces (\*jiugong) of the brain, with a commentary by Tao. This practice, a description of which was originally appended to \*Su Lin's biography, was later incorporated and developed in the \*Suling jing (Robinet 1984, 2: 292–93). The second chapter contains texts on minor recipes and apotropaic practices, also found in the *Zhengao* (j. 9, 10, 15) and the *Baoshen qiju jing* 寶神起居經 (Scripture on the Behavior for Treasuring the Spirit; CT 1319; Robinet 1984, 2: 359–62). The third chapter describes rites that \*Wei Huacun received from \*Zhang Daoling and Wang Bao 王褒 and that were also part of Wei Huacun's biography. They include a method for chanting the \*Huangting jing, a ritual for entering the meditation chamber (\*jingshi) transmitted by Zhang Daoling, rules for writing petitions to divinities, and a method for summoning celestial officers in order to heal illnesses and expel malevolent forces. These rites, originally part of a lost fourth-century hagiography of Wei Huacun (Robinet 1984, 2: 399–405), belong either to the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) or to local traditions earlier than Shangqing.

Quotations of lost passages of the *Dengzhen yinjue* in other works include Tao Hongjing's discussions on drugs, recipes, and other methods originally attached to Shangqing hagiographies, some of which are not extant elsewhere.

Isabelle ROBINET

■ Cedzich 1987; Ishii Masako 1980, 283–309; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 427–56; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 50–53 (list of texts cited); Robinet 1984, 2: 347–51; Seidel 1988

※ Tao Hongjing; Shangqing

*dianhua*

點化

“projection”

In Western alchemy, the term “projection” denotes the process by which a

small quantity of elixir confers its properties to any substance which is added to it. This notion corresponds to the Chinese term *dianhua*, where *hua* indicates “transmutation” and *dian* literally means “one dot,” hence “to transmute by means of a small quantity.” Several *\*waidan* texts mention this term and the corresponding process of transmutation, stating for instance that a small amount of elixir converts a larger amount of base substances into gold or silver. Early sources often describe this transmutation as evidence that the elixir has been achieved.

Later alchemists, associated with both *waidan* and *\*neidan*, expanded the notion of *dianhua* by taking *dian* to mean the “particle” of precosmic Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*) that circulates in the cosmos along the cycles of time. This particle is represented by the unbroken line (=) of the *\*Yijing*, and its cycles of ascent and descent are illustrated by the twelve “primary hexagrams” (*bigua* 辟卦; see *\*huohou*) which reproduce a complete time sequence (in particular, the twelve double hours of the day, and the twelve months of the year). Al-chemists mark the rhythm of their practice according to those cycles, using the twelve hexagrams to establish the pattern of the firing process in *waidan* (see *\*huohou*), and of the refinement of the primary components of the person in *neidan* (see *\*zhoutian*). This allows them to return the ingredients of the outer or inner elixir to their precosmic state. Once the elixir is obtained, the whole human being and the whole cosmos are transmuted.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Chen Guofu 1983, 192; Needham 1976, 100 and passim; Pregadio 1995

※ *yuanqi; neidan; waidan*

*ding*

定

concentration

The word *ding* means “to settle,” “to stabilize,” “firm,” “solid.” It is first used in a meditative context in translations of Buddhist texts, where it appears as one of the technical terms for *samādhi* or the full and intense concentration of

the mind on one object. In this sense, *ding* has been rendered as “intent contemplation” or “perfect absorption.” In Buddhism, it moreover commonly occurs in two combinations, *sanding* 散定 which indicates a “scattered” or general form of concentrative meditation; and *chanding* 禪定, including the term later used for the Chan school, which indicates a specific and highly abstract form of meditation, whereby the mind is fully concentrated on one object that either has form or, in the higher stages, is formless.

In Taoism, *ding* first occurs in the context of the ancient \*Lingbao scriptures, in a text known as *Zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* 智慧定志通微經 (Scripture for Penetrating the Subtle through Wisdom and Fixing the Will; CT 325). Here the compound *dingzhi* used in connection with *zhihui* or “wisdom” indicates the firming up (*ding*) of the practitioner's will or determination (*zhi*), his set intention to “penetrate the subtlety” (*tongwei*) of the Dao. Rather than a technical term for a meditative state, *ding* functions thus as a verb indicating the adept's firm commitment and signifies the equivalent of the bodhisattva vow in a Taoist context.

Later a more technical, meditative use of *ding* became common. The locus classicus for this usage is found in \*Sima Chengzhen's \**Zuowang lun* (Essay on Sitting in Oblivion), which has a section entitled “Taiding” 泰定 or “Intense Concentration” (12a–14a). This term denotes a stage of complete and utter absorption that comes right before the final attainment of the Dao. Like other terms in this text, the expression *taiding* is a mixture of Buddhist notions (*samādhi*) and ideas found in ancient Taoist scriptures, in this case the \**Zhuangzi* where the term appears in chapter 23 (see trans. Watson 1968, 254). In the *Zhuangzi*, however, *tai* is not an attribute of *ding*, but rather the two terms are equivalent and the expression *taiding* is best translated as “at peace and stabilized [in mind].”

Another relevant work is the \**Dingguan jing* (Scripture on Concentration and Observation), which is closely related to the *Zuowang lun*. Used in conjunction with \**guan* (“observation”), the word *ding* here indicates the general practice of concentration, an exercise of mental one-pointedness necessary before one can undertake the more complex activity of *guan*. The text recommends steadiness of faith and continuity of practice, which leads to freedom from desires and tranquillity of mind.

Livia KOHN

▣ Kohn 1987a, 35, 55, and 125–43; Robinet 1997b, 206–7

※ MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

### *Dingguan jing*

#### 定觀經

#### Scripture on Concentration and Observation

The *Dingguan jing* appears twice in the Taoist Canon (CT 400; YJQQ 17.6b–13b). This short but powerful text can be dated to the early eighth century, after \*Sun Simiao and before \*Sima Chengzhen. It consists of forty-nine stanzas of two or more lines, each having four or occasionally six characters. It presents a survey of the mental transition from an ordinary perspective—characterized by impurity, cravings, vexations, emotions, and desires—to a state of full concentration, peace, and tranquillity. Once full concentration (\**ding*) is attained, the mind will observe (\**guan*) all phenomena dispassionately and gain the necessary insight that will lead the practitioners to immortality.

The development of the mind is outlined in five phases, the immortalization of the body in seven stages. This outline repeats the pattern described first by Sun Simiao in his \**Cunshen lianqi ming* (Inscription on the Visualization of Spirit and Refinement of Pneuma). In addition, the text is noteworthy for its practical details on the various mental states the adept undergoes when passing through each developmental phase. Throughout, purity and complete abstention from intentional thought and action are emphasized.

The influential nature of the text is documented in its numerous variants in the Canon, where it appears: 1. as appendix to the \**Zuowang lun* (Essay on Sitting in Oblivion; CT 1036, 15b–18a), with two sections added; 2. summarized under the title *Guanmiao jing* 觀妙經 (Scripture of the Observation of Marvels; CT 326; Kohn 1987a, 126); 3. quoted at length in \*Du Guangting's *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義 (Extended Interpretation of the Emperor's Exegesis of the *Daode jing*; CT 725, 49.8a–b), dating from 901; 4. with additional commentary in the \**Daoshu* (Pivot of the Dao; CT 1017, 2.2b–3b); and in other works on meditation and \**neidan*.

▣ Kohn 1987a, 125–43 (trans.); Robinet 1997b, 205–6

※ *ding*; *guan*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*dinglu*

鼎爐

tripod and furnace

### 1. *Waidan*

The word *ding* normally refers to a tripod or cauldron (see [fig. 29](#)), but the alchemical apparatus known by this name may have different forms. In their function as reaction vessels, the *fu* 釜 (crucible), *shenshi* 神室 (divine chamber), *hezi* 合(盒)子 (closed vessel), and *gui* 匱 (case) are equivalent to the *ding*. Similarly, the *lu*, although generally rendered as “furnace,” has different shapes, and the *zao* 竈 (stove) can be its equivalent.

The reaction vessel has fire around it (when it is placed inside the heating apparatus), under it (when it is placed over the heating apparatus), or above it (when it is entirely covered by ashes inside the heating apparatus). It may contain an inner reaction-case in which the ingredients are placed. In a more complex model, a “water-vessel” containing water and a “fire-vessel” containing the ingredients can be assembled, the former above and the latter below or vice versa. The vessel must be hermetically closed and should not bear any openings or cracks.

The heating apparatus has fire within it and is often placed over a platform or “altar” (*tan* 壇). The openings on the wall sides allow air to circulate, while those on the top serve to settle the reaction vessel or to emit flame and smoke. One of the main functions of the heating apparatus is to control the intensity and duration of the heat.

In their various forms, the *ding* and the *lu* play a major role in establishing the cosmological import of the alchemical work. The *ding* is to the ingredients what the womb is to the embryo, and what primordial Chaos, or *\*hundun*, is to the cosmos. A reaction vessel shaped like an egg, in fact, is

referred to as *hundun*. When the reaction vessel is made of two joined parts, the upper and lower parts represent Heaven and Earth. Similarly, a *lu* can be made of three parts symbolizing for Heaven, Humanity, and Earth. The circle and square, respectively representing Heaven and Earth, constitute the basic shape of the *lu*, which has a round upper part over a square lower part, or an outer circular contour with inner squared walls. Cosmological emblems can be inscribed on the *ding* and the *lu*, and the figures related to them (i.e., their circumference, height, number of openings, etc.) often have cosmological significance.



Fig. 29. An alchemical tripod, surrounded by the names of the twenty-eight lunar lodges (\*xiu) and by the graphs for Heaven, Earth, Sun, and Moon. \*Yunji qiqian (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds; CT 1032), 72.10a–b.

KIM Daeyeol

■ Chen Guofu 1983, 39–79; Needham 1980, 11–21; Sivin 1980, 279–97

※ *waidan*

## 2. *Neidan*

In \**neidan*, the furnace and the tripod constitute one of the “three essentials” (*sanyao* 三要) of the alchemical work, along with the ingredients (*yao* 藥) and the firing process (\**huohou*). Tripod and furnace symbolize the Center, the place where the elixir is formed. From the point of view of Unity (\**yi*), they are a single thing and have names that allude to the Center, such as Yellow Dame (*huangpo* 黃婆). They also represent the Original One and together are a synonym of the One Opening of the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan yiqiao* 玄關一竅; see \*[xuanguan](#)), which is the inaugural moment



of the inner alchemical work. As the Center, tripod and furnace are also called Mercurial Tripod (*hong-ding* 汞鼎), Lead Tripod (*qianding* 鉛鼎), Golden Tripod (*jinding* 金鼎), and Spiritual Furnace (*shenlu* 神爐).

As a representation of space, tripod and furnace are also dual and frame the alchemical work: they are *qian* 乾 ☰ (pure Yang) or Heaven above and *kun* 坤 ☷ (pure Yin) or Earth below. They contain the ingredients of the elixir, and trigrams and hexagrams circulate between them as Yin and Yang do between Heaven and Earth. Each is indicated by Yin or Yang symbols: for instance, the *qian*-furnace is paired with the *kun*-tripod, or the Jade Tripod with the Golden Furnace, or the Yang Furnace with the Yin Tripod. The Furnace as a “supine moon” (*yanyue lu* 偃月爐) symbolizes the waxing moon, which is the ascending Yang; it stands for the hexagram *fu* 復 (Return, no. 24), or the Heart of Heaven (\**tianxin*), while the Cinnabar Tripod (*zhusha ding* 朱沙鼎) stands for Fire or the Original Spirit (*yuanshen* 元神).

The “Two-Eight Furnace” (*erba lu* 二八爐) alludes to the “two measures” of eight ounces each, which together form the pound of elixir, i.e., the two halves of the alchemical work. “External and internal Tripod” (*wainei ding* 外內鼎) designates the outer and inner Medicine, or in other words the transcendent precosmic \**xiantian* parcel that must be interiorized. At the final stage of the process, Furnace and Tripod respectively represent non-action (\**wuwei*) and Emptiness (*xu* 虛).

Being dual, *ding* and *lu* indicate different things according to the level at which the alchemical work is situated. At the lower level, they can be body and spirit, or body and viscera; at the median level they can be *qian* and *kun*, or *ding* can stand for *qian* and *kun* and *lu* for Yin and Yang; at the higher level, they can be Heaven and Earth, or the Great Void and the Real Void, or the Great Void and the Great Ultimate (\**taiji*). Some texts state that *lu* is the body and *ding* is the Dao. Or both can represent the body while the spirit (\**xin*) is the Divine Chamber (*shenshi* 神室). Sometimes, finally, *ding* is meant to be the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭) in the navel, and *lu* the Cavity of Pneuma (*qixue* 氣穴) between the kidneys.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Robinet 1995a, 92–95 and 152–53

※ *neidan*

*dong* and *jing*

動靜

movement and quiescence

In Chinese cosmology, both movement and quiescence originate from the Great Ultimate (*\*taiji*) or the Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*), where they exist in a latent state but are merged without distinction. Movement is Yang and is roughly synonymous with expansion, while quiescence is Yin or contraction. Movement and quiescence alternate; each one at its extreme turns into the other in a cyclical way. Each, moreover, is both the substance and the function (*\*ti* and *yong*) of the other.

In Taoism, movement and quiescence are equated with change and permanence: movement is perceived as birth or taking form out of formless emptiness. This vital movement is characterized by growth and decay, and is a movement in time rather than in space: the changing of place of the hexagrams or the celestial bodies metaphorically figures the changes in one's life or mind. Quiescence is the norm of the world; it is akin to non-interference (*\*wuwei*) and to feminine compliance that overcomes masculinity through quiescence. But it is not immobility, which does not pertain to our world and cannot be paired with movement.

On psychological and ethical grounds, the human inner nature (*xing* 性; see *\*xing* and *ming*) is perceived as naturally quiet; stimulated by things, it is set in motion and emotions (*qing* 情) arise; then the distinction between good and evil occurs, along with the danger of losing one's life energy (*\*qi*). If one moves and acts in a balanced way, responding in accord with circumstances, one's action is universally pervading (*tong* 通). In Taoism, the state of quiescence, where the mind is not moved by mental or affective stimuli, is closely connected with clarity and enlightenment, and with stability and correctness; the *\*Zhuangzi* compares it to still water or a brilliant mirror. *\*Wang Bi* says that quiescence is the “master” (*zhu* 主) of movement, but most Taoist authors opt for a balanced appreciation of movement and quiescence. The issue of whether the saint (*\*shengren*) has emotions is similar: some say that he has no emotions, others that he has emotions but accords with the circumstances without being trapped by them.

Movement and quiescence are equally good if they are anchored in the

Dao, their common source, or in *\*wuji* (Ultimateless, Infinite), the state prior to any distinction between movement or quiescence, and if they are linked and develop naturally in accord with the cosmic movement. The relation between quiescence and movement is the same as that between spirit (which must be quiescent) and body (which is related to movement). Thus there must be continuity and no gap between the state of quiescence and the arising of movement, which is represented by the transition from the hexagram *kun* 坤 ☷ (Earth, no. 2), pure quiescent Yin, to the hexagram *fu* 復 ☱ (Return, no. 24), the return of incipient Yang. To perceive this initial movement before it is visible is the art of longevity. Presence of mind and steadiness in quiescence lead to earnest attention, discernment, and efficiency in movement. This is why one should watch the arousing of the first thought in quiescent meditation, which is perceptiveness and not “vain emptiness” (*wankong* 頑空). This first thought is equated with the first stirring of life and the birth of the world generated by the Dao.

But alchemists do not limit their attention to the first movement. They aim at harmonizing movement (Fire) and quiescence (Water). They also carefully observe the gradual growth of movement, its decay and its reversal to quiescence in accord with cosmic rhythms: this is the alchemical fire phasing (*\*huohou*) that changes from Yin to Yang and then from Yang to Yin.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

※ *ti* and *yong*; *wu* and *you*

Dong Dening

董德寧

fl. 1788; *zi*: Jingyuan 靜遠 *hao*: Yuanzhen zi 元真子  
(Master of Original Perfection)

Dong Dening, a native of Guiji 會稽 (Zhejiang), was originally a Confucian scholar who later turned to Taoism. He deplored the habit of including elements of Buddhist doctrine in Taoist works while neglecting Confucianism. He also found the interpretations of important Taoist works such as the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* and the *\*Wuzhen pian* inadequate and

sometimes derogatory, as most Ming and Qing commentaries explicated these works from the point of view of *\*neidan* or of sexual practices. Accordingly, Dong's own commentaries attempt to recapture the erudition of the Chinese philosophers: he frequently quotes from the *\*Yijing* and the Confucian classics, and his model is the philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) whose works include a commentary to the *Cantong qi* (see under *\*Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi*).

Dong Dening's texts and exegetical works were written in the Jiyang lou 集陽樓 (Pavilion for Gathering Yang) on the Four Peaks Mountain (Sifeng shan 四峰山, Zhejiang) and were published there between 1788 and 1804. They appeared as part of a collection entitled *Daoguan zhenyuan* 道貫真源 (Pervading the True Sources of the Way), which also includes a selection of works by other authors that shows he was a late adept of the Southern Lineage (*\*Nanzong*) of *neidan*. Dong's own main exegetical works are the *Zhouyi cantong qi zhengyi* 周易參同契正義 (The Correct Meaning of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*) and the *Wuzhen pian zhengyi* 悟真篇正義 (The Correct Meaning of the *Wuzhen pian*), both completed in 1788.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

※ *neidan*

Dong Sijing

董思靖

fl. 1246–60

Dong Sijing, who came from Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian), was a Taoist master at the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Blessings) in Qingyuan 清源 (Fujian). He is the author of two important exegetical works. The first is the *Daode zhenjing jijie* 道德真經集解 (Collected Explications of the Authentic Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 705) in four *juan*. In this work, Dong quotes and discusses several commentaries to the *Daode jing*, including a few of which only fragments survived, and refers to practical applications of the text. Despite the title, however, this is not a mere compilation of passages from earlier commentaries but an interpretive study of the *Daode jing*.

Throughout his work, Dong expounds his own view of the central teaching of the *Daode jing*: non-action (\**wuwei*), spontaneity (\**ziran*), and emptiness of mind (*xuxin* 虛心). His thought combines the notions of Dao, \**qi* (pneuma), Yin and Yang, and *li* 理 (principle), revealing Neo-Confucian influences. In a foreword written in 1246, Dong draws up a list of earlier commentaries and provides valuable bibliographic information. The text ends with a colophon written between 1253 and 1259 by Xie Zhi 謝埴 and a postface dated 1257 by Huang Bichang 黃必昌.

Dong's second exegetical work is the *Ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing jieyi* 自然九天生神章經解義 (Explication of the Meaning of the Scripture in Stanzas on the Self-Generated Life-Giving Spirits of the Nine Heavens; CT 396), dating from ca. 1252 and consisting of a commentary to the \**Shengshen jing* in four *juan*. Dong collected and collated several earlier editions of the scripture, including one from Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) and another from Zhedong 浙東 (eastern Zhejiang), and added quotations from \*Shangqing sources about the central topic of the *Shengshen jing*, namely the generation and identification of the divinities dwelling within the human body. In a foreword, Dong emphasizes the attainment of personal union with the Dao through the teachings of the *Shengshen jing*. The colophon defines the ultimate purpose of the scripture as the cultivation of an Embryo of Sainthood (\**shengtai*) to successfully achieve “release from the corpse” (\**shijie*).

Grégoire ESPESSET

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 211–12

Dongfang Shuo

東方朔

ca. 160-ca. 93 BCE ; *zi*: Manqian 曼倩

In 138 BCE , Han Wudi (r. 141–87) called upon scholars throughout the empire to assist him in governing the state. Dongfang Shuo, a native of Pingyuan 平原 (Shandong), was recruited and soon became one of Wudi's favorites. An extravagant fellow, he chose to behave foolishly in the very

heart of society (he was nicknamed Guji 滑稽 or “Buffoon”), becoming the first self-proclaimed “recluse at court” (*chaoyin* 朝隱). He served as a Virtuous (*liang* 良) and a Superior Grand Master of the Palace (*taizhong dafu* 太中大夫), but eventually fell into disgrace. His tomb and a shrine dedicated to him are still extant in Yanci 厭次 (Shandong).

Accounts making Dongfang an “immortal banished [from Heaven]” (*zhexian* 謫仙) arose already during his lifetime, and in the Six Dynasties period he became the hero of many stories as Wudi's whimsical companion. The best known of these narratives is the *\*Han Wudi neizhuan* (Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han), which tells how Dongfang stole the Peaches of Immortality from the Queen Mother of the West (*\*Xiwang mu*) and traveled eastward to *\*Penglai* and the other isles of the blessed. Seen as the embodiment of the planet Sui 歲 (Jupiter) or Taibai 太白 (Venus), he was credited with a miraculous birth, supernatural powers, and a number of different successive identities including Laozi himself.

The *\*Shizhou ji* (Record of the Ten Continents) reports Dongfang Shuo's conversations with Wudi on mythical geography. Several other writings, in prose as well as in poetry, are ascribed to him, including the *Feiyou xiansheng lun* 非有先生論 (An Essay by Elder Nobody), the *Da kenan* 答客難 (Replies to a Guest's Objections), the *Shenyi jing* 神異經 (Scripture on Divine Marvels; see Company 1996, 43–45), and the *Qijian* 七諫 (Seven Admonishments). He is also said to have assisted Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145?–86? BCE) in writing his *Shiji* (Records of the Historian).

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

■ Company 1996, 144–46, 318–21; Giles L. 1948, 47–51; Kaltenmark 1953, 137–38; Kohn 1993b, 335; Schipper 1965, 60–61; Vervoorn 1990, 203–15

※ *Xiwang mu*; *Shizhou ji*; HAGIOGRAPHY

### *Dongming ji*

洞冥記

Records of Penetration into the Mysteries

The full title of the *Dongming ji*, as found in the bibliographic treatise of the *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang) and elsewhere, is *Han Wudi bieguo dongming ji* 漢武帝別國洞冥記 (Records of the Han Emperor Wu's Penetration into the Mysteries of Separate Realms). Its authorship is traditionally ascribed to Guo Xian 郭憲, a *\*fangshi* in the time of Han Guangwu (r. 25–57). However, it contains imagery derived from *\*Shangqing* sources like the *\*Zhengao* and is first cited in early-seventh-century writings, so a sixth century origin is likely. The text is not found in the present Taoist Canon, but was collected into at least one of the Song dynasty Canons (*\*Daozang quejing mulu*; 1.4a). It is partially preserved in the Song anthology *Xu tanzhu* 續談助 (Sequel to an Aid to Conversation; twelfth century) and in several collectanea of the late Ming and Qing periods. It is now usually classified as *zhiguai* 志怪 fiction (“records of the strange”; Li Jianguo 1984, 159–67).

The *Dongming ji* describes Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) constantly engaging in ritual activities that are answered by the appearance of envoys and spirits bringing rare objects from distant lands. These objects are then either used for more ritual activity or casually discarded. Wudi's ritual activity subtly parallels events occurring far away, thus showing how he has “penetrated the mysteries of separate realms.” He also frequently asks his advisor *\*Dongfang Shuo* to describe distant lands. These descriptions, which roughly take up one-third of the surviving text, contain parallels with the imperial palace through the Yin-Yang and *\*wuxing* correlative cosmology. The *Dongming ji* may therefore be read as an attempt to illustrate how ritual works.

Thomas E. SMITH

▣ Company 1996, 95–96, 144–46, and 318–21; Eichhorn 1985; Li Jianguo 1984, 159–67; Smith Th. E. 1992, 274–334 and 588–652 (trans.); Wang Guoliang 1989

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE LITERATURE

*dongtian*

洞天

Grotto-Heavens

See \**dongtian* and *fudi* 洞天·福地.

*dongtian* and *fudi*

洞天·福地

Grotto-Heavens and Blissful Lands

The Grotto-Heavens and the Blissful Lands (see tables 4, 5, and 6) are worlds believed to exist hidden within famous mountains and beautiful places. They are earthly paradises that do not suffer from floods, wars, epidemics, illnesses, old age or death. Such imaginary places are usually known by the single compound, *dongtian fudi*. However, the two words originally referred to different things, *fudi* broadly meaning “paradise” and *dongtian* denoting an underground utopia.

One of the earliest descriptions of the Blissful Lands is found in the \**Baopu zi*. The major mountains, says \*Ge Hong, “have gods of their own, and sometimes earthly transcendents (*dixian* 地仙) are to be found there too. Numinous mushrooms (\**zhi*) and grasses grow there. There you can not only compound the medicines, but also escape war and catastrophe” (see Ware 1966, 94). Sun Chuo 孫綽 (314–71), a younger contemporary of Ge Hong, used the expression “blissful garden” (*futing* 福庭) in his *You Tiantai shan fu* 遊天臺山賦 (Rhapsody on Wandering on Mount Tiantai; trans. Knechtges 1982–96, 2: 243–53). The term *fudi* first appears in *j.* 11 of \*Tao Hongjing's (456–536) \**Zhengao*, in which Jinling 金陵 (i.e., the \*Maoshan area of Jiangsu) is described as a Blissful Land where neither soldiers nor floods can reach, and which cannot be attacked by calamity or disease.

Table 4

GROTTO-HEAVEN	MOUNTAIN	PROVINCE
1 Xiaoyou qingxu 小有清虛	*Wangwu shan 王屋山	Henan
2 Dayou kongming 大有空明	Weiyu shan 委羽山	Zhejiang
3 Taixuan zongzhen 太玄惣真	Xicheng shan 西城山	Shaanxi
4 Sanyuan jizhen 三元極真	Xixuan shan 西玄山	Shaanxi
5 Baoxian jiushi 寶仙九室	*Qingcheng shan 青城山	Sichuan
6 Shangqing yuping 上清玉平	Chicheng shan (*Tiantai shan) 赤城山 (天臺山)	Zhejiang



7	Zhuming huizhen 朱明輝真	*Luofu shan 羅浮山	Guangdong
8	Jintan huayang 金壇華陽	Gouqu shan (*Maoshan) 句曲山 (茅山)	Jiangsu
9	Youshen youxu 尤神幽虛	Linwu shan (Baoshan) 林屋山 (包山)	Jiangsu
10	Chengde yinxuan 成德隱玄	Guancang shan 括蒼山	Zhejiang

The ten major Grotto-Heavens (*da dongtian* 大洞天). Source: *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖 (Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the [Grotto-]Heavens and the [Blissful] Lands), in YJQQ 27. For a table based on \*Du Guangting's *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 (Records of Grotto-Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains; CT 599), see Verellen 1995, 289.

The same chapter of the *Zhengao* also contains a detailed description of the Grotto-Heavens. For instance, Tao Hongjing describes the Grotto-Heaven extending below Mount Mao (Maoshan) as follows: “Grotto-Heavens exist in thirty-six places within the ground of the macrocosm. The eighth is the cavern of Mount Gouqu (Gouqu shan 句曲山, i.e., Mount Mao), 150 *li* in circumference, which is called the Jintan Huayang 金壇華陽 heaven.” Since the *Zhengao* is partly based on a work compiled in the second half of the fourth century, it is likely that the theory of the Grotto-Heavens was advanced around that time by \*Shangqing followers. This date is confirmed by other sources, including Xie Lingyun's 謝靈運 (385–433; IC 428–30) *Luofu shan fu* 羅浮山賦 (Rhapsody on the Luofu Mountains) which contains the following verse:

In all there are thirty-six caverns:  
This one at the Luofu Mountains is the seventh.  
Light shines even in the dark night,  
The Sun illuminates the depths of the world.  
Therefore it is called the Yang palace of Vermilion Brightness,  
The Yin abode of Shining Truth.

Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (Tao Qian 陶潛, 365–427; IC 766–69), a contemporary of Xie Lingyun, was certainly influenced by the idea of the Grotto-Heavens

Table 5

	GROTTO-HEAVEN	MOUNTAIN	PROVINCE
1	Huolin dongtian 霍林洞天	Huotong shan 霍桐山	Fujian

2	Pengxuan dongtian 蓬玄洞天	*Taishan 泰山	Shandong
3	Zhuling dongtian 朱陵洞天	*Hengshan 衡山	Hunan
4	Zongxian dongtian 惣仙洞天	*Huashan 華山	Shaanxi
5	Zongxuan dongtian 惣玄洞天	Changshan (*Hengshan) 常山 (恆山)	Shanxi
6	Sima dongtian 司馬洞天	*Songshan 嵩山	Henan
7	Xuling dongtian 虛陵洞天	*Emei shan 峨眉山	Sichuan
8	Dongling zhentian 洞靈真天	*Lushan 廬山	Jiangxi
9	Danshan chishui tian 丹山赤水天	Siming shan 四明山	Zhejiang
10	Jixuan dayuan tian 極玄大元天	Guiji shan 會稽山	Zhejiang
11	Xuande dongtian 玄德洞天	Taibai shan 太白山	Shaanxi
12	Tianzhu baoji xuantian 天柱寶極玄天	*Xishan 西山	Jiangxi
13	Haosheng xuanshang tian 好生玄上天	Xiaowei shan 小瀉山	Hunan
14	Tianzhu sixuan tian 天柱司玄天	Qianshan 灑山	Anhui
15	Guixuan sizhen tian 貴玄司真天	Guigu shan 鬼谷山	Jiangxi
16	Zhensheng huaxuan tian 真昇化玄天	*Wuyi shan 武夷山	Fujian
17	Taixuan fale tian 太玄法樂天	Yusi shan 玉笥山	Jiangxi
18	Rongcheng dayu tian 容成大玉天	Huagai shan 華蓋山	Jiangxi
19	Changyao baoguang tian 長耀寶光天	Gaizhu shan 蓋竹山	Zhejiang
20	Baoxuan dongtian 寶玄洞天	Duqiao shan 都嶠山	Guangxi
21	Xiule changzhen tian 秀樂長真天	Baishi shan 白石山	Guangxi
22	Yuque baogui tian 玉闕寶圭天	Goulou shan 峒嶺山	Guangxi
23	Chaozhen taixu tian 朝真太虛天	Jiuyi shan 九疑山	Hunan
24	Dongyang yinguan tian 洞陽隱觀天	Dongyang shan 洞陽山	Hunan
25	Xuanzhen taiyuan tian 玄真太元天	Mufu shan 幕阜山	Hunan
26	Dayou huamiao tian 大酉華妙天	Dayou shan 大酉山	Hunan
27	Jinting chongmiao tian 金庭崇妙天	Jinting shan 金庭山	Zhejiang
28	Danxia tian 丹霞天	Magu shan 麻姑山	Jiangxi
29	Xiandu qixian tian 仙都祈仙天	Xiandu shan 仙都山	Zhejiang
30	Qingtian dahe tian 青田大鶴天	Qingtian shan 青田山	Zhejiang
31	Zhuri taisheng tian 朱日太生天	Zhongshan 鍾山	Jiangxi
32	Liangchang fangming dongtian 良常放命洞天	Liangchang shan 良常山	Jiangsu
33	Zixuan dongzhao tian 紫玄洞照天	Zigai shan 紫蓋山	Hubei
34	Tiangai dixuan tian 天蓋滌玄天	Tianmu shan 天目山	Zhejiang
35	Baima xuanguang tian 白馬玄光天	Taoyuan shan 桃源山	Hunan
36	Jinhua dongxuan tian 金華洞元天	Jinhua shan 金華山	Zhejiang

The thirty-six minor Grotto-Heavens (*xiao dongtian* 小洞天). Source: *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖 (Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the [Grotto-]Heavens and the [Blissful] Lands), in YJQQ 27. For a table based on \*Du

Guangting's *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記  
(Records of Grotto-Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous  
Mountains;

CT 599), see Verellen 1995, 289–90.

Table 6

	BLESSED LAND	PROVINCE	BLESSED LAND	PROVINCE
1	Difei shan 地肺山	Jiangsu	37 Shifeng shan 始豐山	Jiangxi
2	Gaizhu shan 蓋竹山	Zhejiang	38 Xiaoyao shan 逍遙山	Jiangxi
3	Xiangai shan 仙蓋山	Zhejiang	39 Dongbai yuan 東白源	Jiangxi
4	Dongxian yuan 東仙源	Zhejiang	40 Bochi shan 鉢池山	Jiangsu
5	Xixian yuan 西仙源	Zhejiang	41 Lunshan 論山	Jiangsu
6	Nantian shan 南田山	Zhejiang	42 Maogong tan 毛公壇	Jiangsu
7	Yuliu shan 玉溜山		43 Jilong shan 雞籠山	Anhui
8	Qingyu shan 清嶼山		44 Tongbo shan 桐柏山	Zhejiang
9	Dushui dong 郁木洞	Jiangxi	45 Pingdu shan 平都山	Sichuan
10	Danxia dong 丹霞洞	Jiangxi	46 Lüluo shan 綠蘿山	Hunan
11	Junshan 君山	Hunan	47 Huxi shan 虎溪山	Jiangxi
12	Daruo yan 大若巖	Zhejiang	48 Zhanglong shan 彰龍山	Hunan
13	Jiaoyuan 焦源	Fujian	49 Baofu shan 抱福山	Guangdong
14	Lingxu 靈墟	Zhejiang	50 Damian shan 大面山	Sichuan
15	Wozhou 沃州	Zhejiang	51 Yuanchen shan 元晨山	Jiangxi
16	Tianmu ling 天姥嶺	Zhejiang	52 Mati shan 馬蹄山	Jiangxi
17	Ruoye xi 若耶溪	Zhejiang	53 Deshan 德山	Hunan
18	Jinting shan 金庭山	Zhejiang	54 Gaoxi lansui shan 高溪藍水山	Shaanxi
19	Qingyuan 清遠山	Guangdong	55 Lanshui shan 藍水	Shaanxi
20	Anshan 安山	Guangdong	56 Yufeng shan 玉峰山	Shaanxi
21	Maling shan 馬嶺山	Hunan	57 Tianzhu shan 天柱山	Zhejiang
22	Eyang shan 鵝羊山	Hunan	58 Shanggu shan 商谷山	Shaanxi
23	Dongzhen xu 洞真墟	Hunan	59 Zhanggong dong 張公洞	Jiangsu
24	Qingyu tan 青玉壇	Hunan	60 Sima Hui shan 司馬悔山	Zhejiang
25	Guangtian tan 光天壇	Hunan	61 Changzai shan 長在山	Shandong
26	Dongling yuan 洞靈源	Hunan	62 Zhongtiao shan 中條山	Shanxi
27	Donggong shan 洞宮山	Fujian	63 Jiaohu yucheng dong 茭湖魚澄洞	Yunnan
28	Taoshan 陶山	Zhejiang	64 Mianzhu shan 綿竹山	Sichuan
29	Sanhuang jing 三皇井	Zhejiang	65 Lushui 瀘水	Hubei (?)
30	Lankeshan 爛柯山	Zhejiang	66 Ganshan 甘山	Guizhou
31	Lexi 勒溪	Fujian	67 Guishan 瑰山	Sichuan
32	*Longhu shan 龍虎山	Jiangxi	68 Jincheng shan 金城山	Anhui(?)
33	Lingshan 靈山	Jiangxi	69 Yunshan 雲山	Hunan

34	Quanyuan 泉源	Guangdong	70 Beimang shan 北邙山	Henan
35	Jinjing shan 金精山	Jiangxi	71 Lushan 廬山	Fujian
36	*Gezao shan 閤皂山	Jiangxi	72 Donghai shan 東海山	Jiangsu

The seventy-two Blissful Lands (*fudi* 福地). Source: *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖 (Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the [Grotto-]Heavens and the [Blissful] Lands), in YJQQ 27. The Blissful

Lands nos. 7 and 8 are located in Penglai and Fusang, respectively (see \*Penglai).

when he wrote his *Taohua yuan ji* 桃花源記 (Record of the Peach Blossom Font; Bokenkamp 1986d).

In the Tang period, the theories of the Grotto-Heavens and the Blissful Lands were combined and systematized. In his *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖 (Chart of the Palaces and Bureaus of the [Grotto-]Heavens and the [Blissful] Lands; YJQQ 27), \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735) consolidated the Grotto-Heavens and Blissful Lands scattered around the country into ten major Grotto-Heavens, thirty-six minor Grotto-Heavens, and seventy-two Blissful Lands, and recorded details of their sizes, names, locations, and ruling divinities.

Spatially, the Grotto-Heavens can be said to be an inversion of the outer world, somehow similar to Klein's bottle. There the Sun and Moon shine just as they do in the outer world, trees and grasses grow, mountains and rivers exist, and birds fly through the sky. The source of light, however, is other than the Sun and Moon of our world: “Inside there is brightness in the dark and radiance during the night. The root of the essence of the Sun (*rijing zhi gen* 日精之根) illuminates the Grotto-Heaven, and its light matches the Sun and Moon of the outer world” (*Zhengao*, 11.6a). Another feature of the grottoes is that, although each one is independent of the others, they are all linked in a network by underground passages called *dimai* 地脈 (“earth channels”). For instance, the Grotto-Heaven of Mount Mao connects eastward to the Linwu grotto (Linwu dong 林屋洞) under Mount Dongting (Dongting shan 洞庭山) in Lake Taihu 太湖 (Jiangsu), northward to the grotto of Mount Tai (\*Taishan, Shandong), westward to the grotto of Mount Emei (\*Emei shan, Sichuan), and southward to the grotto of the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan, Guangdong).

Each Grotto-Heaven is ruled by a Real Man (\**zhenren*) sent from Heaven, and is inhabited by middle-rank immortals called “earthly immortals” (*dixian*

地仙). This status, however, is not fixed and the way is open for them to ascend to Heaven based on the judgement of the celestial Highest Emperor (Shangdi 上帝). Of course not just anyone can enter the grottoes. It is necessary for an aspirant first to master techniques such as visualization and breathing in order to train himself for immortality. It is also said that the gate to the Grotto-Heavens is open to those who accumulate three hundred virtuous actions and perform purification practices for three months.

The lore of the Grotto-Heavens and the Blissful Lands peaked in the Six Dynasties period. After that, they gradually lost their power of attraction in popular belief. By the early modern period, famous caverns had become synonymous with literary outings, and only artificial caves made within decorative mountain landscapes in urban gardens preserved their memory.

*MIURA Kunio*

▣ Bokenkamp 1986d; Chavannes 1919, 133–68; Miura Kunio 1983; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 453–73; Schafer 1977a, 248–54; Soymié 1956, 88–96; Stein R. A. 1990, 55–58; Verellen 1995

※ TAOIST SACRED SITES

### *Dongxian zhuan*

#### 洞仙傳

#### Biographies of Cavern Immortals

The *Dongxian zhuan* is an anonymous collection of biographies of immortals, now found only in fragmentary form as chapters 110 and 111 of the *\*Yunji qiqian*. Since it is listed in the bibliographical chapter of the *Suishu* (History of the Sui) we can surmise that it was composed in the Six Dynasties period. That bibliography gives no author but subsequent listings in the bibliographical chapters of the Tang histories, and other catalogues, name the author as Jiansu zi 見素子, Master Who Manifests Plainness (the phrase *jiansu* comes from *Daode jing* 19). Unfortunately, the only identified Jiansu zi was active in the 850s so lived too late to be the author of *Dongxian zhuan*. The same catalogues generally relate that the *Dongxian zhuan* had ten chapters, so the *Yunji qiqian* fragments probably represent only a small

fraction of the original. Yan Yiping includes an annotated version of the *Dongxian zhuan* fragments in vol. 1 of his *Daojiao yanjiu ziliao* (Yan Yiping 1974).

Among the seventy-seven figures who receive notices are \*Xu Fu, \*Wangzi Qiao, \*Gan Ji, Guo Pu 郭璞, and \*Kou Qianzhi. The last period that figures appear to come from is the Liang or Chen dynasties. The entries are not arranged in chronological order in the *Yunji qiqian* though whether this reflects the arrangement in the original is, of course, unknown. Many of the fragments are only a few lines long but some run for several hundred characters.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Company 1996, 92–93; Li Fengmao 1986, 187–224

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

## Dongxiao gong

### 洞霄宮

#### Palace of the Cavernous Empyreans (Mount Dadi)

This Taoist religious center is the main sacred focus of Mount Dadi (Dadi shan 大滌山) southwest of Hangzhou (Zhejiang), and the thirty-fourth minor Grotto-Heaven (see \*[dongtian](#) and *fudi*). While Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) reputedly recognized its holiness and ordered a shrine built near the grotto in 108 BCE, it first became a Taoist center with the building of the Abbey of the Pillar of Heaven (Tianzhu guan 天柱觀) in 683, and \*Wu Yun (?–778) joined other devout Tang literati in visiting it. In 1012, Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) renamed a bigger temple complex the Palace of the Cavernous Empyreans, which remained a site for Taoist rites done for the Song state until destroyed in 1121 in the rebellion of Fang La 方臘.

The reestablished Southern Song court prompted a rebuilding of the center, which was completed by 1155. The center became a key Taoist sanctuary south of the Yangzi until the Song ended, despite several fires over the next century and a half. Many retired high officials got sinecures at this

temple, and besides retaining control over the lands of Dadi shan, it also had control over lands on the Nine-Chain Hills (Jiusuo shan 九鎖山), and the Hills of the Pillar of Heaven (Tianzhu shan 天柱山). Writings survive from Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210; SB 691–704) and \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) among many others. After 1284, further extensive repairs and rebuilding efforts occurred at the site and included shrines to local heroes such as \*Ge Xuan (trad. 164–244) as well as local spirits such as the Dragon King (Longwang 龍王) and the widely renowned \*Zhang Daoling, Xu Mai 許邁 (300–348; see under \*Yang Xi), and \*Ye Fashan (631–720).

The three-juan Ming text, *Dadi dongtian ji* 大滌洞天記 (Records of the Dadi Grotto-Heaven; CT 782), stemmed from the efforts of the Yuan scholar and resident Deng Mu 鄧牧 (1247–1306), but it abbreviates the *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志 (Illustrated Monograph of [the Palace of] the Cavernous Empyreans; 6 juan) and the poetic work of Meng Zongbao 孟宗寶 (fl. 1302), the *Dongxiao shiji* 洞霄詩集 (Poetical Anthology of [the Palace of] the Cavernous Empyreans). All were done under the guidance of the Dongxiao gong abbot, Shen Duofu 沈多福 (fl. 1290–1306), who wanted the site's sacred history to survive what they saw as the disaster of Mongol rule. Meng finished Deng's work after his death and both became part of the *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* 知不足叢書 (the gazetteer in collection 16, 1792, and the anthology in collection 11, 1786). The Qing scholar Zhang Ji'an 張吉安 later compiled a historical account of the temple in the *Yuhang xianzhi* 餘杭縣志 (Monograph of the Yuhang District; 16.1a–26b).

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 117–118; Fu Lo-shu 1965, 36–38; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 245–47

※ TEMPLES AND SHRINES

*Dongyuan shenzhou jing*

洞淵神咒經

Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss

The *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* is the main scripture of Taoist medieval

apocalyptic eschatology. Spoken by the Dao, it presents itself as a revealed book. It was conferred, no doubt through mediumism, to a worthy recipient whose mission was to transmit it in order to save humanity from the impending end of the world. The confused and extremely repetitive style of the text confirms its oral, mediumistic origins. For that matter, even the book's title is not definitively stated: the text calls itself “Scripture of the Immeasurable” (*Wuliang jing* 無量經), “Scripture of the Divine Spells of Samādhi” (*Sanmei shenzhou jing* 三昧神咒經), “Scripture of Great Exorcism” (*Daqu jing* 大驅經), and other similar names.

Indeed, the *Shenzhou jing* claims to be the Book of books, the absolute scripture. It is a talismanic, prophylactic, and exorcistic text, a liturgical manual, a receptacle containing myriads of deities, a demonological repertory, a contract for initiates, and a passport for salvation. While the text offers no evidence of the identity of its recipient, it includes elements indicating that it was produced by a sect active in Jiangnan 江南 at the beginning of the fifth century. The text shares its basic theology, ideology, and liturgy with those of the \*Tianshi dao. Although its millenarian ideas are rooted in ancient autochthonous beliefs, the emergence of the scripture can be explained partly as a reaction to the assimilation of Buddhism.

*Formation of the text.* The oldest versions of the *Shenzhou jing* are found among the \*Dunhuang manuscripts and derive from a text in ten *juan*. Two manuscripts (P. 3233 and P. 2444), corresponding to *j.* 1 and 7 of the received version in the Taoist Canon (CT 335), contain colophons dated 664 stating that the work was copied at the order of Tang Gaozong (r. 649–83) for the crown prince Li Hong 李弘 (652–75, son of Empress Wu) in a metropolitan abbey, the Lingying guan 靈應觀 (Abbey of Numinous Response). The replacements of tabooed characters in the two manuscripts confirm this date. The *Shenzhou jing* was known as a ten-*juan* scripture during the sixth century and maintained this format until the end of the Tang. At the beginning of the Five Dynasties, \*Du Guangting edited it in an expanded form in twenty *juan*. This is the version found in the Taoist Canon; it includes the ten *juan* of the Dunhuang versions (with some variants), plus eight *juan* dating from the Tang, and two final *juan* contemporary with the scripture's original ten-*juan* nucleus. Historical references found in the first ten *juan* allow us to date the original *Shenzhou jing* to the beginning of the fifth century. These references include allusions to the founder of the Liu



Song dynasty, Liu Yu 劉裕 (356–422), and terms typical of the Six Dynasties such as *suolu* 索虜, by which the Southerners designated the non-Chinese peoples of the north.

Du Guangting's preface to the text in the Taoist Canon refers to the wood-block print of the version he had edited. The appellation Chuanzhen tianshi 傳真天師 (Celestial Master Who Transmits Truth), which appears in the list of Du's titles, show that his edition dates from the first decades of the tenth century (after 923). Du attributes the revelation of the *Shenzhou jing* to a certain Wang Zuan 王纂, a Taoist of Mount Maji (Maji shan 馬迹山, part of the \*Maoshan range in Jiangsu) at the end of the Western Jin (before 316). Although this attribution cannot be accepted with regard to the scripture's date, it probably has a certain foundation since the masters of the *Shenzhou jing* tradition may have claimed Wang Zuan as their spiritual ancestor. By the beginning of the Tang period, this religious order had been institutionalized, and the Masters of the *Shenzhou jing* (*Shenzhou shi* 神咒師), also called Masters of the Law of the Great Religion of Samādhi and the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss (*Dongyuan shenzhou dazong sanmei fashi* 洞淵神咒大宗三昧法師), had become part of the official ranks of the Taoist clergy. Certainly Du Guangting had received the original *Shenzhou jing* from this lineage, and included in his edition related liturgical texts containing penitential rituals and rituals for requesting rain. These rituals, some of which are also found as independent texts in the Taoist Canon, were likely transmitted by the Masters of the *Shenzhou jing*.

*Apocalyptic predictions.* The prophetic message delivered by the *Shenzhou jing* contains vivid descriptions of the apocalyptic drama. Most of its predictions sound familiar: the end of the world is imminent, and corresponds to the completion of a cosmic era, a great *kalpa* (\**jie*). The final deluge will be preceded by horrible calamities: wars, barbarian invasions, crimes, social, political and familial dissolution, meteorological disorders, trials, imprisonments and official punishments, oppression of the people, conflagrations, floods, bad harvests, famines, curses, and above all an extraordinary propagation of diseases. All these troubles are produced by gigantic armies of demons (\**gui* and *mowang* 魔王), souls of the dead, and are a consequence of humankind's defilement and evil. Instead of conforming to the true religion—the religion of the Three Caverns, \*sandong, preached by the *Shenzhou jing*—people perpetrate sins and addict themselves to

heterodox cults (*\*yinsi*) by immolating domestic animals to feed those demons with blood. The deluge will happen in a *jiashen* 甲申 year (the twenty-first of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#)) to purify the universe from all these evil creatures.

These apocalyptic predictions are repeated again and again through the first ten original chapters of the work, and leave little room for an expression of hope. Salvation, however, is promised to all the faithful who have been converted to the right Way and show devotion to it by respecting liturgical prescriptions and practicing proselytism. This elect group (*\*zhongmin*, the “seed-people”) will constitute the new humanity of immortals. They will enjoy the paradisiacal and egalitarian kingdom of Great Peace (*\*taiping*) ruled by the Perfected Lord \*Li Hong (the divinized Laozi) who will appear in the *renchen* 壬辰 year (the twenty-ninth of the sexagesimal cycle), eight years after the end of the world.

*Christine MOLLIER*

▣ Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1996, 39–44; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 221–28; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 367–81; Mollier 1990; Mollier 1991; Ōfuchi Ninji 1964, 435–547; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 251–95 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 519–63 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Ozaki Masaharu 1983a; Sivin 1999b (part. trans.); Strickmann 2002, 89–103

※ APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

Dongyue dadi

東嶽大帝

Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak

From ancient rites to modern cults, no deity has accompanied the evolution of Chinese religion so closely as the god of Mount Tai (*\*Taishan*, Shandong); none, moreover, was so thoroughly integrated by each of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism). Mount Tai or the Eastern Peak (see under *\*wuyue*) is arguably the most revered mountain in China. Emperors sought supreme legitimacy by performing the *feng* 封 ritual on its summit, and tried to impose an imperial monopoly on the cult of the mountain god.



Fig. 30. The Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak  
(Dongyue dadi).  
Dongyue miao 東嶽廟 (Shrine of the Eastern Peak),  
Beijing.

Yet, the mountain's religious significance for Chinese society at large went far beyond the state liturgy. Under the Han, and probably earlier, it was believed that the souls of the dead rested under Mount Tai, and sick people came to the mountain to beg for a longer life span. Therefore, from antiquity onward, the cult of the god of the Eastern Peak has had two facets, related to each other: one is ethereal, imperial, and considers the god as a giver of immortality, while the other takes a somber view of the god as the master of the dead.

That the God of the Eastern Peak meant different things to different people is shown by the large number of divine beings credited with this function. The \**Zhuangzi*, the “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書) of the Han (see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA), the mirabilia of the Six Dynasties, Taoist works of various periods, and many catalogues of popular gods provided different identities. The god began to have an institutionalized cult of his own, however, only around the tenth century. Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) acknowledged this in 1011 when he granted him the title of Benevolent and Holy Emperor of the Eastern Peak, Equal to Heaven (Dongyue tianqi rensheng di 東嶽天齊仁聖帝). This was neither the first canonization—which was bestowed under the Tang—nor the last, but the god's accession to the status of *di* (emperor) was momentous. Traditionally, he had been considered the “grandson of Heaven” (*tiansun* 天孫) and therefore ranked below the emperor (the “son of Heaven,” *tianzi* 天子). The new canonization drew criticism from Confucians but did full justice to the real role of the god in popular religion. Buddhists had long made him one of the Ten Kings of hell (Teiser 1993, 136), and later Taoist liturgy placed him at the top of the whole otherworld: sinners and sick people were advised to hold contrition rituals—like the fourteenth-century *Dongyue dasheng baochan* 東嶽大生寶懺 (Precious Penances for the Greatly Life-Giving [Emperor] of the Eastern Peak; CT 541)—dedicated to the god and mentioning his numerous subordinates.

Although some shrines of the Eastern Peak were managed by Buddhist monks, most housed Taoist priests. From the Song onward, these shrines, known as \*Dongyue miao, began to appear throughout China: any district had at least one. The god, as master of life and death, was the most important icon in the main hall, and his demeanor is usually described in inscriptions as a fearful vision. He was accompanied by his hellish bureaucracy, most notably the seventy-two (sometimes seventy-four, seventy-five, or seventy-six) officers (*si* 司), each managing a specific aspect of human life and behavior. The small shrines of these less distant, if not always less fearful, deities were lined up along the main courtyard. From the mid-Ming onward, another cult, addressed to Dongyue dadi's daughter, \*Bixia yuanjun (Original Princess of the Jasper Mist), suddenly appeared in the various Dongyue miao of northern China, and most remarkably in the great shrine in Beijing. As a child-giving and child-protecting merciful mother, the goddess is the reassuring side of the gruesome cult devoted to her father.

Dongyue shrines throughout China existed independently, but one of their

most common denominations, “travelling palace” (*xinggong* 行宮 along with the similar *xingci* 行祠 and *bieci* 別祠), is a reminder that they were in theory subsidiaries of the only officially-sanctioned of these shrines, the Daimiao 岱廟 (Shrine of Mount Tai) at the foot of the mountain. The god could rest in the branch temples during his inspection tours, but his devotees travelled as well, and the temples were resting-places for the pilgrims who went to Taishan to redeem a vow or pray for themselves or relatives.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Maspero 1981, 102–5; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 96–99

※ Dongyue miao; TAISHAN; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

## Dongyue miao

### 東嶽廟

#### Shrine of the Eastern Peak (Beijing)

Shrines of the Eastern Peak have been common all over China since the eleventh century, featuring the cult of \*Dongyue dadi (Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak) himself as well as his underlings from the courts of hell. After the Mongol emperor Khubilai khan (Shizu, r. 1260–1294) established his capital in the 1260s in what is now Beijing, as many as four different Dongyue miao were built there. The one that was to eclipse all others was founded by the Taoist master \*Zhang Liusun (1248–1322) about 1319 and completed by his disciple \*Wu Quanjie (1269–1346). Since then, up to 1949, this shrine was managed by \*Zhengyi Taoists of the \*Qingwei lineage. Under the Qing, these Taoists maintained close connections to the court and were appointed to perform ritual services within the palace.

Unlike other large urban Qingwei establishments, however, this Dongyue miao was not a monastery run by a closed alliance of Taoist families: the Taoists were few and the shrine owned no landed property. In spite of the continued imperial support for the shrine through the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, which mandated regular sacrifices there, provided financial assistance, and patronized several major repairs, it was not run like an official

temple. Rather, the real master of the place was a large number of devotional associations that built their own adjacent shrines, erected over a hundred and fifty stelae, and organized festivals. It was they who made the Dongyue miao into one of the largest and most active temples in China. The shrine was open year-round to devotees praying for heirs, commanding rituals for relatives who had been victims of unnatural death, or looking at the sculptures of the judges of hell in the main courtyard (the subject of a rich written and oral folklore) or in the adjacent Shrine of the Eighteen Hells (Shiba diyu miao 十八地獄廟).

Many of the associations active at the Dongyue miao were created in honor of the goddess \*Bixia yuanjun (Original Princess of the Jasper Mist), whose cult became the most active one in the shrine around the fifteenth century. Soon after, yearly pilgrimages were organized to her shrines at various sites around Beijing, most importantly on Mount Miaofeng (Miaofeng shan 妙峰山). The pilgrimage associations and Dongyue miao associations were usually distinct, but cooperated and shared common characteristics. Each Dongyue miao association either supported a particular chapel within the compound, organizing a festival with Taoist ritual and opera for the birthday of its patron saint; or cooperated to manage the compound as a whole, by sweeping and refurbishing the site before the major annual festival (Dongyue dadi's birthday, on the twenty-eighth day of the third lunar month), or providing costly offerings to all shrines such as flowers or paper ornaments. The associations were varied in their social composition. During the late Ming, they were dominated by powerful, rich, and devout eunuchs; in the Qing period, leadership mostly comprised aristocrats and bannermen, but ordinary membership cut across all strata of Beijing society. Some guilds worked as associations within the shrine.

Similar voluntary devotional associations existed in other Beijing temples, but no temple could compare with the Dongyue miao in terms of the number of associations and the scope of their activities. The shrine closed after 1949 and has reopened in 1999 as a museum.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

■ Chen Bali 2002; Goodrich 1964; Goossaert 1998; Goossaert forthcoming; Naquin 2000, 232–39, 506–17, and passim; Rinaker Ten Broeck and Yiu 1950–51; Schipper 1995b

Doumu

斗母 (*or*: 斗姆)

Mother of the Dipper

Doumu, the Mother of the Dipper, is a deity of Indian origin. She corresponds in Brahmanic mythology to Marīci (Molizhi 摩利支), the chief of tempest demons, and is also related to Prajāpati. The deity was brought to China during the Tang dynasty by Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空, 705–74) who reportedly offered an image of Marīci to Tang Daizong (r. 762–79) on the emperor's birthday together with the *Da foding tuoluoni* 大佛頂陀羅尼 (*Mahāpratyangirā-dhāraṇī*; T. 944). Amoghavajra on that occasion recommended that the emperor pay official cult to Marīci (Weinstein 1987, 77–78).

In the Buddhist and Taoist canons, Doumu is generally venerated for granting prosperity and chasing away illnesses through her *dhāraṇī*. Confused with all sorts of mother deities, she is invoked to secure painless childbirth, protect children, and overcome sterility. In Taoism specifically she plays this role as the mother of the stars of the Northern Dipper (*Doumu dasheng yuanjun benming yansheng xinjing* 斗姆大聖元君本命延生心經 CT 621, 1b). As the wife of a local king by the name of Zhou Yu 周御, she was called Lady of Purple Radiance (Ziguang furen 紫光夫人) and gave birth to nine sons. The first two of them are the Great Emperor Celestial Sovereign (Tianhuang dadi 天皇大帝) and the Great Emperor of Purple Tenuity (Ziwei dadi 紫微大帝), who are the gods of the Southern and the Northern Dipper; the former is in charge of fixing the date of birth of human beings, and the latter their date of death. The other sons are the seven stars of the Northern Dipper (*Beidou bensheng zhenjing* 北斗本生真經, CT 45, 29. 2a–b; *Benming yansheng xinjing*, CT 621, 2b).

The stellar features of Doumu are associated with Marīci since she is the star that precedes the sunrise. In Tibet and Nepal, Marīci is identified with Vajravārāhī, represented by the head of a sow. This iconography may be related to early Indian representations of this deity of dawn whose chariot

was drawn by seven animals similar to bears or boars. This was probably the source of a legend according to which these seven animals were the stars of the constellation of the Small Dipper, whose eighth star is Marīci-Varāhi (Frédéric 1992, 226).

Doumu, under the name of Marishiten 摩利支天, was also introduced in Japan with the Shingon 真言 and Tendai 天台 doctrines. She is represented there in different ways and was especially venerated in the Middle Ages by warriors, as she was believed to protect and make invisible those who bore her effigy or invoked her name (Hall 1990). In Tibet, Marīci (Od-zer Canma) is frequently associated with the Green Tārā (de Mallmann 1975, 263). In China, she is often represented with the eighteen arms of Cuṇḍī (Zhunti 準提) and shares Cuṇḍī's mudrā; as a form of Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音), she is especially related to human beings and her origins as a controller of demonic forces appear to be forgotten. Traces of her ancient features, however, are found in a \*Shenxiao ritual in which she is closely associated with Jiutian Leizu 九天雷祖, the Thunder Ancestor of the Nine Heavens, supreme ruler of the Thunder (\**Daofa huiyuan*, j. 83; *Xiantian Doumu zougao xuanke* 先天斗母奏告玄科, CT 1452).

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Frédéric 1992, 177, 226; Hall 1990; Little 2000b, 282–83; Maspero 1981, 157–58; Strickmann 1996, 154

※ *beidou*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

## Du Daojian

杜道堅

1237–1318; *zi*: Chuyi 處逸 *hao*: Nangu zi 南谷子  
(Master of the Southern Valley)

Du Daojian, who came from Dangtu 當塗 (Anhui), formally belonged to the \*Xuanjiao institution created by the Mongol rulers in southern China. At the age of fourteen, having received revelations, he moved to Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu) and became a Taoist at the Shengxuan guan 昇玄觀 (Abbey of the Ascension to the Mystery). In 1274, when the Mongols were



planning to invade southern China, Du travelled to Beijing to plead with Khubilai khan (Shizu, r. 1260–1294) on behalf of the southern populations. This undertaking turned out to be a success, and Du became an official representative of the Yuan regime in the south. Starting a tradition of indigenous political involvement in Mongol rule, he appealed to southern officials and scholars to display a yielding attitude for their own sake.

During Yuan Renzong's (r. 1312–20) reign, Du administered the Zongyang gong 宗陽宮 (Palace of Ancestral Yang) in Wulin 武林 (Zhejiang), a cultural center that played an important role in the intellectual life of southern China, and supervised the restoration of the Laojun tai 老君臺 (Lord Lao's Terrace) on Mount Jichou (Jichou shan 計籌山 Zhejiang). A stele by the famous painter and calligrapher Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), who was one of Du's friends, also attributes to Du the founding of the Yuantong guan 元通觀 (Abbey of Primordial Pervasiveness) in Huzhou 湖州 (Zhejiang), and a collection of literary materials said to amount to ten thousand scrolls.

Three texts in the Taoist Canon bear witness to Du Daojian's exegetical and editorial work. The first is the *Daode xuanjing yuanzhi* 道德玄經原旨 (The Original Purport of the Mysterious Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 702) in four *juan*, a commentary to the *Daode jing* in which Du brings together the teachings of this scripture and those of the \**Yijing*. The second is the *Xuanjing yuanzhi fahui* 玄經原旨發揮 (Clarification of the Original Purport of the Mysterious Scripture; CT 703) in two *juan*, containing a supplementary exegesis of the *Daode jing* based on \*Shao Yong's work. The third text is the *Tongxuan zhenjing zuanyi* 通玄真經續義 (Successive Interpretations of the Authentic Scripture of Pervading Mystery; CT 748) in twelve *juan*. This new version of the scripture, ascribed to Laozi's putative disciple Wenzhi 文子 was so entitled after the complete copy that Du was said to have found at the Tongxuan guan 通玄觀 (Abbey of Pervading Mystery) on Mount Jichou. This work established Du as the main heir of the \**Wenzi*'s literary tradition and came to be considered generally as the best available version of that text.

Poetry ascribed to Du appears in the three-*juan* collection entitled *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集 (Anthology from the Continued Celebration [of the Appearance] of the Purple Clouds at the Tiered Abbey of Antiquity; CT 957; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 126), compiled by Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 (fl. 1279–1308). Du was also asked to write occasional

essays. One of them is a postscript to the *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* (3.1a–5a) written to sanction the preeminence of the \*Louguan (Tiered Abbey) over the \*Qingyang gong (Palace of the Black Ram), two establishments founded to honor Laozi's legendary disciple \*Yin Xi. Another example is a preface dated 1306 to the \**Zhonghe ji* (Anthology of Central Harmony), a collection of \*Li Daochun's teachings edited by Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤 (fl. 1288–1306).

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 218–19; Kandel 1974, 49–56; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 351–53; Sun K'o-k'uan 1981, 240–2; Zhan Shichuang 1989, 116–27

※ Xuanjiao

Du Guangting

杜光庭

850–933; *zi*: Binsheng 賓聖 *hao*: Guangcheng xiansheng  
廣成先生 (Elder of Wide Achievement)

*Life.* Little is known of Du Guangting's background. He appears to have been a native of Chuzhou 處州 (Zhejiang), but his family may also have established a residence in a district close to Chang'an. No information has survived on his family, but his father must have held some important office in the government since Du studied at the Directorate of the Sons of State (Guozi jian 國子監), the agency in charge of schools in the capitals that admitted only the sons of ranking bureaucrats. He was apparently a diligent student who devoted four out of five days to the study of the classics, histories and philosophers as well as to mastering the rhetorical forms of official documents. In short he received a typically Confucian education whose purpose was to prepare a student for the civil service examinations and eventually a government position.

Unfortunately, he failed the examinations about 870. So he repaired to Mount Tiantai (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang) where he became the disciple of a Taoist master. He spent the next five years or so learning Taoism. In 875, on the advice of a chief minister, Tang Xizong (r. 873–88) summoned Du to Chang'an where he conferred a purple robe—one of the highest honorary

distinctions bestowed on the clergy—on the priest and appointed him to the office of Drafter of Compositions at Imperial Command (*wenzhang yinzhì* 文章應制). His responsibilities in that post included writing documents for the emperor, but he also served as a kind of court chaplain and performed Taoist rituals on the behalf of the throne and state. His secular education served him well at court. The first three *juan* of his collected works—the *Guangcheng ji* 廣成集 (Anthology of Wide Achievement; CT 616, seventeen *juan*, originally 100)—contain his addresses to the throne on a host of matters, addresses that other ordinary officials were also submitting. In addition, he apparently also served as Grand Academician (*da xueshi* 大學士) at the Institute for the Veneration of the Mystery (Chongxuan guan 崇玄館), an official Taoist school in the \*Taiqing gong—the temple for the dynasty's veneration of Laozi as its ancestor—just south of the palace. In 881 Du accompanied the court on its journey to Chengdu when it fled Chang'an as the rebel Huang Chao 黃巢 approached. In 885 he returned with the emperor to the capital where he found widespread destruction of churches and libraries.

Du Guangting stayed with the imperial court when it fled the capital again the following year, but departed for Sichuan in 887 and remained there for the rest of his life. For the next twenty-eight years he traveled throughout the province searching for books and writings. After the fall of the Tang a new dynasty, the Shu, seized control of the province. In 913 its emperor appointed Du to posts as Grand Master of Remonstrance (*jianyi dafu* 諫議大夫) and Grand Preceptor of the Heir Apparent (*taizi taishi* 太子太師). In 917 the throne installed him a Vice Director of the Ministry of Households (*hubu shilang* 戶部侍郎). In 923 the court chose him to be Grand Academician of a literary institute. Du's official career came to an end when the Later Tang conquered Shu in 925. He died in 933 after declaring to his disciples that he had had an audience with the supreme deity of Heaven who appointed him administrator of the underworld beneath a mountain range in Sichuan.

*Works.* Du Guangting was the single most prolific writer and compiler of Taoist texts before the year 1000. The largest portion of his writings consisted of liturgies for Taoist \**zhai* (Retreats). He composed one for the conferral of a talisman at ordinations for transmitting the *Daode jing* (CT 808), one for a Celestial Master rite (CT 796), four for rituals connected with the \**Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (CT 525 to CT 527, and CT 805), one for a

*zhai* involving the \**Sanhuang wen* (CT 804), and six for \*Lingbao audiences (CT 519 to CT 521, and CT 483, 488, and 507). The largest of them, in fifty-eight *juan*, is the *Huanglu zhaiyi* 黃籙齋儀 (Liturgies for the Yellow Register Retreat; CT 507) that Du worked on for years and completed in 901. After presenting a basic three-day liturgy for executing the *zhai* at morning, noon, and night, Du supplies variant forms of the ritual for performance on the birth of an heir to the throne; to dispel calamities for the state, officials, and commoners; to save souls in hell; and to cure the ill among other things. He also provides protocols for Casting Dragon Tablets (\**tou longjian*), chanting scriptures, and the installation of the Authentic Scripts (*zhenwen* 真文) on altars.

Du Guangting also devoted attention to Taoist scriptures. Aside from his collected works and the *Huanglu zhaiyi*, the longest text—in fifty *juan* (originally thirty *juan*)—that he compiled was the *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義 (Extended Interpretation of the Emperor's Exegesis of the Authentic Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 725; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 131–36), completed in 901. As the title indicates this is copious commentary on an annotation (CT 677) and commentary (CT 678) that Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) purportedly wrote and promulgated as the official versions of the *Daode jing*. Du's preface lists sixty exegetical works on the *Daode jing* dating from the Han to the end of the Tang, but cites few of them in his commentary. The first five *juan* of the work contain a brief biography of Xuanzong (allegedly a descendant of Laozi in the thirty-seventh generation), an account of Laozi deified as a cosmogonic deity and preceptor to the ancient sage-kings, notes to an abbreviated version of Xuanzong's preface to CT 678, and a history of the titles that the Tang dynasty conferred on Laozi. The second scripture that Du took an interest in was the *Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss; CT 335) completed sometime after 923 since Du's signature lists all the titles that emperors had bestowed on him up to that date. The first ten *juan* of the text were written between 520 and 579 and the remaining ten apparently during the Tang dynasty. It is not at all clear what role Du played in editing the work. On the one hand he may have only contributed the preface that recounts the legend of its purported compiler Wang Zuan 王纂 and nothing more. On the other he may have added or composed the final *juan* of the scripture.

Du Guangting also wrote works on history, geography, and hagiographies.

The intent of his *\*Lidai chongdao ji* (Records of the Veneration of the Dao over Successive Generations; CT 593) was to provide the Tang dynasty after the rebellion of Huang Chao with assurance that it still enjoyed divine protection and would survive the troubled times of the late ninth century. Du also compiled secular works on administrative geography and reign eras. His *Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji* 天壇王屋山聖迹記 (Records of Traces of the Saints on Mount Wangwu, the Celestial Altar; CT 969, one *juan*) begins with an account of the mythology concerning an altar on this mountain north of Luoyang where the legendary emperor *\*Huangdi* received the nine tripods (*jiuding* 九鼎)—symbols of the nine ancient provinces of China and tokens of imperial unity—from the Queen Mother of the West (*\*Xiwang mu*), a popular deity in the Han dynasty (see *\*Wangwu shan*). It then continues with a description of various geographical features, abbeys and historical events that occurred there during the Tang. The *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 (Records of Grotto-Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains; CT 599, one *juan*; see Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 206–8) is a description of various sites holy to Taoists. Some of them are celestial or located far off in the oceans. Most are places on earth—quiet huts and parishes—or beneath holy mountains—the Blissful Lands and Grotto-Heavens where Taoists who attained immortality took positions in the spiritual bureaucracy after passing from the world of the living (see *\*dongtian* and *fudi*). Du gives the precise locations of the latter. His discussion of Celestial Master parishes (*\*zhi*) is particularly important because it shows that registration as a Taoist was based on date of birth and not residence in the parish. His largest collection of hagiographies was the *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺 (Uncollected Biographies of Immortals) in forty *juan*. It originally contained accounts of 420 lives. As the title indicates, the text treated individuals that earlier compilations had overlooked. The *Xianzhuan shiyi* has not survived, but Yan Yiping (1974, vol. 1) has assembled passages from it—about a quarter of the original entries—cited in other texts. Du's *\*Yongcheng jixian lu* (Records of the Immortals Gathered in the Walled City; CT 783, and YJQQ 114–16, six *juan*, originally ten) contains hagiographies of women only (Yongcheng 墉城 was the residence of the Queen Mother of the West on Mount *\*Kunlun*). The extant version contains accounts of thirty-five figures ranging from the mother of Laozi, the Queen Mother of the West and her divine daughters, to tavern owners.

Lastly, Du Guangting assembled several collections of accounts on

miracles and other supernatural phenomena. The largest of them was the \**Daojiao lingyan ji* (Records of the Numinous Efficacy of the Taoist Teaching) that consists of material relevant only to Taoism. His *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 神仙感遇傳 (Biographies of Those who Encountered Immortals; CT 592, five *juan*, originally ten), completed after 904, consists of episodes in the lives of people from all walks of life who meet extraordinary figures in abbeys, on the road, in the mountains, and elsewhere. They are not all immortals: some are old men or women, priests, hermits, and the like. When encountered, those exceptional individuals transmit texts, interpretations of arcane scriptures, the secrets of immortality, and prophecies among other things. Du's *Luyi ji* 錄異記 (Records of the Extraordinary; CT 591, eight *juan*, originally ten), completed between 921 and 925, is a collection of lore concerning immortals, extraordinary men, the loyal, the filial, responses from the gods, remarkable dreams, demons and spirits, dragons, animals (tigers, tortoises, snakes, and fish), grottoes, waters (rivers, springs, pools, etc.) rocks, and tombs. Much of the material is irrelevant to Taoism.

Charles D. BENN

▣ Barrett 1996, 94–98; Bell 1987c; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 129–31; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983, 216–18; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 421–77; Schafer and Yee 1986; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 416–43; Verellen 1989

※ *Daojiao lingyan ji*; *Daomen kefan da quanji*; *Lidai chongdao ji*; *Yongcheng jixian lu*; TAOISM AND THE STATE

*dujiang*

都講

chief cantor

Among \*Zhengyi Taoists in modern Taiwan, rituals are performed by a group basically consisting of five people: the high priest (*gaogong* 高功 see \**daozhang*), the chief cantor, the assistant cantor (*fujiang* 副講), the leader of the troupe (*yinban* 引班), and the keeper of the incense (*shixiang* 侍香). The chief cantor, who is an older and experienced priest, stands to the left of the

high priest and assists him, fulfilling the important function of coordinating the entire ritual. The assistant cantor stands to the right of the high priest and is in charge of written documents. The leader of the troupe stands to the left of the chief cantor and leads the others when circumambulating the altar (*tan* 壇). The keeper of the incense stands to the right of the assistant cantor and is in charge of incense and candles. The priests' roles appear to derive from the "six offices" (*liuzhi* 六職) of the Six Dynasties \*Lingbao \*zhai (Retreat) as described in the *Lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue* 靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣 (Essential Instructions on the Scriptures on the Dignified Liturgies for Lingbao Retreats; CT 532) and in the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Excerpts from the Essential Liturgies and Observances; CT 463).

From early times, the chief cantor was confused with the *dugong* 都功 (inspector of merit), who was originally responsible for the administration of the twenty-four parishes (\**zhi*) of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao). In the first and second centuries CE, *dujiang* denoted the person responsible for supervising teaching in Confucian schools. In Buddhism, the instructor charged with reciting the *sūtras* was called \**fashi* 法師 (master of the dharma), and the instructor charged with explaining the *sūtras* was called *dujiang*. According to j. 8 of the \**Hongming ji* (Collection Spreading the Light of Buddhism; T. 2102), Taoism modeled the role of the *dujiang* on the corresponding function in Buddhism. Later the duties changed, and the Taoist chief cantor became what we see today in Taiwan.

ASANO Haruji

■ Fukui Fumimasa 1973; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 200–202; Schipper 1975c, 15; Schipper 1977b

※ *jiao*

*dumai* and *renmai*

督脈·任脈

Control Channel and Function Channel

1. Medicine

In traditional Chinese medicine, the *dumai* and *renmai* are conduits that run along the spine and ventral axis, respectively (see [fig. 31](#)). At present, the evidence for a precursor of the *dumai* is earlier than that for the *renmai*: it appears as a red line along the spine on a black lacquer figurine of the second century BCE, excavated in 1993 from Mianyang 綿陽 (Sichuan; see He and Lo 1996). Both are mentioned at various points in the *Huangdi neijing*, but not as a pair. For instance, in *Suwen* 素問 1 (Plain Questions; see *Huangdi neijing*), the *renmai* is held to be responsible for female fertility: it is said to be “connected” (*tong* 通) at fourteen years of age, and considered to be depleted at forty-nine years. The *dumai* is mentioned, for instance, in *Lingshu* 靈樞 10 (Numinous Pivot; see *Huangdi neijing*) as the conduit that forms an “assembly” (*hui* 會) with the last of twelve conduits in the body, the liver conduit (see *\*jingluo*). Over time, *dumai* and *renmai* eventually came to be classified among the “eight extraordinary channels” (*qijing bamai* 奇經八脈) which, generally speaking, are important for regulating the overall flow of *\*qixue* (“breath and blood”).

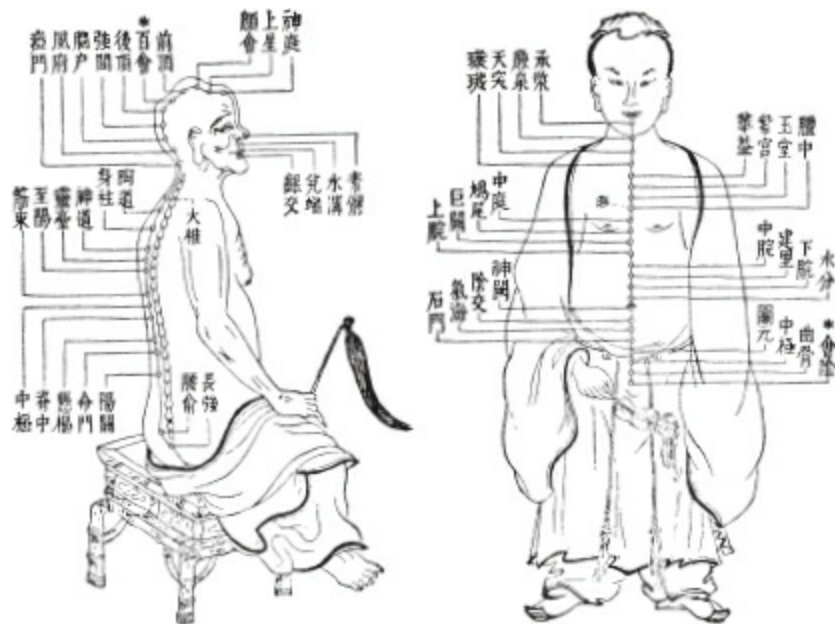


Fig. 31. Control Channel (*dumai*, left) and Function Channel (*renmai*, right). The asterisks (\*) show the locations of the *baihui* point on the Control Channel and the *huiyin* point on the Function Channel.

There are several acupuncture and moxibustion loci along these two conduits that are said to have therapeutic functions. Among them are the



*baihui* 百會 (Gathering of the Hundred [Yang channels]) in the *dumai*, on the highest point of the head, which is needled for treating epilepsy, apoplexy, and mental conditions, and the *renzhong* 人中 (Center of Man), situated in the groove beneath the nose: in the case of a coma, pressing this locus is supposed to bring the patient back to consciousness. The loci in the lower region of the *renmai*, such as the *zhongji* 中極 (Middle Pole), the *guanyuan* 關元 (Origin of the Pass), and the *qihai* 氣海 (Ocean of Pneuma), are frequently used for treating gynecological disorders.

Elisabeth HSU

▣ Porkert 1974, 273–82; Qiu Maoliang 1985, 117–32

※ *jingluo*

## 2. *Neidan*

The *dumai* and *renmai* channels gained importance in *\*neidan* only from the beginning of the Song period. The *dumai* is Yang, and the *renmai* is Yin. To restore the unity of Yin and Yang, the channels should be joined so that the energy may circulate through the body. The Lesser Celestial Circuit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天 see *\*zhoutian*) is used to allow Water or essence (*\*jing*) rise through the *dumai*, and Fire or energy (*\*qi*) to descend through the *renmai*. This process is guided by the mind in concentrated silence and culminates in the generation of the elixir or the immortal embryo (*\*shengtai*). The two channels also play an important role in sexual techniques (*\*fangzhong shu*) practiced to preserve the essence and transform it into energy.

In *neidan*, the *dumai* is also called Yellow River (*huanghe* 黃河) or the Rivulet (*caoxi* 漕溪). Three “passes” (*\*sanguan*) are situated on the *renmai*: the *weilü* 尾閭 (Caudal Funnel) at the level of the coccyx, the double *jiaji* 夾脊 (Spinal Handle) at the level of the fourth dorsal vertebra, and the *yuzhen* 玉枕 (Jade Pillow) at the back of the head. Similar to the three Cinnabar Fields (*\*dantian*), the Three Passes are centers of transformation and correspond to the three stages of the *neidan* process: essence is transformed into energy in the lower pass, energy into spirit (*\*shen*) in the middle pass, and spirit into to emptiness (*xu* 虛) in the upper pass.

Martina DARGA

▣ Despeux 1979, 34–44; Despeux 1994, 38–39, 80, 168; Lu K'uan Yü 1970, 9–16, 87–90

※ *sanguan; zhoutian; neidan*

## Dunhuang manuscripts

The Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts are a major source for the study of Chinese and Central Asian history and religion during the first millennium. Sealed not long after 1000 ce in a chamber adjoining one of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (Qianfo dong 千佛洞) at the border of the Gobi desert, the manuscripts were discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century by Western explorers, notably Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot. They are now preserved in various collections of European and Asian libraries, including the Stein collection of the British Library (Giles L. 1957) and the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Gernet et al. 1970-).

The Taoist manuscripts from Dunhuang do not form a homogeneous scriptural corpus. Given the predominantly Buddhist environment of the Dunhuang region, they were, in most cases, discarded documents; moreover, many of them did not originate in Dunhuang itself but were brought there from different locations. Thus they constitute a relatively small proportion of the huge mass of about 30,000 documents in these collections.

The few hundred Taoist manuscripts from Dunhuang are nevertheless invaluable for the historian of Chinese religions. First, they are the main collection of authentically ancient Taoist writings, originating before the eighth century when the Chinese district of Dunhuang was invaded by the Tibetans. They are, therefore, of incomparable value for the dating and exegesis of Taoist scriptures. In addition, some Taoist manuscripts contain materials not extant elsewhere, without which crucial aspects of medieval Taoism would remain largely unknown.

Dunhuang Taoist studies have borne fruit in many fields: there are few major Taoist philosophical works, and not a single medieval scriptural Taoist tradition, that are not represented among the Dunhuang documents. Two Japanese works are, to date, the major reference books on these texts: Ōfuchi Ninji's monumental *Tonkō dōkyō* (Taoist Scriptures from Dunhuang; 1978–

79) with its photographic reproductions of all the manuscripts indexed there; and the collection of essays entitled *Tonkō to Chūgoku Dōkyō* (Dunhuang and Chinese Taoism; Kanaoka Shōkō, Ikeda On, and Fukui Fumimasa 1983), which also provides an extensive bibliography on the subject. The few examples that follow illustrate some of the main findings of Dunhuang Taoist studies in recent decades.

*Major Taoist sources from Dunhuang.* Our knowledge of Taoism during the first centuries of the Common Era has significantly improved owing to the discovery of several unique manuscripts from Dunhuang. One of them is the \**Laozi Xiang'er zhu* 老子想爾注 the sole extant copy of the \*Tianshi dao commentary to the *Daode jing* (S. 6825; ed. Rao Zongyi 1956; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 29–148). The manuscript itself dates from the late fifth or the early sixth century, and although it is fragmentary—containing only the text and commentary for chapters 3 to 37—it has considerable value for the study of the history of Taoism. The commentary, written between the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries, is the earliest Taoist interpretation of the *Daode jing*, as well as one of the earliest sources on the \*Tianshi dao movement, providing unique information about its beliefs and practices.

Another unique Dunhuang manuscript that offers exceptional insights into the formation of Taoist religion is S. 2295, containing the \**Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi). This work is of primary importance for the light it sheds on the history of Laozi's divinization (Seidel 1969).

The study of another prestigious early Taoist scripture, the \**Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), also gained new impetus with the discovery of the manuscript S. 4226, which contains the complete table of contents of its 170 chapters (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1970b).

Taoist studies have also progressed thanks to the preservation of the famous manuscripts P. 2256 and P. 2861, two Taoist bibliographies compiled in the Tang dynasty on the basis of the \**Lingbao jingmu*, an inventory of twenty-seven \*Lingbao scriptures made by \*Lu Xiuqing (406–77). The identification and reconstruction of the ancient Lingbao corpus made by Ōfuchi (1974) in his investigation of these manuscripts was a turning point in the history of Taoist research. Lingbao was one of the three main schools of medieval southern Taoism, the one that was most influenced by Buddhism,

and the first to attempt the unification and codification of Taoist liturgy.

The history of the formation of Taoist liturgy is another area indebted to Dunhuang studies. Based on a series of eighth-century manuscripts, Kristofer Schipper (1985c) has defined the overall liturgical system of Taoist ordination ranks in Tang times, advancing our knowledge of the composition of the Taoist Canon and its various sections (see \*DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS).

Dunhuang studies have also contributed much to research on medieval Buddho-Taoism. The manuscript S. 2081 of the \**Huahu jing* (Scripture of the Conversion of Barbarians), studied by Anna Seidel (1984), is an eminent extracanonical example of early religious syncretism, as well as an exceptional document of medieval apocalyptic eschatology.

An additional major Taoist find from Dunhuang was the discovery of about eighty partial manuscripts of the \**Benji jing* (Scripture of the Original Bound).

Since the eleventh century, this seventh-century philosophical scripture had been known only in a short one-chapter version. The numerous handwritten versions in the Dunhuang collections record the text almost in its entirety and attest to its popularity during the Sui and Tang periods (Wu Chi-yu 1960).

Finally, some Dunhuang Taoist manuscripts have provided significant insights into imperial sponsorship for the compilation of the Taoist Canon and into the court's relation to Taoism. A singular example of imperial recognition of a Taoist tradition is the fifth-century *\*Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss), a copy of which was made in the year 664 for the sake of the crown prince as attested by two colophons found in two manuscripts of the Pelliot collection (P. 3233 and P. 2444; Mollier 1990).

Numerous other examples could be given that demonstrate the invaluable contribution of Dunhuang studies to research on the history of Taoism. Much remains to be done, however, both in the investigation of this considerable mass of material, and especially in the study of still-unpublished documents.

*Christine MOLLIER*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 204–28; *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 1998; Gernet et al. 1970–; Giles L. 1957; Kanaoka Shōkō, Ikeda On, and Fukui Fumimasa 1983; Kanaoka Shōkō 1983; Li Defan 1999; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 285–301 (list of titles in Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, vol. 2); Shao Wenshi 1996; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1967

### *Duren jing*

度人經

Scripture on Salvation

The *Duren jing* (full title: *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 or *Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation*) is the first scripture in the Ming Taoist Canon (CT 1). The first chapter of this work formed part of the original *\*Lingbao* scriptures, codified in the fifth century, while the remaining sixty chapters represent an expansion composed by *\*Shenxiao*

Taoists early in the twelfth century.

As part of the original Lingbao corpus of the early fifth century, the *Duren jing* represents a Chinese response to Buddhist soteriology, particularly the idea of the bodhisattva, who vows to effect the salvation of all beings within his realm. As shown by its title, the *Duren jing* is concerned with *du* 度 (“to ferry across”), a verb which in Taoist texts refers both to the initiation of disciples and to saving those suffering in the world or in the hells. The scripture is related by the Most High Lord of the Dao (Taishang daojun 太上道君), who recounts his own ordination and receipt of the scripture from the supreme deity of Lingbao, the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 see *\*sanqing*) in a previous world-age. Through mindful recitation of the text, preceded by a simple meditation procedure, adepts are invited to participate in the ordination and salvation of the Most High Lord both to ensure their own salvation and that of their ancestors, on whose behalf they also recite.

The scripture describes in poetic language the miraculous effects of the Celestial Worthy's ten recitations of the scripture which radiated throughout the Thirty-two Heavens (*\*sanshi'er tian*); the origins of the Lingbao scriptures in the ethers of previous *kalpa*-cycles (*\*jie*); and the various gods resident within the body and in the macrocosm who participate in the salvation of the individual. Among the gods of the macrocosm are the Demon kings of the Three Realms (*sanjie mowang* 三界魔王, adapted from the Buddhist lord of the third realm, the tempter Māra) who test aspirants for transcendence as they ascend but allow to pass those who can properly recite the text.

The salvific power of the text resides in the fact that it contains “the inner names of the [celestial] emperors and the sounds of the secret rhymes of all the heavens, as well as of the taboo-names of the demon kings and the secret names of the myriad spirits.” The names of the gods and demon kings parallel Chinese transcriptions of Buddhist names and terms. The “secret rhymes,” also known as the “secret language of the Great Brahmā” (*\*dafan yinyu*), said to be the languages of the Thirty-two Heavens, are similarly constructed. The words of this language prove to be powerful talismans that, through demonstrating the practitioner's knowledge of the unseen realms, are able to rescue ancestors from the hells, avert disaster, protect the realm, and ensure the deliverance of the practitioner.

Foremost among the days prescribed for recitation of the *Scripture on Salvation* are the days of the Three Primes (\**sanyuan*) associated with the Three Offices (\**sanguan*, of Heaven, Earth, and Water). These are the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth lunar months, days when the assemblies of gods in the Three Offices meet to assess the life and death records of all humans, the living and the dead. Similar assemblies of the high deities to inspect one's personal records occur on other days when the scripture should be recited—the eight nodal days of the year (*bajie* 八節, namely, equinoxes, solstices, and the first day of each season) and the days of one's “natal destiny” (\**benming*).

The earliest surviving commentary on the *Duren jing* is that of Yan Dong 嚴東, composed ca. 485. It is now to be found in the *Duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 度人上品妙經四注 (Four Commentaries to the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 87), compiled by \*Chen Jingyuan (?–1094). In addition to Yan's commentary, this work includes portions of commentaries by \*Cheng Xuanying (fl. 631–50), Xue Youqi 薛幽棲 (fl. 740–54; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 280–81), and Li Shaowei 李少微 (fl. 625?). All of these commentaries draw on the earliest “commentary” on the *Duren jing*, the explanations of the deity August One of Heavenly Perfection (Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人) found in the Lingbao scripture *Zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 諸天內音自然玉字 (The Self-Generating Jade Graphs and Inner Sounds of All the Heavens; CT 97). While Yan's commentary was likely composed for fellow Taoists, the Tang-period commentaries were prompted by the adoption of the *Duren jing* as topic for the officially-sanctioned ordination examinations. The fact that terminology from the “secret language” regularly found its way into secular poetry provides further evidence of the popularity of the scripture during the Tang period.

During the Song, a sixty-one chapter version of the *Duren jing* was presented by \*Lin Lingsu to the Taoist emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125) as part of the Shenxiao corpus. But the new, expanded version of the scripture did not eclipse the ritual use of the original *Duren jing*, which is still today widely recited in Taoist ritual.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

■ Bokenkamp 1983, 461–65; Bokenkamp 1997, 373–438 (trans.); Boltz J. M. 1987a, 206–11; Chen Guofu 1963, 71–72; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1996, 44–

50; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 228–34, 398–404; Little 2000b, 246–47; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 52–59 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang ms.) and 2: 64–70 (reprod. of the Dunhuang ms.); Strickmann 1978b; Sunayama Minoru 1984

※ Lingbao



Emei shan  
峨眉山 (*or*: 娥眉山)  
Mount Emei (Sichuan)

Mount Emei, located to the southwest of Chengdu in Sichuan, is commonly understood as important in Buddhism due to its classification as one of the Four Famous Mountains (*sida mingshan* 四大名山) and its connections with the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Puxian 普賢). Yet this mountain also has a long Taoist history. Besides being mentioned in *j.* 4 of the *\*Baopu zi* as a site where the medicines of the transcendents could be attained, it was also one of the twenty-four parishes (*\*zhi*) of the early Way of the Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*), and was imagined to be connected to the Grotto-Heaven (*\*dongtian*) on Mount Mao (*\*Maoshan*, Jiangsu) via a subterranean conduit.

Several doctrinal and textual traditions are associated with this mountain. According to the monograph on Buddhism and Taoism (“Shi Lao zhi” 釋老志) in the *Weishu* (History of the Wei; trans. Ware 1933, 219), Laozi transmitted the Dao to the Yellow Emperor (*\*Huangdi*) at Mount Emei. Around 300 CE, Bo He 帛和 was able to interpret the graphs of the *\*Sanhuang wen* (Script of the Three Sovereigns) after three years of staring at a rock within a cave of this mountain. Mount Emei also figures prominently as a site where *\*Lingbao* scriptures were transmitted. Later, during the Qing dynasty, *\*Li Xiyue* (1806–56), the alleged founder of the Western Branch (Xipai 西派) of *\*neidan*, met the immortals *\*Lü Dongbin* and *\*Zhang Sanfeng* on this mountain.

*James ROBSON*

📖 Nara Yukihiro 1998, 318–19; Shi Mingfei 1993

✂ TAOIST SACRED SITES

*Ershisi sheng tu*

## 二十四生圖

### Charts of the Twenty-Four Life[-Givers]

The Twenty-four Life-givers are the luminous spirits of the body, commonly referred to as the Eight Effulgences of the Three Primal Registers (*sanyuan bajing* 三元八景) or of the Three Regions (*sanbu bajing* 三部八景 see \**bajing*). Talismanic charts designed to allow the practitioner to see and control these spirits existed as early as the third century, as attested in \*Ge Hong's list of the scriptures possessed by his master \*Zheng Yin.

The surviving scripture of this name is the *Dongxuan lingbao ershisi sheng tu jing* 洞玄靈寶二十四生圖經 (Scripture of the Charts of the Twenty-Four Life[-Givers] of Lingbao, Cavern of Mystery Section; CT 1407). In this text, fourth-century \*Shangqing revisions of ancient practices concerning the twenty-four charts have been further modified to accord with the cosmic and soteriological views of the \*Lingbao scriptures. The scripture relates the genesis of the twenty-four spirits and their charts in the earliest *kalpa*-periods (\**jie*) and then goes on to tell how \*Li Hong, Saint of the Latter Age, was provided with the text. Li Hong's ability to control and exteriorize his twenty-four bodily spirits as human envoys who would save the elect from the cataclysms attending the end of the world-age had, prior to the composition of this text, already featured in a Shangqing text, the \**Lingshu ziwén*. Versions of the charts possessed by other Shangqing deities are also said here to have originated in this Lingbao scripture. The charts themselves are named according to earlier Taoist charts said by Ge Hong to have been in the possession of Zheng Yin.

In addition to talismanic charts and chants associated with the twenty-four spirits, the text lists the spiritual underlings associated with each, including the spirits that are to be exteriorized in Lingbao ritual. This list figures prominently among the items bestowed on initiates in \*Lu Xiujing's \**Lingbao shoudu yi*.

Stephen R. BOKENKAMP

☐ Bokenkamp 1983, 458–60; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 147–48

※ Lingbao

*fabiao*  
發表  
Announcement

*Fabiao* (lit., “issuing the Memorial,” also referred to as *fazou* 發奏 or “issuing the Announcement”) is the section at the beginning of \**jiao* (Offering) and \**gongde* (Merit) rituals when the purpose of the ceremony is announced to the deities. This rite appears to date no earlier than the Song period. In his \**Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1222–23), Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25) states that the people of ancient times only “presented a petition” (*baizhang* 拜章) without performing the Announcement (CT 1223, *j.* 19). After describing the procedure for “issuing the correct Announcement” (*fa zhengzou* 發正奏), Jin adds that this was not part of the \**zhai* (Retreat) ritual as described by \*Du Guangting (850–933), but an element “popular at the present time” (CT 1223, *j.* 16). The Announcement, therefore, was not yet considered a formal part of the *zhai* ritual in the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods (ninth and tenth centuries).

As performed in present-day southern Taiwan, the Announcement occupies a central position among the various rites that constitute a *jiao*. This is clear from the fact that it must be performed by the high priest (*gaogong* 高功 see \**dao Zhang*) himself in full regalia, and that it is described in detail only in his secret manuals (\**mijue*). Summoning messengers and protective deities, and sending them off to deliver documents to the appropriate deities, takes place through a sequence of seven rites: Purification of the Altar (*jingtán* 淨壇 Lagerwey 1987c, 73–77), Invocation of Masters and Saints (*qi shisheng* 啟師聖), Summoning the Generals (*zhaojiang* 召將), Pronouncing the Talismanic Order (*xuanfu fuming* 宣讀符命), Offering Wine (*xianjiu* 獻酒), Dispatching the Generals (*qianjiang* 遣將), and Giving Thanks to the Masters and Saints (*xie shisheng* 謝師聖).

During the long initial rite for the purification of the altar, the high priest transforms his body into a divine body (\**bianshen*), paces the stars of the

Northern Dipper (\**beidou*; see \**bugang*), burns talismans (\*FU) while pronouncing incantations, and uses techniques for absorbing the pneuma (\**qi*) of the Northern Dipper and the Three Luminaries (*sanguang* 三光, i.e., the Sun, the Moon, and the stars). These and other techniques indicate that the Taiwanese Taoist priests have inherited \*Tianxin zhengfa and \**leifa* (Thunder Rites) methods developed during the Song dynasty. From the Ming period onward, mastery of these techniques was a prerequisite for receiving investiture as a Taoist priest (\**daoshi*), which has resulted in their institutionalization. Their use in the Announcement is closely related to this development.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

📖 Lagerwey 1987c, 68–89; Maruyama Hiroshi 1995; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 241–56

※ *gongde; jiao*

*falu*

發爐

### Lighting the Incense Burner

The *falu* is the central opening rite in major Taoist rituals, such as the Nocturnal Invocation (\**suqi*), the Land of the Way (\**daochang*), and the Three Audiences (\**sanchao*). It serves to initiate communication between the priest and the divine world, and together with the closing rite of the Extinction of the Incense Burner (*fulu* 復爐 Lagerwey 1987c, 146–47) it forms the basic framework of these rituals. The *falu* is an authentically old element of ritual derived from the early practices of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), and its persistence in present-day Taoist liturgies thus represents a remarkable continuity in these liturgies. A version of the *falu* is described already in the \**Dengzhen yinjue* (3.6b–8a, compiled from original \*Shangqing material), and the rite occurs with regularity in the major rituals described in the \**Wushang biyao* (see for instance 48.1a–b).

Already in these early forms of the rite, its defining element is the incantation that begins with an appeal to the Most High Lord Lao (Taishang

Laojun 太上老君 see \*Laozi and Laojun), who is asked to summon forth from the body of the priest a series of subordinate spirits associated with the task of transmitting incense and messages to heaven (see \**chushen*). The version of the incantation found in the *Wushang biyao* is practically identical with the forms used in current classical Taoist liturgies (see for instance Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 272–73). The spirits are told to inform the local Earth God (\*Tudi gong) about the fact that the priest is about to “walk (or: practice) the Way” (\**xingdao*), and that he wishes that “the most high correct and perfected breaths of the ten directions” descend into his body and cause what he states to reach its destination in the highest Taoist heavens.

The connection between this purpose and the lighting of the incense burner is spelled out in current liturgy in a number of accompanying visualizations and ‘practices in the hand’ (\**shoujue*), in which the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see \**dao Zhang*) externalizes his basic inner energies and sends them in the direction of the “hand-held incense burner” (*shoulu* 手爐) in his left hand—thereby “igniting” it. The external incense burner thus is correlated with the inner “burner” constituted by the lower Cinnabar Field (\**dantian*) in the belly of the priest, a fact that is illustrated also by the act of reinserting the “golden flame” or “golden flower” (*jinhua* 金華) located at the top of the crown on his head, which concludes the rite of *falū*. The rite is perceived as a form of “transformation of the body” (\**bianshen*), that is, as a precondition for addressing the supreme deities of heaven, and in fact it is followed directly by the high priest kneeling in front of the central altar in order to summon these deities.

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Cedzich 1987, 70–80; Lagerwey 1981b, 125–28; Lagerwey 1987c, 121–23; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983, 205–10; Saso 1978b, 218–33; Schipper 1993, 97–98

※ *dao Chang*; *jinxiang*; *sanchao*; *suqi*

*fan*

反 (or: 返)

return, reversion

“Return is the movement of the Dao,” which “goes far away and then returns” (*Laozi* 40 and 25). The term *fan* has been understood as meaning “going back to the root” (*guigen* 歸根), another basic expression in the *Daode jing* and then in Taoism generally. It occurs in the same sense in the \*Guodian manuscript entitled *Taiyi sheng shui* 太一生水 (The Great One Generated Water) which states that Water, after being generated, returns (*fan*) to the Great One (\**Taiyi*) to assist it in forming Heaven. But *fan* has also been explained as meaning “beginning again” or “anew” and as referring to the eternal recurrence of life and its rhythms. The two meanings are in fact identical, but in different dimensions. For the world as a whole, *fan* has a metaphysical import and denotes returning to its Origin, the Dao, or the Void. Analogically, for an individual being, *fan* is returning to the Void from which it comes, in the sense that the Void is its Origin, its end, and its basis or fundamental nature (*xing* 性; see \**xing* and *ming*).

On the phenomenal level, *fan* is the rhythm of the movement of life. When something has grown to its utmost point (*ji* 極), it decreases or reverses to its contrary, as do Yin and Yang, or movement and quiescence (\**dong* and *jing*). “Death and life are one [time] going and one [time] returning” says \**Liezi* 1; in the same way, the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, a portion of the \**Yijing*) states that the Dao is “one [time] Yin and one [time] Yang.”

*Fan* therefore has different ontological meanings according to whether it is related to our closed world, where everything is finite and reverses to its contrary or its initial state, indefinitely; or to the absolute Dao that is infinitely “great,” void, and without limits, and exceeds changes and reversals. That is what \*Wang Bi means when he writes, “In movement, if we know that there is Non-being (\**wu*), all things interpenetrate.”

In meditation, *fan* takes on a more technical meaning in compounds such as *fanzhao* 反照 (turning back one's light) or *fanting* 反聽 (turning back one's hearing). In this instance, it designates concentration through turning one's attention and perceptions inwardly.

Isabelle ROBINET

■ Girardot 1978b; Lu Yusan 1987; Robinet 1977, 66–71; Stein R. A. 1990, 106–12

※ Dao

Fan Changsheng

范長生

?–318; *zi*: Yuan 元

Fan Changsheng was a Taoist priest and local leader of Sichuan who played a key role in the founding of the state of Great Perfection (\*Dacheng). His name is variously given as Yanjiu 延久, Chongjiu 重九, Wen 文, and Zhi 支. He is credited with a commentary to the \**Yijing* under the name Genius of Shu (Shucaï 蜀才) which survived until the Song and has been reconstructed from citations. Originally from Fuling 涪陵 in southern Sichuan, he had settled on Mount Qingcheng (\*Qingcheng shan, Sichuan) in a community of several thousand followers. From this base he offered key support to the Li 李 family as it sought to reestablish itself in the Sichuan region at the beginning of the third century. After the death of his father, Li Te 李特, \*Li Xiong offered the throne to Fan, who instead convinced Xiong to take the throne, arguing that celestial timings favored a ruler surnamed Li. When Li Xiong, at Fan's urging, proclaimed himself king in the *jiazi* 甲子 year 304, Fan was welcomed into the capital with great ceremony. Riding in a white cart, he was met at the gate by Li Xiong, who led him to his seat. Fan received the honorary name “Worthy” (Xian 賢) and the title Great Master of the Four Seasons, the Eight Nodes, and Heaven and Earth (Sishi bajie tiandi taishi 四時八節天地太師). He was appointed Counselor-in-Chief (*chengxiang* 丞相), enfeoffed as Marquis, and awarded the tax revenue of all his followers, who were also exempted from corvée duties. Two years later, Fan convinced Xiong to take the imperial title, thus formally breaking ties with the Jin empire, and was no doubt instrumental in implementing the Taoist-inspired reforms that characterized Xiong's rule.

The historical record for the state of Dacheng makes little mention of Fan's activities as Chancellor, but they must have been considerable and effective, for upon his death in 318, his son Fan Ben 范賁 succeeded his father in this position. Little else is known of Fan, but it is likely that he was of the Zong 賚 ethnicity, perhaps a distant relative of the Fan Mu 范目 (or Fan Yin 范因) who led the Zong in support of Liu Bang 劉邦 at the founding of the Han dynasty. After the state of Dacheng (by then called Han 漢) was finally conquered in 347, a revolt attempted to reestablish the state with Fan Ben as its prospective ruler. Such was the enduring influence of the Fan family in the

Sichuan region.

Terry KLEEMAN

▣ Kleeman 1998, *passim*; Seidel 1969–70, 233–36

※ Li Xiong; Dacheng

*fang shema*

放赦馬

Dispatching the Writ of Pardon

Dispatching the Writ of Pardon is the rite of sending off the Writ of Pardon of the Three Heavens (*santian sheshu* 三天赦書) to the lords of the underworld, attesting that the sins of the deceased have been forgiven. In rituals of Merit (*\*gongde*) in Taiwan, the rite is held in the late afternoon in an open space or on the road near the altar. The first half of the rite is an enactment of the receipt of the Writ from Heaven. Originally, the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see *\*daozhang*) climbed up on a platform and performed a spiritual ascension to Heaven to present the petition. After receiving Heaven's consent, he proclaimed it (*\*Shangqing lingbao dafa*; CT 1221, *j.* 44). This action is omitted in the ritual as it is carried out in present-day Taiwan, where the high priest instead climbs onto the platform and immediately proclaims the Writ of Pardon.

The second half of the rite dramatically enacts the sending of the Writ to the underworld. The priests take the stage carrying a paper figure of the Officer of Pardon (*sheguan* 赦官, the official who delivers the Writ) and his horse. They give the Officer a drink of wine and feed the horse with straw. Then they run around the open space, leaping and somersaulting, miming the journey to the underworld.

ASANO Haruji

▣ Lagerwey 1987c, 202–15; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 496–502 and 655–57; Schipper 1989b, 128–37



※ *gongde*

*Fanghu waishi*

方壺外史

The External Secretary of Mount Fanghu

This collection of *\*neidan* works by *\*Lu Xixing* (1520–1601 or 1606), so entitled after one of his appellations, dates from the Longqing period (1567–72). It was printed in either 1571 or 1572, as two of its works bear prefaces by Lu dated 1571. The second edition, published by Zhao Song 趙宋 during the Wanli period (1573–1620), was not printed before 1580, the date of Zhao's preface to Lu's commentary to the *Daode jing*. The third edition was published by Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 in 1915 and contains his “Preface to the New Engraving (*xinzi* 新梓) of the *Fanghu waishi*.”

The collection includes ten commentaries and four original works by Lu Xixing, not all of which bear dates. The commentaries are on the *\*Xinyin jing* (Scripture of the Mind Seal; 1571), the *\*Yinfu jing* (Scripture of the Hidden Accordance; 1567), the *\*Ruyao jing* (Mirror for Compounding the Medicine), the *Baizi bei* 百字碑 (Hundred-Word Stele; 1571; a short work attributed to *\*Lü Dongbin*, trans. Cleary 1991a, 239–52), the *\*Jindan sibai zi* (Four Hundred Words on the Golden Elixir), the *Jindan yinzheng shi* 金丹印證詩 (Verses on the Attestation of the Golden Elixir; by Longmei zi 龍眉子, Southern Song period), the *Qingtian ge* 青天歌 (Song of the Blue Heaven; 1571; attributed to *\*Qiu Chuji*), the *\*Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Reality), the *Daode jing* (1566), and two commentaries to the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*; 1569 and 1573). Lu Xixing's own works are the *Xuanfu lun* 玄膚論 (An Essay on the Surface of the Mystery; 1567), the *Jindan jiuzheng pian* 金丹就正篇 (Folios on Seeking the Proper Understanding of the Golden Elixir; 1564; trans. Wile 1992, 149–53), the *Jindan da zhitu* 金丹大旨圖 (Great Illustrated Directions on the Golden Elixir; 1570), and the *Qi polun* 七破論 (Seven Essays on Smashing [Erroneous Views]).

The whole collection is also available in reprints in the *\*Daozang jinghua* and the *\*Zangwai daoshu* (vol. 5), both based on the 1915 edition.

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 178–79; Yang Ming 1995

※ Lu Xixing; *neidan*

*fangji*

方技

“methods and techniques”; method-based expertises

The term *fangji* originally was a bibliographic category that referred to medical and mantic texts, and by extension the techniques that these texts contained. In the Han, this term was contrasted with *shushu* 數術 (“arts of the numbers,” or “algorithm-based techniques”) that included astronomy, calendrics, and divination, and primarily associated with *\*fangshi* (masters of methods). By later imperial times, “method-based expertises” lost this specific connotation and became roughly synonymous with the more general category of *fangshu* 方術 (“methods and arts”) and came to describe individuals whose fame rested on the mastery of such methods.

The earliest use of the term *fangji* to categorize books was in the *Qilüe* 七略 (Seven Summaries), the imperial catalogue assembled by Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BCE–23 CE) where *fangji* was one of seven categories of texts. Liu Xin's taxonomy formed the basis for the bibliography of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han; *j.* 30). The texts listed in this *Hanshu* category were subdivided into four sections: Medical Classics (*yijing* 醫經), Classic Recipes (*jingfang* 經方), Inner Chamber (*fangzhong* 房中, i.e., sexual cultivation methods; see *\*fangzhong shu*), and Spirit Transcendence (*shenxian* 神仙, i.e., immortality techniques). The first two sections contain titles such as *\*Huangdi neijing* (Inner Scripture of the Yellow Emperor) and *Shennong Huangdi shijin* 神農黃帝食禁 (Dietary Proscriptions of the Divine Husbandman and the Yellow Emperor), implying that such texts were concerned with medicine and diet. Texts listed in the latter two sections appear to have been concerned with practices such as altering the inner balance of Yin and Yang through sexual and alchemical means, as well as ingesting “numinous mushrooms” (*\*zhi*).

The Han precedent influenced later historical writing, and the term *fangji*

evolved into a biographical category. Chen Shou's 陳壽 (232–97) *Weizhi* (History of Wei; ca. 280) section of the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) contains a chapter on *fangji* that includes both the examples of technical skill similar to the sense in the *Hanshu* as well as anomalies. The *Jiu Tangshu* (Old History of the Tang; j. 191) traces its origins to Liu Xin's category of “techniques, numbers, divination, and physiognomy,” but lists a much wider variety of experts in the occult arts. Likewise, the Song collectanea *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period; 983) had *fangji* chapters that included methods that were in both the number-based and recipe-based categories in the *Hanshu*. Most later imperial Standard Histories through the *Mingshi* (History of the Ming) contained such a biographical chapter. By this time, the Han distinction between *fangji* and *fangshu* had long been lost.

Many of these texts and the practices embodied in them found their way into the Taoist Canon. While *fangji* is not a category found in the Canon, some of the texts previously classified in that category are listed in the *fangfa* 方法 (Methods) and *zhongshu* 眾術 (Techniques) sections of the Cavern of Perfection (*dongzhen* 洞真) and Cavern of Mystery (*dongxuan* 洞玄; see \*sandong).

Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI

▣ Csikszentmihalyi 2000; DeWoskin 1981; DeWoskin 1983; Harper 1999; Kalinowski 1991; Kalinowski 2004; Li Ling 2000a; Li Ling 2000b; Ngo 1976

※ *fangshi*; COSMOLOGY; DIVINATION, OMENS, AND PROPHECY; NUMEROLOGY

*fangshi*

方士

“masters of methods”

*Fangshi* were specialists in a set of technical arts centering on immortality in late Warring States and early imperial China. Originally, *fangshi* were primarily from the coastal regions of Qi 齊 and Yan 燕 (chiefly present-day Shandong, Hebei, and Liaoning), and specialized in knowledge of the

immortals and the paths to transcendence. They were patronized by emperors who sought immortality during the Qin and Han dynasties, and taught these rulers to produce elixirs and emulate the sage-kings of antiquity. By the Later Han, the term had broadened to include diviners, physicians, astrologers, and physiognomists. Some of the medical and transcendence techniques employed by the *fangshi* in early imperial China were adopted by practitioners in the Taoist movements of the late Han like the \*Wudoumi dao (Way of the Five Pecks of Rice).

The earliest reference to the *fangshi* occurs in the monograph on *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 sacrifices (“Fengshan shu” 封禪書) in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; ca. 100 BCE), which describes groups of experts in immortality living in coastal China in the fourth century BCE. From the time of Kings Wei (Weiwang 威王, r. 334–320 BCE) and Xuan (Xuanwang 宣王, r. 319–301 BCE) of Qi and King Zhao (Zhaowang 昭王, r. 311–279 BCE) of Yan, these *fangshi* claimed to know of three spirit mountains where immortals dwelt and medicines conferring immortality existed (*Shiji*, 28.1369–70; trans. Watson 1961, 26; see \*Penglai). The same source narrates the patronage of *fangshi* by Qin Shi Huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE). In 219 BCE, he sent \*Xu Fu to find immortals dwelling on the spirit mountains in the eastern sea. Four years later, he commissioned Master Lu (Lu sheng 盧生) to go to sea to search for the immortals, and then sent three other *fangshi* to seek the herbs of deathlessness of the immortals. In the *Shiji*, the methods (*fang* 方) used by the *fangshi* generally concerned demons and spirits: methods for retreating from old age (*quelao fang* 卻老方), methods involving demons and gods (*guishen fang* 鬼神方), and methods for gods, monsters and anomalies (*shen guai qi fang* 神怪奇方).

In the Former Han, Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 BCE) and Liu An 劉安 (179?–122), the Prince of Huainan (see \*[Huainan zi](#)), were best known for their patronage of *fangshi*. In 133 BCE, \*Li Shaojun advised Emperor Wu to perform a rite first celebrated by the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi), enabling the transformation of cinnabar to gold. Gongyu Dai 公玉帶 furnished Emperor Wu with a chart depicting a pentagonal twelve-storey hall matching one built by the Yellow Emperor in 102 BCE. By emulating the Yellow Emperor, Wu sought to mimic his apotheosis and become an immortal. *Fangshi* advised him in this, although they did not enjoy official positions in the government (Chen Pan 1948, 33–40). Liu An, one of Emperor Wu's vassals, was said to have gathered several thousand experts in methods and

techniques, and relying on them compiled treatments of techniques of spirit transcendence (*shenxian* 神仙) and alchemy (*huangbai* 黃白; *Hanshu*, 44.2145). Fragments of the resulting text—the *Huainan wanbi* 淮南萬畢 or *Myriad Endings of Huainan*—exist, but Kusuyama Haruki has argued that they come from a compendium of *fangshi* traditions postdating Liu An, associated with him because of the transcendence tales that surrounded him (1987, 31). It is also in the Former Han that the longevity of *fangshi* is first asserted: Li Shaojun was hailed as a spirit because he was able to recall events in the distant past and identify a bronze vessel cast in 676 BCE (*Shiji*, 28.1385). Similar tales surround Later Han *fangshi* such as Lu Nüsheng 魯女生 and Ji Zixun 薊子訓 (*Hou Hanshu*, 82B.2741, 2746; see Ngo 1976).

After the brief Xin dynasty (9–23 CE) of Wang Mang, also a noted patron of the *fangshi*, Emperor Guangwu (r. 25–57 CE) restored the Han and censured them (*Hou Hanshu*, 28A.959–60). By the reigns of Emperors Zhang (r. 75–88 CE) and He (r. 88–106 CE), however, imperial patronage of *fangshi* had recovered. A funerary inscription for such a *fangshi* discovered in Henan province in 1991 tells of the clairvoyance and ability to avert catastrophe of Fei Zhi 肥致, who served as Expectant Appointee in the Lateral Court (*yeting daizhao* 掖庭待詔, i.e., a candidate for the examinations who had received the recommendation of an official and served in the apartments of the imperial concubines) because of these expertises (Xing Yitian 1997, 53; Schipper 1997b; Little 2000b, 150–51). The inscription also states that Fei Zhi was friends with divine beings such as \*Chisong zi, an immortal associated with breathing exercises and immortality. As this example suggests, the methods used by the *fangshi* from the Later Han were defined more broadly to include a variety of medical and omenological techniques. Evidence of the breadth of practice incorporated into the chapter on *fangshi* in Fan Ye's 范曄 (398–445) *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han) is its inclusion of omen and portent techniques such as *fengjiao* 風角 (wind angles). This practice, which may date back to the Shang dynasty (DeWoskin 1983, 27), involves using the temperature, strength, and changes in direction in seasonal winds to determine the local increase and decrease in Yin and Yang *\*qi* (Li Ling 2000a, 52–57).

When Chen Shou 陳壽 (232–97) compiled the chapter on Methods and Techniques (*\*fangji*) in the *Weizhi* (History of Wei; ca. 280) section of the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms), his intention was to revise traditional historical writing by broadening the coverage of “unorthodox

happenings and anomalous events” (*Sanguo zhi*, 29.830). Yamada Toshiaki has argued that the reason that Fan Ye broadened the definition of *fangshi* in his *Hou Hanshu* was that he was following Chen's lead. As a result, the divination and omenology methods that had been categorized as *shushu* 數術 (“arts of the numbers,” or “algorithm-based techniques”) in the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han) were combined with the category of *fangshi* into a chapter on *fangshu* 方術 (“methods and arts”; Yamada Toshiaki 1988b, 1968–69). Thus the *fangshi*, originally experts in matters of the spirits, came by the late Han to include the ubiquitous experts in detecting shifts in the balance of the natural world.

The “methods” of the *fangshi* may be seen as forerunners of organized Taoist practices on several levels. In the Han, the concept of the Dao served to explain the efficacy of the myriad of newly forming technical disciplines (Csikszentmihalyi 1997), and many of these disciplines were the province of the *fangshi*. This explains why the term *\*daoshi* (masters of the Dao) was already beginning to replace the term *fangshi* in the *Hanshu*, resulting in its gradual eclipse of the latter term. On a more concrete level, many specific techniques of spirit transcendence, medicine, and alchemy initially used by *fangshi* found their way into later Taoist practice.

Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 258–59; Chen Pan 1948; Csikszentmihalyi 2000; DeWoskin 1981; DeWoskin 1983; DeWoskin 1986; Harper 1999; Li Ling 2000a; Li Ling 2000b; Lin Yuping 1995; Ngo 1976; Robinet 1997b, 37–39; Roth 1987a; Yamada Toshiaki 1988b

※ *fangji*

*fangzhong shu*

房中術

“arts of the bedchamber”; sexual techniques

The term *fangzhong shu* (lit., “techniques for inside the [bed-]chamber”) generally refers to intimate practices shared within a couple's marital bed. Modern writers, in China and the West alike, have frequently exoticized them

as “sexual alchemy” or “sexual yoga,” and have explained them as “Taoist.” Others have examined such interpretations and found them unfounded or exaggerated. The question is not whether Chinese people practiced, or wrote about, activities that involved sexuality, but whether such activities were in any meaningful sense Taoist (Strickmann 1974, 1044–45; Schipper 1993, 144–55).

Some of the modern confusion results from anachronistic interpretations. In late imperial times, for instance, *\*jing* (vital essence) was the standard term for male reproductive fluids. And certain texts from earlier periods show that certain writers assumed that conservation of such fluids would help protect a man from debilitation, illness, and premature death. The problem lies in the fact that the term *jing* is also used in many historical texts, including Taoist texts, in contexts that clearly preclude such meanings. For instance, the *\*Neiye*’s opening lines read:

The vital essence (*jing*) of all things—  
This is what makes life come into being:  
Below, it generates the five grains,  
Above, it brings about the constellated stars.  
When it flows in the interstices of Heaven and Earth,  
It is called “spiritual beings” (*guishen* 鬼神);  
When it is stored up inside [a person’s] chest,  
He/she is called “a sage” (*\*shengren*).

To read these lines (or comparable lines in the *Daode jing*) as using *jing* to denote male reproductive fluids would be nonsensical. Clearly, the term refers here to an essence that suffuses a person’s being. Taoist literature is replete with comparable uses. But even some excellent scholars have persisted in reading the term *jing* as meaning “semen,” no matter what text may contain it. It is particularly important to consider the real or intended audiences of such texts: if the advocated practices would otherwise seem applicable to women and men alike, it is quite possible that there, as in the *Neiye*, references to *jing* involve preservation of a general life-force, not reproductive fluids.

Generally, we must distinguish Taoists’ emphasis on cultivating life’s basic forces (“bio-spiritual cultivation”) from various other parties’ interest in explaining and enhancing sexual relationships (Kirkland 1994, 162). Early texts that suggest methods for improving lovemaking range from *\*Mawangdui* manuscripts (Harper 1987b; Wile 1992, 77–83) to a tenth-century Japanese medical compendium, the *\*Ishinpō* (Methods from the

Heart of Medicine; Wile 1992, 83–113; Kohn 1993b, 153–59). Very different are texts from Ming and Qing times that prescribe esoteric ritual techniques, instead of ordinary attempts to improve lovemaking (Wile 1992, 146–92). Some Tang texts, like \*Sun Simiao's *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand; Wile 1992, 114–19; Kirkland 1997–98, 113–14), urge cautious sexual activity, but have little identifiable Taoist content. And none of those texts are preserved in the *Daozang*—a fact that indicates either that Taoists did not value such texts, or that they were loath to admit that they did. Some have argued that *fangzhong shu* are related to Taoist spiritual practices because both are concerned with “the cultivation of *qi*” (Wile 1992, 149). But if so, the earliest proponent of “sexual alchemy” would logically be Mencius (*Mengzi* 孟子, 2A.2; trans. Legge 1895, 189)—a notion that few would accept.

Generally speaking, Taoists have never been the prudes that Confucians, or followers of Western religions, have been. And since Taoists have, throughout history, been reluctant to demarcate boundaries between orthopraxy and heteropraxy, certain Taoists of various periods may have advocated or participated in practices (perhaps including *\*heqi*, “merging pneumas”: see Bokenkamp 1997, 44–46) that involved more sexuality than Westerners or Confucians generally find comfortable or comprehensible. But ultimately, Taoist self-cultivation, beginning with the *Neiye*, married physiological rectification with attempts to attain and embody higher experiential realities, such as essence, pneuma, and spirit (*\*jing, qi, shen*), and the Dao. Some *\*Shangqing* texts instruct a male practitioner to visualize spiritual interaction with a feminine spiritual being (Schafer 1978a; Kohn 1993b, 267–71; Bokenkamp 1996b; Kroll 1996c). But such models, though couched in mildly erotic terms, really advocate a meditative process of visualizing an exchange of energies, not the physical coupling assumed in *fangzhong shu*. The *Chishu yujue miaojing* 赤書玉訣妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of Red Writings and Jade Instructions; CT 352), an early *\*Lingbao* text, warns, “Don't set your mind on sex or give rise to passions” (Kohn 1993b, 98). And the great Tang leader *\*Sima Chengzhen*, whose *\*Fuqi jingyi lun* gives advice on proper management of all physiological realities, also warned “that sensual feelings are neither essential nor appropriate for body or mind” (Kohn 1993b, 238). Perhaps the most typical Taoist position would be that the sexual components of one's being are realities that should be managed cautiously, but are not to be indulged, and are not to be confused



with the more sublime realities that are the goal of Taoist religious practice.

*Russell KIRKLAND*

▣ Despeux 1990, 27–42; van Gulik 1961; Harper 1987b; Harper 1998, 135–41; Ishida Hidemi 1991; Kirkland 1994; Kohn 1993b, 153–59; Li Ling 2000a, 382–433; Maspero 1981, 517–41; Robinet 1988; Sakade Yoshinobu 1993a; Schipper 1993, 144–55; Wile 1992

※ *heqi; yangsheng*

*faqi*

法器

ritual tools

The ritual tools of Taoism consist of implements used to call forth deities, exorcize evil forces, and manipulate both deities and demons. These objects include swords, mirrors, and seals, as well as musical instruments such as bells, chimes, and wooden fish. According to the *\*Fengdao kejie* (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao; *j.* 3), all the implements used in temples and ritual spaces may be designated as “ritual tools.” The following are some of the most representative types of objects.

1. The audience tablet (*hu* 笏) is a long and slender tablet held by the priest (*\*daoshi*) in his hands. It is closely patterned on the tablet held by officials at court. It is also known as *baohu* 寶笏 (precious tablet), *shouban* 手版 (Hand Board), *chaoban* 朝版 (Audience Board), *zouban* 奏板 (Announcement Plank), and *zhijian* 執簡 (Hand-held Slip). It measures about 50 cm in length, 5 cm in width, and 5 mm in thickness.
2. The Seven-star Sword (*qixing jian* 七星劍) is a steel sword whose blade is engraved with a pattern of the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*). It is also



Fig. 32. Ritual tools. (a) Seven-star Sword; (b) Command Placard; (c) Bells; (d) Water bowl; (e) *Fengzhi* 奉旨; (f) Dragon Horn (*longjiao* 龍角). Reproduced from Liu Zhiwan 1983a. (g) Chime (*qing* 磬); (h) Wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚); (i) *Gao* 筭. Reproduced from Liu Zhiwan 1983a.



32g



32i



32h

known as *baojian* 寶劍 (Precious Sword), *fajian* 法劍 (Sword of the Law), *longquan jian* 龍泉劍 (Sword of the Dragon Springs), and *zhanxie jian* 斬邪劍 (Sword Severing Evil). It measures about 60 cm in length, and is used for vanquishing evil spirits.

3. The Command Placard (*lingpai* 令牌) is a long and narrow wooden plate, rounded at the top and flat at the bottom. On the front is carved “Command of the Five Thunders” (*wulei haoling* 五雷號令) and on the back, “Calling the Ten Thousand Spirits” (*zongzhao wanling* 總召萬靈) or “Placard of the Imperial Decree” (*chiling pai* 敕令牌). It is also called *wulei ling* 五雷令 (Command of the Five Thunders) or *leiling pai* 雷令牌 (Placard of the Thunder Command). It is 18 cm in height, 7 cm in breadth, and 3 cm in thickness. It reproduces the imperial tallies given to officials by the emperor. The priest holds the placard in his hands when giving orders to heavenly officers and generals.
4. Bells are held in one hand by the priest. They are called *sanqing*

*ling* 三清鈴 (Bells of the Three Clarities) or *fazhong* 法鐘 or *faling* 法鈴 (Bells of the Law). Their function is to beckon the deities and exorcize demons. Made of brass, they are about 20 cm in height and 10 cm in circumference. The Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*) are represented on the upper section of the handle.

5. The hand-held burner (*shoulu* 手爐) is an incense burner with a handle. It is held by the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see *\*daozhang*) or by the leading community representative. The smoke arising from the hand-held burner is thought to represent the transmission of sincerity to the deities.
6. The water bowl (*shuiyu* 水盂) contains purified water (*jingshui* 淨水). Made of brass, it is 4 cm in height and 6 cm in circumference. The priest holds it in his left hand while in his right hand he holds a flower with the stem attached (or a small twig of willow) that he uses to sprinkle water in order to purify the ritual space.
7. The *fengzhi* 奉旨 is an oblong piece of wood used by the high priest to signal the progress of the ritual, by beating it on the table. It is also called *chiban* 敕板 (Plank of the Imperial Decree), *yuzhi* 玉旨 (Jade Injunction), and *jingban* 淨板 (Pure Plank). It is 10 cm in length, 4 cm in height, and 3 cm in depth. It resembles the gavel used by judges in olden times, and the “wake-up wood” (*xingmu* 醒木) employed by lecturers.
8. The Dragon Horn (*longjiao* 龍角) is a horn flute used to summon the deities and exorcize evil spirits. It is also called *lingjiao* 靈角 (Numinous Horn) or *haojiao* 號角 (Horn of Orders). In Taiwan various types are used: the Black-head and Red-head priests (see *\*hongtou* and *wutou*) use flutes made of buffalo horn or tin, respectively, while the ritual masters (*\*fashi*) use flutes of buffalo or ox horn. This instrument is about 30 cm long and about 10 cm in circumference.
9. *The Rope of the Law* (*fasheng* 法繩) is a whip symbolizing a snake. Its cracking noise is said to scare away evil spirits. It is also called *fabian* 法鞭 (Whip of the Law), *fasuo* 法索 (Cord of the Law), and *jingbian* 淨鞭 (Whip of Purity). Its wooden handle is about 20 cm long and about 3 cm thick and is carved to represent a snake. Its attached rope, made of plaited flax and cotton and about one meter in length, represents the snake's body and tail.

10. The Seal of the Law (*fayin* 法印) is used for stamping documents used in rituals. The action of stamping is thought to invest the document with spiritual power.
11. The Mirror of the Law (*fajing* 法鏡) is used during the rite of Opening the Light (*\*kaiguang*) to cause deities to lodge within their images, and to exorcize evil spirits.
12. The Measure of the Law (*fachi* 法尺) is a ruler that has the power to exorcize evil spirits. Made of wood, it is about 30 cm in length, about 2 cm in width, and about 1 cm in thickness. Both sides are marked with gradations. A more powerful form of this implement is called *Tianpeng chi* 天蓬尺 (Measure of Tianpeng; see under *\*Tianpeng zhou*), which is a square stick about 35 cm long and about 3 cm thick that has no gradations, but bears on both sides the name of Tianpeng Yuanshuai 天蓬元帥 (Marshal Tianpeng), the Sun and Moon, the twenty-eight lunar lodges (*\*xiu*), the Northern Dipper, and the Southern Dipper (*nandou* 南斗).
13. The chime (*qing* 磬) is a bowl-shaped musical instrument made of copper. It is placed on the right side of the central table of the altar (the Cavern Bench, *dong'an* 洞案), opposite the wooden fish. It is also known as *tongqing* 銅磬 (bronze chime), *qingqing* 清磬 (pure chime), *yuqing* 玉磬 (jade chime), and *tongbo* 銅鉢 (bronze bowl).
14. The wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚) is a hollow percussion instrument made of wood. It is placed on the left side of the central table, opposite the chime. It is also called *mugu* 木鼓 (wooden drum). Both the chime and the wooden fish are made in various sizes.
15. The *gao* 筊 is a divination tool in the form of a crescent made of bamboo or wood, often painted red. One side is flat and represents Yang, while the other side is convex and represents Yin. They come in various sizes, between 5 and 25 cm in length, and are used in sets of two. After praying before the deities, one throws the set of *gao* to the ground. If one comes up Yin and the other Yang, it means that the deities agree; this is called *shenggao* 聖筊 (*gao* of sagehood). If both are Yang, the deities are derisive; this is called *xiaogao* 笑筊 (*gao* of derision). If both sides are Yin, the deities are angry; this is called *fufen* 伏筊 (*gao* of submission).

▣ Little 2000b, 219; Liu Zhiwan 1983a; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 207–10; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 255–57; Schipper and Wang 1986, 188–94; Zhang Zehong 1999a, 94–99

※ *gongde; jiao; zhai*

*fashi*

法師

“ritual master”

The term *fashi* generally refers to a “master of rites” and may denote a Buddhist monk or a Taoist priest. In Taiwan, it is often used to designate the Red-head (*hongtou* 紅頭) ritual masters (see \**hongtou* and *wutou*). Going barefoot and wearing everyday clothes with red scarves wrapped around their heads, they perform healing, exorcism, and magico-religious ceremonies that employ trance techniques. They also carry out rites to protect the village community by calling on the “soldiers of the netherworld” (*yinbing* 陰兵) of the Five Camps (\**wuying*). The spells used by the Red-head ritual masters often contain vernacular expressions. At present, they are recorded in books transmitted from master to disciple, but originally their transmission was oral.

ASANO Haruji

▣ Cohen 1992; Furuie Shinpei 1999, 98–100; Liu Zhiwan 1983b, 207–317; Liu Zhiwan 1983–84, 2: 5–427; Naoe Hiroji 1983, 1008–83; Saso 1970; Schipper 1985e

※ *hongtou* and *wutou*

Fei Changfang

費長房

Fei Changfang is most famous for his encounter with Hugong 壺公, the

Gourd Sire. The classic version of this encounter is narrated in Hugong's biography in *\*Shenxian zhuan*, in which Fei is a guard in the marketplace. It happens that an old man—who is really Hugong—sells herbs to cure illness in the market and hangs a large gourd outside his shop. Each night Fei, alone, notices that the old man disappears into the gourd and, understandably, thinks he is marvellous and decides to serve him. The old man ultimately invites him into the gourd which, like sacred caverns, houses an immortals' world of places, towers and buildings of all kinds, an example of the typical Taoist motif of the inside being larger than the outside (see the entry *\*dongtian* and *fudi*). Hugong proceeds to test Fei's worthiness to receive the Dao that confers immortality. He successfully passed the first two tests: by not showing fear when left alone with tigers and by not moving when a huge rock that was suspended above his head on a flimsy cord was about to be gnawed through by snakes. However, Fei recoiled from the third ordeal—eating excrement infested with inch-long worms. Hugong responded that although he could not attain the Dao of immortality he could receive earthly power and gain several hundred years of life.

Fei is credited with possessing a powerful talisman with which he could control demons, enabling him to effect cures through exorcism. He was also able to “shrink the veins of the earth” so that one thousand *li* of territory could be viewed at one time and to relieve drought.



Fig. 33. Fei Changfang enters his gourd.

Fei also receives a biography in *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han) which is very similar to that in *Shenxian zhuan*. However, it ends on a rather different note: on losing his talisman Fei is set upon and murdered by ghosts.

*Benjamin PENNY*

📖 Company 2002, 161–68; DeWoskin 1983, 77–81; Giles L. 1948, 79–81; Ngo 1976, 128–34; Stein R. A. 1990, 66–70

✂ HAGIOGRAPHY





Fig. 34. A Taoist master lights a candle during the *fendeng* (Division of the Lamps) ceremony. Taiwan (March 1978). Photograph by Julian Pas.

*fendeng*

分燈

Division of the Lamps

The Division of the Lamps is one of the rites that compose the *\*zhai* (Retreat) and *\*jiao* (Offering) rituals, and is performed to remove pollution and establish the altar (*tan* 壇). It comprises three originally separate rites that are now performed in sequence: Division of the Lamps, Curtain-raising (*juanlian* 捲簾), and Sounding the Golden [Bell] and Striking the Jade [Gong] (*mingjin jiayu* 鳴金戛玉). The entire series is usually called “Division of the Lamps” or “Division of the Lamps and Curtain-raising.”

In the Division of the Lamps proper, after the lights on the altar have all been put out, a new fire is brought in and used to relight all the candles, to the accompaniment of the words from section 42 of the *Daode jing*: “The Dao generates the One, the One generates the Two, the Two generate the Three, and the Three generate the ten thousand things.” The rite of Curtain-raising

consists of rolling up the curtain that covers a scroll bearing the Chinese character for “portal” (*que* 闕, meaning the Golden Portal). This character symbolizes the palaces of the deities, and the action of raising the curtain announces to the deities that the ritual is about to begin. In the rite of Sounding the Golden Bell and Striking the Jade Gong, the sounds produced by striking a jade musical gong and a golden bell cause Yin and Yang to reverberate around the altar area. The jade gong (representing Heaven) is placed to the right on the central table where the priest performs the ritual, and the golden bell (representing Earth) is one of the gongs used by the musicians to the left of the altar. They are played by the assistant cantor (*fujiang* 副講) and by one of the percussionists, respectively.

All three rites have their origin in purification ceremonies performed before the “opening of the altar” (*kaitan* 開壇) according to the \*Lingbao ritual. In present-day Taiwan, they are performed late on the first night of a *zhai* or a *jiao* lasting more than two days. In view of their present position in the ritual, their essentially preparatory nature seems to have been obscured.

*ASANO Haruji*

▣ Lagerwey 1987c, 55; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 266–71; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 211–13; Schipper 1975c

※ *gongde; jiao; zhai*

Fengbo

風伯

Count of the Wind

Fengbo, also known as Fengshi 風師 (Master of the Wind) and Jibo 箕伯 (Count of the Basket), is the deity of the wind. In the *Lisao* 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow), a poem included in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 67–95), Feilian 飛廉, the attendant who appears in the scene where Qu Yuan 屈原 is departing for the abode of the Celestial Emperor, corresponds to Fengbo, as does the Basket (*ji* 箕, Sagittarius), one of the twenty-eight lunar lodges (see \**xiu*). In the *Han Feizi* 韓非子 (Book of Master Han Fei; trans. Liao 1939–59, 1: 76–77), when the Yellow Emperor

(\*Huangdi) gathers all the demons and deities at Mount Tai (\*Taishan, Shandong), Fengbo sweeps the path and \*Yushi, the deity of rain, sprinkles water on it. In the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou; trans. Biot 1861, 1: 420), kindling is burned to honor the deities of wind and rain. Again, the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; *j.* 28, trans. Watson 1968, 2: 29) tells us that in the time of Qin Shi huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE) there were temples dedicated to both Fengbo and Yushi in Yong 雍 (Fengxiang 鳳翔, Shaanxi), and that festivals were held there every year. It is evident from this account that from very early times Fengbo, together with Yushi, was an object of state ritual.

In ancient times, Fengbo was depicted as a grotesque deity with the body of a deer, the head of a bird, horns, the tail of a snake, and the patterning of a leopard. By the Ming period, however, images were made depicting him in the form of an old man with a white beard, carrying a fan in his right hand; by then he was known as Celestial Lord Fang, Count of the Wind (Fengbo Fang tianjun 風伯方天君) and venerated as one of a pair with Celestial Lord Chen, Master of Rain (Yushi Chen tianjun 雨師陳天君). A seventeenth-century Japanese screen by Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達 features the wind and rain deities; here the wind deity is depicted humorously with windswept hair, carrying a bag full of wind in both hands and running with long strides.

*YOSHIKAWA Tadao*

▣ Maspero 1981, 98–99

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

### *Fengdao kejie*

#### 奉道科戒

#### Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao

The *Fengdao kejie*—also known as *Fengdao ke*—is the first manual of monastic rules in medieval Taoism. It survives today in an edition contained in the Taoist Canon (CT 1125) and is also found—in a form that is about sixty percent complete—in four \*Dunhuang manuscripts (S. 3863, P. 2337, P. 3682, S. 809), the first two of which match the text in the Canon.

The Canon edition consists of six *juan* and contains eighteen sections that cover two major areas: the conceptual framework and concrete conditions of Taoist monastic practice (*j.* 1–3, sec. 1–10), in sections such as “Retribution of Faults” (“Zuiyuan” 罪緣), “Setting up Abbeys” (“Zhiguan” 置觀), “Making Sacred Images” (“Zaoxiang” 造像), “Copying Scriptures” (“Xiejing” 寫經), “Liturgical Implements” (“Faju” 法具), and “Liturgical Vestments” (“Fafu” 法服); and the organization of the ritual order (*j.* 4–6, sec. 11–18) under headings such as “Protocols for Reciting the Scriptures” (“Songjing yi” 誦經儀) and “Protocols for Ritual Ranks” (“Faci yi” 法次儀), along with sections on several liturgies. *Juan* 4 (8a–10b) and 5 (1a–2b) contain lists of Lingbao and Shangqing texts (on the latter, see Robinet 1984, 2: 18).

After much debate over the past four decades, scholars now agree that the *Fengdao kejie* was compiled in the early Tang dynasty, around the years 620–30, and inspired by the collected statutes of Jinming Qizhen 金明七真 (fl. 545–554) who is named as author in the preface. The bulk of the received text existed by the mid-seventh century and was first cited by \*Yin Wencao of the late seventh, then both cited and supplemented by \*Zhang Wanfu of the early eighth century and other Taoists of his time. After that the text continued to grow, coming to include more and more disparate materials, parts of which survive in citations and in S. 809. From this expanded version, a reduced edition in three *juan* was created that formed the basis for the version we still have today.

The text is also important because of the evidence it provides on the printing of images on paper by Taoists before the end of the seventh century (Barrett 1997).

*Livia KOHN*

■ Akizuki Kan'ei 1965; Barrett 1997; Benn 1991, 72–98; Kohn 1997a; Kohn 2001; Kohn 2004b (trans.); Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 115–21 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 219–42 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 557–89; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 108–14 (list of texts cited); Reiter 1998; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955, 301–40; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1976c

※ *jie* [precepts]; MONASTIC CODE; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

## Fengdu

豐都

Mount Fengdu has been the most famous Chinese purgatory since the first centuries of the Common Era. A rich liturgical tradition for the salvation of the living and the dead developed around its myth, probably coinciding with the formation of Taoist eschatology under Buddhist influence.

The earliest known mention of Fengdu (or its synonym Luofeng 羅豐) as an abode of the dead is in the *\*Baopu zi*, dating from the early fourth century (trans. Ware 1966, 64). Slightly later, the revealed *\*Shangqing* scriptures contain the first descriptions of the place as a mythical mountain (see for example *\*Zhengao*, j. 10 and 15). Located in the Northern Sea, in the northernmost quarter of the universe (it is also called Beifeng 北豐 or Northern Feng), Mount Fengdu is the seat of the cosmological Yin principle. There one finds the Six Heavens, celestial macrocosmic grottoes considered by Taoists to be the locus of all morbid or “expired” energies (*guqi* 故氣) consigned to evil and death (see *\*santian* and *liutian*). A gigantic administration is hidden in this universe of death, with palaces and residences, offices and law courts. Fengdu runs throughout this otherworld, in the subsoils of mountains (like *\*Taishan*) and rivers. Records of the dead are kept there and checked in due time. Virtuous deceased are carried to celestial paradises, while sinners are sent to “earth prisons” (*diyu* 地獄) typically located in the depths of the celestial grottoes. The huge and complex bureaucracy constantly at work in Fengdu is hierarchically organized: from the highest officials who were eminent figures during their lifetimes, down to simple demons (*\*gui*), factotums in charge of seizing those whose time in the world of the living is over. Therefore, the dead administer the dead. At the top of this otherworldly administration reigns the Northern Emperor, *\*Beidi*.



Fig. 35. The Great Emperor of Fengdu (Fengdu dadi 酆都大帝). Dongyue dian 東嶽殿 (Pavilion of the Eastern Peak), Tainan, Taiwan. Photograph by Julian Pas.

For the Taoists of the Six Dynasties, Mount Fengdu, although clearly considered to be a court of justice for the dead, paradoxically was also a place of splendor and marvel. Shangqing documents describe its palaces as covered with jewels and pearls, mentioning various details such as the extraordinary rice that grows there. It was only during the Tang dynasty, and under Buddhist influence, that the Taoist vision of the infernal world reached maturation and the mountain became a center of torture and horror for dead

sinners.

Although Fengdu is a mythical toponym, it has also materialized as a geographical reality in different times and regions. The best-known worldly implantation of the infernal mountain seems to have occurred during the Song dynasty. On the banks of the Yangzi River, in Sichuan province, the small town of Fengdu and its hill, “Mount” Pingdu 平都, are still visited today by pilgrims. The village, also called the City of Demons (Guicheng 鬼城), will soon undergo major transformations as the result of the Three Gorges Dam project, but Pingdu, the point of access to the infernal world, will survive.

*Christine MOLLIER*

▣ Chenivesse 1997a; Chenivesse 1997b; Chenivesse 1998; Despeux 1994, 97–99; Mollier 1997

※ Beidi; HELL; OTHERWORLDLY BUREAUCRACY

*fu*

釜

crucible

Placed at the center of the alchemical laboratory (the Chamber of the Elixirs, *danshi* 丹室 or *danwu* 丹屋), the crucible is the main tool used in *\*waidan*, and the focus of the alchemical process. *Fu* designates several types of vessels, typically formed of two superimposed halves joined by their mouths (hence the name “double crucible,” *shuangfu* 雙釜). According to the commentary to the *\*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity), that gives the earliest method to prepare it, the crucible is made of powdered red clay added to vinegar, and its inner parts are luted with a reddish-black lacquer obtained by boiling oak bark (*Taiqing jing tianshi koujue* 太清經天師口訣; CT 883, 3a–b). The method for making a different type of *fu*, whose lower half is of iron and upper half is of clay, is described in both the *\*Taiqing shibi ji* and the *\*Taiqing danjing yaojue* (Ho Peng Yoke 1985, 206; Sivin 1968, 166–68).

Sealing the ingredients in the crucible and heating the crucible are the two

most critical parts of the alchemical work, and mistakes made at these stages are said to result in the failure of the whole undertaking. After the ingredients are placed in the crucible, it is closed and then coated with several layers of Mud of the Six-and-One (*\*liuyi ni*) and sometimes with other muds as well. This hermetic sealing makes it possible to avoid dispersions of pneuma (*\*qi*) and to recreate within the vessel conditions that alchemists equate with those of primordial Chaos (*\*hundun*). Under the action of fire, the ingredients release their essences (*\*jing*), which are found to adhere to the inner part of the upper half of the crucible when it is opened. The essences are carefully collected (the designated tool mentioned in the early texts is a white chicken feather) and made into pills.

In the laboratory, the crucible is placed on top of a layered altar (*tan* 壇), either above the fire or inside a furnace. Alchemists perform ceremonies near the crucible before kindling the fire. In a rite described in the *\*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs), the adept offers food and drink to the Great Lord of the Dao (Da daojun 大道君), Lord Lao (*\*Laojun*), and the Lord of Great Harmony (Taihe jun 太和君), asking them to watch over the practice and ensure its success. According to the commentary to the *Jiudan jing* (*Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣; CT 885, 20.3a–b), a ceremony is performed in honor of the Great One (*\*Taiyi*) immediately after the crucible is opened and before ingesting the elixir.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Chen Guofu 1983, 14–21; Pregadio 2006b, 75–78; Sivin 1980, 292–97

※ *liuyi ni; waidan*

*fu*

符

talisman, tally, charm

See entry in “Taoism: An Overview,” p. 35.



Fu Jinquan

傅金銓

1765–1844; *zi*: Dingyun 鼎雲; *hao*: Jiyi zi 濟一子  
(Master Who Assists the One), Zuihua daoren 醉花道人  
(The Taoist Drunken Flower)

Fu Jinquan, a native of Jinxi 金溪 (Jiangxi), is one of the best-known Taoists of the Qing dynasty. Although he claims to have received instruction directly from \*Lü Dongbin, his blend of Taoism is close to the \*Jingming dao and his \**neidan* writings are inspired by those of \*Lu Xixing. These two influences are integrated in a Confucian view of life, as Fu advocated achieving the path of humanity (*rendao* 人道) before embarking on the path of immortality (*xiandao* 仙道). Fu travelled extensively in Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Hunan and Sichuan provinces. In 1817, when he was in the Ba 巴 district of Sichuan, he attracted a large group of followers, the most prominent of whom were an official named Ji Dakui 紀大奎 and two other disciples, Zhou Luanshu 周鸞書 and Yao Yizhi 姚一智.

Fu's works were first published as two separate collections, entitled *Jiyi zi daoshu* 濟一子道書 (Jiyi zi's Books on the Dao) and *Zhengdao bishu* 證道祕書 (Secret Books Testifying to the Dao). These were later merged and published as the *Jiyi zi zhengdao bishu shiqi zhong* 濟一子證道祕書十七種 (Jiyi zi's Seventeen Secret Books Testifying to the Dao), a title often abridged to *Daoshu shiqi zhong* 道書十七種 (Seventeen Books on the Dao). The collection is eclectic, containing works on *neidan*, \**waidan*, and sexual techniques. Eight of them are Fu's own writings, three consist of his own notes and comments, and the other six are republished from other sources. Fu's own *Yiguan zhenji yijian lu* 一貫真機易簡錄 (Records for an Easy Understanding of the True Mechanism of the Pervading Unity) contains his works on *neidan*, but also an entire collection of texts on \**nüdan* (inner alchemy for women) entitled *Nü jindan fayao* 女金丹法要 (Essentials of the Methods of the Golden Elixir for Women; Wile 1992, 202–4) with such works as the *Kunyuan jing* 坤元經 (Scripture of the Original Female) as well as writings attributed to \*Sun Bu'er and a Miaohua zhenren 妙化真人 (Perfected of Wondrous Transformation; fl. 1743). Several works ascribed to \*Zhang Sanfeng are collected in the *Sanfeng danjue* 三丰丹訣 (Zhang Sanfeng's Alchemical Instructions), notably the *Jindan jieyao* 金丹節要

(Synopsis of the Golden Elixir; trans. Wile 1992, 169–78), the *Caizhen jiyao* 採真機要 (Essentials of the Process for Gathering the True; trans. Wile 1992, 178–88), and the *Wugen shu* 無根樹 (The Rootless Tree; trans. Wile 1992, 188–92), all dealing with sexual practices. Of note also is the *Qiaoyang zi yulu* 樵陽子語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Master Qiaoyang), which contains an abridged version of the sayings of the Yuan-dynasty Jingming master \*Liu Yu. The *Qiaoyang jing* 樵陽子經 (Scriptures of Master Qiaoyang) includes related Ming and Qing texts obtained by spirit writing (see \**fujii*).

Fu Jinquan was not only a great scholar, but also a talented painter and poet. The preface to his *Beixi lu* 杯溪錄 (Records of the Goblet Pool), contributed by A Yinglin 阿應麟, shows that many of his texts were inscribed on his paintings. A Yinglin also took zither lessons from Fu, revealing yet another side of Fu's eclecticism.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

■ Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 195–211; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 399–400, 2: 187–89; Zeng Zhaonan 1996

※ *neidan*; *nüdan*

Fu Yi

傅奕

554–639

Fu Yi is known primarily as an expert on the text of the *Daode jing* and as an influential critic of Buddhism during the early Tang dynasty. His textual labors are to be found in the “Ancient Version,” *Daode jing guben pian* 道德經古本篇 (Compilation of the Ancient Version of the *Daode jing*; CT 665), a type of title which immediately arouses suspicion of exaggeration but which in this case has been vindicated by finds such as those at \*Mawangdui, which revealed that Fu Yi's text is indeed close to early Han versions. The Southern Song \**Hunyuan shengji* (Saintly Chronicle of Chaotic Origin; 3.20a) lists among his sources (mainly transmitted manuscripts, for which the precise number of characters are noted) one recovered in 574 from a tomb alleged to have been that of the concubine of Xiang Yu 項羽 (?–202 BCE). Whether the

identification of the tomb was correct or not, such a site was still known in the seventh century according to commentary in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 7.334), and may well have been early enough to contain an important find. Another source he is said to have used was a Han text and commentary once owned by \*Kou Qianzhi (365?–448).

The ease with which Fu was able to pursue such refined bibliographic research is explained by his career as an astrologer, which in central government started in the \*Tongdao guan institute under the Northern Zhou, established by the emperor Wu as a great center of religious learning in the service of the state's Taoistic ideology. In 593, under the Sui, he and a fellow-astrologer applied for permission to become Taoist priests, perhaps to enjoy continued access to the bibliographical resources of the Tongdao guan, which had been inherited by the Taoist \*Xuandu guan. Using his predictive powers to avoid trouble as the Sui fell into internecine strife, he briefly retired from government service. But under the early Tang he became Grand Astrologer (*taishi ling* 太史令), and used his position in 621 and again in 626, when the emperor Taizong (again, as he had predicted) had usurped the throne, to launch choleric attacks on Buddhism, as economically unproductive, unfilial, unpatriotic, politically disruptive and, above all, foreign. His trenchant memorials may be found in his official biographies in the Standard Histories; his lengthier polemics, based on a series of biographies of anti-Buddhists, including himself, may be found in the monk Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) continuation to the \**Hongming ji* (Collection Spreading the Light of Buddhism). For Buddhist counterblasts to his writings soon appeared in the \**Bianzheng lun* (Essays of Disputation and Correction) and other works, and these were not merely refutations of the points raised, but more largely aimed at the Taoist religion as a whole, which he quite clearly supported. During the more xenophobic latter half of the Tang, Fu Yi was recalled in an number of improbable anecdotes as a hero who pitted Chinese integrity against the mumbo-jumbo of foreign monks. His official biographies duly make him a solely Confucian hero, and, to suit the mood of the day, downplay his Taoist associations.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 41–43; Tonami Mamoru 1999, 35–46, 223; Wright 1951

*fudi*

福地

Blissful Lands

See \*[dongtian](#) and *fudi* 洞天·福地.

*fuji*

扶乩

planchette writing; spirit writing

Planchette writing is called *fuji* (lit., “support of the planchette stick”), *fuluan* 扶鸞 (“support of the phoenix”), or *jiangluan* 降鸞 (“descent of the phoenix”). Two persons hold a stylet (*jijia* 乩架) above a planchette whose surface is covered with sand (*shapan* 沙盤). One of them, possessed by a deity, moves the stylet and draws characters on the sand, which a third person interprets and transcribes on paper.

The fashion of planchette writing became particularly widespread in the Song period. Shen Gua 沈括 (1031–95; SB 856–53) in his *Mengqi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Brush Talks from Dream Brook; *j.* 20) and Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1037–1101; SB 900–968) in his *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 (Records of the Eastern Slope; *j.* 2) describe in detail the relation between planchette writing and the cult of the Purple Maiden (Zigu 紫姑, the Spirit of the Latrine; see \*Ceshen). The practice continued to develop in Ming and Qing times, in both learned and popular circles. Each district had at least one altar devoted to it, and even the Jiajing Emperor (r. 1522–66) had one such altar built at court. Planchette writing was forbidden by the Qing legal code, but continued to exist. The main deities who possessed the mediums were the Purple Maiden, female divinities, popular divinities, and the Eight Immortals (\**baxian*), particularly \*Lü Dongbin (see Katz P. R. 1996).

The Taoist Canon contains several texts that were produced entirely or

partly from spirit-writing sessions. Examples are the *Daoji lingxian ji* 道迹靈仙記 (Record of the Traces of the Dao Left by Numinous Spirits and Immortals; CT 597), the \**Minghe yuyin* (Echoes of Cranes' Songs), and the *Xuxian hanzao* 徐仙翰藻 (Literary Masterpieces of the Xu Immortals; CT 1468). Handbooks on planchette writing also exist, such as the *Bichuan wanfa guizong* 祕傳萬法歸宗 (Ten Thousand Authoritative Methods Transmitted in Secret). This work gives directions on drawing talismans and uttering incantations for the sacred area; on the brush, the ink, and the water; and on talismans and incantations used to summon the spirits. The preface states that planchette writing was one of the most common ways of receiving sacred texts from divine or semidivine beings.



Fig. 36. “Planchette writing” (*fuji*). An inspired medium, Master Cai Wen 蔡文, wields the “phoenix brush” during a spirit-writing session at the Wenhua yuan 文化院 (Cultural Academy), Kaohsiung, Taiwan (August 1997). Photograph by Julian Pas.

*Catherine DESPEUX*

▣ Chao Wei-pang 1942; Clart 1994–95; Clart 1997; Despeux 1990, *passim*; de Groot 1892–1910, 6: 1296–1316; Grootaers 1951; Jordan and Overmyer 1986, 36–88; Russell 1990a; Seaman 1980; Stein R. A. 1969b; Xu Dishan 1966; Zhong Zhaopeng 1988

※ TAOISM AND MEDIUM CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*fuqi*

服氣

ingestion of breath

*Fuqi* and its synonym *shiqi* 食氣 designate the ingestion of outer or inner breath. This technique is attested since the Han period, when it was closely associated with abstention from cereals (*\*bigu*). As described later in the *\*Yangxing yanming lu* and the *\*Fuqi jingyi lun*, ingesting breath had prophylactic and therapeutic functions.

Typical practices based on the ingestion of outer breath include the ingestion of the “five sprouts” (*wuya* 五芽, one for each direction; see Maspero 1981, 506–13), the ingestion of the “yellow pneuma” (*huangqi* 黃氣 contained in the sun rays), and the ingestion of breath in the time periods marked by the six cyclical signs *xu* 戌. The ingestion of outer breath can be practiced in association with the ingestion of talismanic water (*fushui* 符水, water containing ashes of burned talismans, *\*FU*), and with methods for circulating breath (*\*xingqi*) or for retaining breath (*\*biqu*). Breath can be guided to certain parts of the body or to the conduits (*\*jingluo*), or be accumulated in the lower abdomen. One should practice between midnight and midday, the time of the “living breath” (*shengqi* 生氣), and avoid the hours between midday and midnight, the time of the “dead breath” (*siqi* 死氣). A more sophisticated method involves varying the frequency of the ingestion according to the month and period of the day.

The *fuqi* technique is first described in the *\*Mawangdui* manuscripts (Harper 1998, 129–32) and later in the *\*Lingbao wufu xu* (Yamada Toshiaki 1989b, 109). The main sources in which it is described are the *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 延陵先生集新舊服氣經 (Scripture on New and Old Methods for the Ingestion of Breath Collected by the Elder of Yanling; CT 825), the *Fuqi koujue* 服氣口訣 (Oral Instructions on the Ingestion of Breath; CT 822; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 55–65), the *Fuqi jingyi lun*, and the “Zhuji qifa” 諸家氣法 (Breathing Methods of Various Schools) section of the *\*Yunji qiqian* (j. 56–62). From the Song period onward, the *fuqi* technique was also used in the Thunder Rites (*\*leifa*). The *\*Daofa huiyuan* (100.13a–b) reports that *\*Shenxiao* adepts should ingest the Thunder Pneuma (*leiqi* 雷氣) when they are initiated into the method of the Five Thunders (*wulei fa* 五雷法; see *\*leifa*).

Engelhardt 1987; Harper 1998, 129–32; Hu Fuchen 1989, 283–86; Maspero 1981, 506–13

※ *yangsheng*

*Fuqi jingyi lun*

服氣精義論

Essay on the Essential Meaning of the Ingestion of Breath

The *Fuqi jingyi lun* is a key text on physical self-cultivation composed by the twelfth patriarch of \*Shangqing, \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735). It is divided into nine sections, describing the attainment of physical purity and longevity in consecutive steps. In addition to the complete version found in \**Yunji qiqian* 57, the first two sections are also in CT 830, and the remaining seven in the *Xiuzhen jingyi zalun* 修真精義雜論 (Assorted Essays on the Essential Meaning of the Cultivation of Perfection; CT 277). Both texts contain talismans that are missing in the *Yunji qiqian* version.

The nine sections are as follows:

1. “On the Five Sprouts” (“Wuya lun” 五芽論). The Five Sprouts are the essential energies of the \**wuxing* and the five directions. Adepts ingest them with the help of visualization, gradually substituting them for a regular diet.
2. “On the Ingestion of Breath” (“Fuqi lun” 服氣論). To become independent of ordinary breathing, adepts absorb \**qi* as breath and store it in their inner organs. The immediate effect of the practice is a depleting of the body, but it soon becomes stronger.
3. “On *daoyin*” (“Daoyin lun” 導引論). Literally “exercises for guiding (energy) and stretching (the body),” \**daoyin* or gymnastics should always complement the absorption of *qi*. They frequently emulate the movements of animals, and serve to make the body supple, harmonize the inner energies, stimulate digestion and blood circulation, and expel diseases.

4. “On Talismanic Water” (“Fushui lun” 符水論). Talismans (\*FU) aid the process by being first burned, then dissolved in water, and finally ingested by the adepts.
5. “On Taking Drugs” (“Fuyao lun” 服藥論). Drugs replace normal food, especially the five grains (*wugu* 五穀) but also anything hot and spicy, which causes the body to decay. Drugs also effect an initial depleting of the body. The text also contains several recipes.
6. “On Complying with Prohibitions” (“Shenji lun” 慎忌論). Certain states should be avoided: exertion of the body, strong emotions in the mind.
7. “On the Five Viscera” (“Wuzang lun” 五臟論). This is a theoretical description of human physiology, relying heavily on the medical classic \**Huangdi neijing*.
8. “On Healing Disease through Ingestion of Breath” (“Fuqi liaobing lun” 服氣療病論). Diseases, resulting from bad energy circulation, hinder progress. There are specific exercises to heal them: massages or gymnastics cure functional or local, external problems, while the absorption of energy heals diseases affecting the inner organs.
9. “On the Symptoms of Diseases” (“Binghou lun” 病候論). For proper practice even latent diseases must be eliminated. Methods are thus given to diagnose harmful tendencies early on.

Altogether, the *Fuqi jingyi lun* gives a systematic explanation of various physiological techniques, presenting them in a lucid and well-organized manner that allows a clear understanding of medieval practices of physical cultivation. Many practices, moreover, are either similar to medical techniques or have survived as \**qigong* exercises to the present day.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Engelhardt 1987 (trans.); Engelhardt 1989, 269–77

※ Sima Chengzhen; *fuqi*; *yangsheng*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION



## Gan Ji

干吉

The figure of Gan Ji (who may actually have been Yu Ji 于吉, the characters for Gan and Yu being easily confused) is most closely associated with the history of the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace). However, the surviving records vary significantly in their accounts of his life and relationships.

Our first reference to Gan Ji comes in the two memorials that Xiang Kai 襄楷 (also pronounced Xiang Jie), a scholar worried about portents of disaster, presented to Emperor Huan (r. 146–168) in 166. In these memorials, Xiang Kai recommends a “divine book” to the emperor which one Gong Song 宮嵩 of Langya 琅琊 (Shandong) had received from Gan Ji. Gong had himself presented the book to Emperor Shun (r. 125–44). Subsequent glosses identified this divine book as the *Taiping qingling shu* 太平青領書 (Book of Great Peace with Headings Written in Blue), a precursor to the *Taiping jing*.

Gan Ji and Gong Song appear again in \*Ge Hong's *\*Shenxian zhuan* of the early fourth century. In the biography of Gong Song in that collection (trans. Campany 2002, 363), Gong takes Gan as his teacher during the reign of Emperor Yuan (49–33 BCE). Together they encounter a Celestial Immortal who grants Gan the *Taiping jing*. In the biography of Lord Gan (i.e. Gan Ji) himself, Gong Song does not appear. Rather, in this text Gan Ji is presented as the patient of Bo He 帛和, a medicine seller. Gan, afflicted by diseases of the skin, is given not medicine but a two-chapter long book which, Bo says, will heal his skin and grant him long life as well. Bo also instructs him to expand the book into 150 chapters, usually taken as a reference to the *Taiping jing*.

Later again, the preface to the *\*Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie* (The Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao) from the fifth century at the earliest, claims that Lord Lao taught the Dao to Gan Ji during the reign of King Nan of Zhou (Nanwang 赧王, r. 314–256 BCE) and also transmitted the *Taiping jing* to him. In this version, Bo He (here named Lord Bo) has become Gan Ji's patient.

In what appears to be a separately transmitted tradition dating from the late third century, Gan Ji appears as a healer and charismatic religious leader around Wu in the lower Yangzi basin. Among his followers were members of the army of Sun Ce 孫策 (175–200), one of the military leaders who fought in the wars of the late second century. Fearing the increasing hold Gan had over his officers, Sun had him executed. A record of these events in *\*Soushen ji* claims that Gan's decapitated body subsequently disappeared, Gan returning to haunt Sun Ce who went mad and died as a result.

Clearly, these records are difficult to reconcile, if only because they have Gan active over perhaps 500 years. This has led some scholars to conjecture that different historical figures adopted the name of Gan Ji as a token of numinous power and that these anecdotes may therefore refer to separate people. Another approach has been to claim that the real Gan Ji lived during the second century and was simply very old when executed by Sun Ce. The references to earlier activities have thus been interpreted as attempts to grant a spuriously ancient history to the *Taiping jing*.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Campany 2002, 301–3; Kandel 1979; Maeda Shigeki 1985a; Mansvelt Beck 1980; Fukui Kōjun 1958, 62–71

※ *Taiping jing*; HAGIOGRAPHY

*Ganshui xianyuan lu*

甘水仙源錄

Accounts of the Immortals Who Appeared [After the Revelation]  
at Ganshui

This large ten-juan collection of inscriptions (CT 973) related to the history of *\*Quanzhen* was compiled by *\*Li Daoqian* (1219–96) and bears a postface dated 1289. The title alludes to Ganhe 甘河 (Shaanxi, west of Xi'an), where *\*Wang Zhe* first met the immortals in 1159. The author was abbot of the Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Double Yang), the monastery built on Wang's grave not far from Ganhe, and was especially knowledgeable about the many sites of Quanzhen's holy history in the Zhongnan 終南 area. The

*Ganshui xianyuan lu* is not limited to those places, however, but is representative of the order's development throughout northern China. The work opens with the canonization decree of 1269, which awarded prestigious titles to Quanzhen's founders and immortal ancestors, but the inscriptions roughly span the years 1220–80 and are concerned with the history of Quanzhen from Wang's predication onward.

The collection is a tribute to the importance of \*EPIGRAPHY as an expression of Quanzhen self-identity. The order made sure that all its major monasteries had foundation stelae and all its important masters had funerary inscriptions. This is evident from several inscriptions composed long after their recorded events and explicitly written to fill a gap. This systematic approach is reflected in the structure of the book: *j.* 1 and 2 include nine memorial inscriptions for Wang Zhe and his six male disciples; *j.* 3 to 8 contain thirty-nine memorial inscriptions for the subsequent generations of Quanzhen masters; and *j.* 9 and 10 are devoted to seventeen monastery inscriptions. Also scattered among the ten *juan* are various prose texts (short biographical notices, prefaces, and so forth), and at the end of *j.* 10 is a collection of poems written at the monastery in Ganhe. These texts, chosen to illustrate the history of Quanzhen, are by nature of their genre in open circulation, and in this regard it is remarkable that Quanzhen masters wrote only ten of the sixty-five inscriptions. The remaining authors include several eminent scholars of this period.

The attention paid to the setting of stelae and the transmission of inscriptions is peculiar to Quanzhen. Some famous inscriptions were separately edited in the *Daozang*, but the present text is, along with the contemporary and much smaller *Gongguan beizhi* 宮觀碑誌 (Epigraphic Memorials of Palaces and Abbeys; CT 972), the only anthology of this genre in Taoist literature. Li Daoqian's efforts to compile a large collection are therefore a valuable contribution to the 500-odd strong corpus of extant Quanzhen inscriptions. Although some of its sixty-five texts were also transmitted in other sources, most are unique to the *Ganshui xianyuan lu*.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 123–24; Chen Guofu 1963, 244–46; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 198

※ Li Daoqian; Quanzhen; EPIGRAPHY

*ganzhi*

干支

[Celestial] Stems and [Earthly] Branches

In the West, the artificial seven-day cycle of the week has long played an important role in structuring civil and religious time. In ancient China, a ten-day period, the *xun* 旬, played an analogous role from at least as far back as the Shang dynasty. Each day was named using one of ten characters known as the *tiangan* 天干 or Celestial Stems (see [table 8](#)). There is no consensus among scholars as to the original significance of these characters, though many hypotheses have been proposed.

By systematic pairing of the ten Stems with another set of twelve cyclical characters, the *dizhi* 地支 or Earthly Branches (see [table 9](#)), a longer cycle of sixty day-names was generated (see [table 10](#)). The first decade of the sexagesimal cycle begins with the Stem-Branch pair *jiazi* 甲子 as no. 1, and ends

Table 7

	STEMS	BRANCHES
1	<i>jia</i> 甲	<i>zi</i> 子
2	<i>yi</i> 乙	<i>chou</i> 丑
3	<i>bing</i> 丙	<i>yin</i> 寅
4	<i>ding</i> 丁	<i>mao</i> 卯
5	<i>wu</i> 戊	<i>chen</i> 辰
6	<i>ji</i> 己	<i>si</i> 巳
7	<i>geng</i> 庚	<i>wu</i> 午
8	<i>xin</i> 辛	<i>wei</i> 未
9	<i>ren</i> 壬	<i>shen</i> 申
10	<i>gui</i> 癸	<i>you</i> 酉
11	<i>xu</i> 戌	
12	<i>hai</i> 亥	

Table 7. The ten Celestial Stems (*tiangan*天干) and the twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi*地支).

Table 8

STEMS	AGENTS	DIRECTIONS	COLORS	VISCERA	NUMBERS
1 <i>jia</i> 甲	wood	east	green	liver	3, 8
2 <i>yi</i> 乙					
3 <i>bing</i> 丙	fire	south	red	heart	2, 7
4 <i>ding</i> 丁					
5 <i>wu</i> 戊	soil	center	yellow	spleen	5
6 <i>ji</i> 己					
7 <i>geng</i> 庚	metal	west	white	lungs	4, 9
8 <i>xin</i> 辛					
9 <i>ren</i> 壬	water	north	black	kidneys	1, 6
10 <i>gui</i> 癸					

The ten Celestial Stems (*tiangan* 天干) and their associations. (See also [table 25.](#))

Table 9

STEMS	AGENTS	DIRECTIONS	HOURS	ANIMALS	NUMBERS
1 <i>zi</i> 子	water	N	23-1	rat	1, 6
2 <i>chou</i> 丑	soil	NNE ¼ E	1-3	ox	5, 10
3 <i>yin</i> 寅	wood	ENE ¼ N	3-5	tiger	3, 8
4 <i>mao</i> 卯	wood	E	5-7	rabbit	3, 8
5 <i>chen</i> 辰	soil	ESE ¼ S	7-9	dragon	5, 10
6 <i>si</i> 巳	fire	SSE ¼ E	9-11	snake	2, 7
7 <i>wu</i> 午	fire	S	11-13	horse	2, 7
8 <i>wei</i> 未	soil	SSW ¼ W	13-15	sheep	5, 10
9 <i>shen</i> 申	metal	WSW ¼ S	15-17	monkey	4, 9
10 <i>you</i> 酉	metal	W	17-19	rooster	4, 9
11 <i>xu</i> 戌	soil	WNW ¼ N	19-21	dog	5, 10
12 <i>hai</i> 亥	water	NNW ¼ W	21-23	pig	1, 6

The twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支) and their associations. (See also [tables 13](#) and [25.](#))

with *guiyou* 癸酉 as no. 10. The next decade begins with no. 11, *jiaxu* 甲戌, and continues with an offset of two in the Stems relative to the Branches. This process is continued, the offset increasing by two each decade, until we reach *guihai* 癸亥 no. 60, and the cycle then repeats.

This sexagesimal day-cycle was used for civil dating independent of months and years, and seems to have run unbroken up to the present from at least as far back as the beginning of the first millennium BCE. Clearly any given lunar month (of either 29 or 30 days) cannot contain more than one occurrence of any given cyclical day, and so ambiguity is avoided. During the Han dynasty it also became customary to use the *ganzhi* cycle of sixty character pairs to designate a cycle of sixty years in addition to its continuing use for naming days. Because no emperor's reign apart from that of the Kangxi Emperor (1662–1722) lasted longer than sixty years, it is enough to know the name of the monarch and a *ganzhi* year-name in order to specify a year uniquely.

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☐ Kalinowski 1983, 338–42; Kalinowski 1991, 61–65; Needham 1956, 357–59

※ COSMOLOGY

Table 10

1 jiazi 甲子	13 bingzi 丙子	25 wuzi 戊子	37 gengzi 庚子	49 renzi 壬子
2 yichou 乙丑	14 dingchou 丁丑	26 jichou 己丑	38 xinchou 辛丑	50 guichou 癸丑
3 bingyin 丙寅	15 wuyin 戊寅	27 gengyin 庚寅	39 renyin 壬寅	51 jiyin 甲寅
4 dingmao 丁卯	16 jimao 己卯	28 xinmao 辛卯	40 guimao 癸卯	52 yimao 乙卯
5 wuchen 戊辰	17 gengchen 庚辰	29 renchen 壬辰	41 jiachen 甲辰	53 bingchen 丙辰
6 jisi 己巳	18 xinsi 辛巳	30 guisi 癸巳	42 yisi 乙巳	54 dingsi 丁巳
7 gengwu 庚午	19 renwu 壬午	31 jiawu 甲午	43 bingwu 丙午	55 wuwu 戊午
8 xinwei 辛未	20 guiwei 癸未	32 yiwei 乙未	44 dingwei 丁未	56 jiwei 己未
9 renshen 壬申	21 jia Shen 甲申	33 bingshen 丙申	45 wushen 戊申	57 gengshen 庚申
10 guiyou 癸酉	22 yiyou 乙酉	34 dingyou 丁酉	46 jiyou 己酉	58 xinyou 辛酉
11 jiaxu 甲戌	23 bingxu 丙戌	35 wuxu 戊戌	47 gengxu 庚戌	59 renxu 壬戌
12 yihai 乙亥	24 dinghai 丁亥	36 jihai 己亥	48 xinhai 辛亥	60 guihai 癸亥

The sexagesimal cycle of the Celestial Stems and the Earthly Branches.

*Gaoshang Shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi*

## 高上神霄宗師受經式

### An Exemplar on the Scriptures Received by the Lineal Master of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean

The precise origins of this text (CT 1282) remain obscure but it was clearly composed in tribute to the theophany of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) according to the \*Shenxiao teachings introduced by \*Lin Lingsu (1076–1120). It opens with an account of divine revelation reminiscent of the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation) central to the late fourth-century \*Lingbao codification. The story told here concerns the transmission of a body of scripture from the Ancestral Master (*zushi* 祖師) to the Lineal Master (*zongshi* 宗師) and then to the Perfected Master (*zhenshi* 真師). These three deities are designated as the three masters of the Gaoshang Shenxiao dadao 高上神霄大道 (Great Way of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean).

The Ancestral Master Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see \**sanqing*) of the Yuqing 玉清 (Jade Clarity) celestial realm initially appears to give voice to the “Shenxiao scriptures on the Salvation of Lingbao” (*Lingbao duren shenxiao zhongjing* 靈寶度人神霄眾經). He then delivers them to the Lineal Master, Taishang daojun 太上道君 (Most High Lord of the Dao) in the Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) celestial realm. The Lineal Master orders the perfected residents of Shangqing to separate the text into sixty *juan*, in accord with the sexagesimal cycle (see \**ganzhi*). This newly organized scriptural corpus, headed by the *Duren jing* itself, was next transferred for safekeeping to Shenxiao yuqing zhen wangjun 神霄玉清真王君 (Perfected Sovereign Lord of the Jade Clarity of the Divine Empyrean). It was not to be revealed again until the Song empire had reached a zenith of peace and prosperity, at which time the Shenxiao sovereign would be incarnated as ruler of the people, that is, Song Huizong.

Like the \*Shangqing corpus, the cyclical year *renchen* 壬辰 (the twenty-ninth of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#) and the entry \*APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY) demarcates the beginning of a new dispensation. Here it is said that after the Zhenghe reign period year of *renchen* (1112), the deity Qinghua dijun 青華帝君 (Imperial Lord of Green Florescence), that is, Lin Lingsu, discretely revealed the divine mandate for theocratic rule, precipitating the release of scripture. The chapter headings for a *Duren jing* in

sixty-one *juan* listed here correspond to the version of the text appearing at the head of the Taoist Canon of 1445. No evidence has yet been uncovered to indicate that the *Duren jing* in this form served as the opening text of the \**Zhenghe Wanshou daoze* (Taoist Canon of the Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity of the Zhenghe Reign Period) printed in 1119. Statements in a commentary to the *Duren jing* by \*Chen Zhixu (1290-after 1335) do imply that the scripture was given precedence in the \**Xuandu baoze* (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis) completed in 1244.

Among notable works cited at the close of this Shenxiao formulary is Huizong's commentary to the *Daode jing*, cited according to the title decreed on the *xinwei* 辛未 day of the twelfth lunar month in the sixth year of the Zhenghe reign period (16 January 1117). Conspicuous by its absence from the inventory of texts here is the collective commentary to the *Duren jing* that Huizong authorized in 1124. Additional works dating to Huizong's reign that do gain mention are ritual codes submitted by imperial order ca. 1110 by Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121). The gradual conveyance of a complete canon of secret texts in 1,200 *juan* by three hosts of transcendents is promised following the cyclical dates *renchen* and *gengzi* 庚子 (the thirty-seventh of the sexagesimal cycle). The same two dates, presumably alluding to the years 1112 and 1120, are also mentioned as a time of scriptural revelation in a commentary to the *Duren jing* ascribed to Huizong. Reference to the latter date implies that such texts emerged after Lin Lingsu fell out of favor at court in 1119 and thus are likely to have been devised by a later generation, such as his disciple \*Wang Wenqing (1093–1153).

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 26–27; van der Loon 1984, 39 and 134; Strickmann 1978b

※ Shenxiao

Ge Chaofu

葛巢甫

fl. 402



Ge Chaofu, a native of Jurong 句容 (near Nanjing, Jiangsu) and grandnephew of \*Ge Hong, is credited in several early sources with the first transmission of the \*Lingbao scriptures outside the Ge family, around 400 CE. According to the earliest of these sources, a colophon once appended to the *Zhenyi ziran jing* 真一自然經 (Self-Generated Scripture of Perfect Unity) and cited in the \**Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching), the earthly lineage of the Lingbao scriptures was: \*Ge Xuan – Zheng Siyuan 鄭思遠 (i.e., \*Zheng Yin) – Ge Ti 葛悌 – Ge Hong – Ge Wang 葛望 – Ge Chaofu – Ren Yanqing 任延慶, Xu Lingqi 徐靈期 (?–473 or 474), etc. Through Ge Hong, this lineage is found in the Lingbao scriptures themselves and constructed on the basis of Hong's account of his receipt of alchemical texts. Ge Hong's own writings, while they do cite the *Lingbao wufu* 靈寶五符 (Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure; see \*[Lingbao wufu xu](#)), are entirely devoid of mention of the other Lingbao texts. Further, the Lingbao texts borrow much from the \*Shangqing scriptures of \*Yang Xi and so cannot have been composed earlier than 375. The impression all this gives that Ge Chaofu may have composed the scriptures himself is furthered by \*Tao Hongjing who, in a note to the \**Zhengao*, disparagingly remarks that “Ge Chaofu fabricated the Lingbao scriptures (*zaogou Lingbao jing* 造構靈寶經) and the teaching flourished.”

Some contemporary scholars believe that only a version of what is now the first scripture in the old Lingbao canon, the \**Wupian zhenwen* (Perfected Script in Five Tablets), was composed by Ge Chaofu, while others hold that his contributions must have been more extensive, perhaps including basic versions of all the texts in \*Lu Xiuqing's \**Lingbao jingmu* (Catalogue of Lingbao Scriptures). There is no direct evidence for either opinion. Even the colophon cited in the Tang period *Daojiao yishu*, as it appears in a \*Dunhuang fragment (P. 2452), ends the line of transmission with Ge Hong and the hope that there might one day be within the Ge family one “who delights in the Dao and contemplates transcendence” who might transmit the texts. This vague reference to an outstanding member of the Ge family who will make the scriptures known is found in other Lingbao texts as well. Thus, even the *Zhenyi ziran jing* might have been composed by Ge Chaofu and the more detailed colophon that mentions his name constructed later.

Given that we lack further relevant information on those to whom Ge Chaofu is said to have transmitted his texts, it seems unlikely that we shall ever be able to accurately assess his hand in their composition. The most that

can be said is that circumstantial evidence, in particular the central role given in the Lingbao scriptures to Ge Xuan, seem to point to the involvement of some member of the Ge family in their creation. Taoist tradition tells us that that person was Ge Chaofu.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Bokenkamp 1983; Bokenkamp 1986a; Chen Guofu 1963, 67

※ Lingbao

Ge Hong

葛洪

283–343; *zi*: Zhichuan 稚川; *hao*: Baopu zi 抱朴子 (Master Who Embraces Simplicity), Xiao xianweng 小仙翁 (Lesser Immortal Gentleman)

Various dates for Ge Hong, ranging between 253 and 363, have been indicated in the past, but most scholars now accept 283 and 343 as the years of his birth and death. The main sources on his life are an autobiography in the Outer Chapters (*waipian* 外篇) of his work (Wang Ming 1985, 369–79; trans. Ware 1966, 6–21) and a biography in the *Jinshu* (History of the Jin; trans. Davis and Ch'en 1941; Sailey 1978, 521–32). In addition, several hagiographic collections contain notes on his life (see, e.g., Davis T. L. 1934).

*Life.* Ge Hong's family, based in Jurong 句容 (near Nanjing, Jiangsu), had provided officials to the imperial administration for at least ten generations, and his grandfather and father had served the Wu and Jin dynasties in various capacities. In 297, at the age of fourteen, Ge became a disciple of \*Zheng Yin, with whom he studied both classical and Taoist texts. His training ended in 302, when Zheng, then around the age of eighty-five, retired on Mount Huo (\*Huoshan, Anhui) with several disciples.

Ge opted to remain in the secular world, and in 303 took part in the suppression of Zhang Chang's 張昌 rebellion. In the same year, however, he decided to travel to Luoyang to search for more teaching, but rebellions around the capital forced him to continue his journey in other regions. He

finally headed back to the south and reached Guangzhou (Canton), where he became the adjutant of Ji Han 嵇含 (263–306), inspector (*cishi* 刺史) of that region and reputed author of the *Nanfang caomu zhuang* 南方草木狀 (Herbs and Trees of the Southern Regions; Li Huilin 1979). After Ji's murder, Ge stayed in the Guangzhou area and began to work on his *Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity). In 312 he retired to the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan) and became the disciple and son-in-law of \*Bao Jing (?–ca330), governor (*taishou* 太守) of Nanhai 南海, who reportedly had found the *\*Sanhuang wen* (Script of the Three Sovereigns) in a cave on Mount Song (\*Songshan, Henan) two decades earlier. In 314, Ge returned to Jurong, and in 317 he received the title of Marquis of Guanzhong 關中. In the same year he completed the first draft of the *Baopu zi*, but the Inner Chapters (*neipian* 內篇) of his work underwent further revision and reached their final form only around 330.

The next major event in Ge's life dates to 332 or 333. At that time, “having heard that in Jiaozhi 交趾 there is cinnabar,” he asked the emperor to send him to that remote southern district. The emperor made him magistrate (*ling* 令) of Julou 句漏 (in present-day northern Vietnam), but on the way to his new post Ge was persuaded to stay in Guangzhou by the regional inspector Deng Yue 鄧嶽, and retired again to the Luofu Mountains. The description of his death bears the stamp of Taoist hagiography. In 343 he wrote to Deng Yue saying that he would “travel to distant lands in search of masters and medicines.” Deng went to see him, but arrived after Ge had already achieved “release from the corpse” (*\*shijie*).

*Ge Hong's place in the history of Taoism.* Besides the *Baopu zi*, some sixty works dealing with classical exegesis, dynastic and local history, Taoist thought, alchemy, medicine, numerology, hagiography, and various other subjects are ascribed to Ge Hong (Chen Feilong 1980, 143–98). No more than a dozen of these works is extant, and only two of them may indeed have been written by Ge, namely the *\*Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals) and the *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (Recipes for Emergencies to Keep at Hand; CT 1306).

More important, Ge Hong and his family were instrumental in the transmission of various textual corpora of the southeastern Jiangnan 江南 region, part of which he had inherited from his granduncle, \*Ge Xuan. Some of these texts later became foundations of the \*Lingbao school under the

initiative of his grandnephew, \*Ge Chaofu. Ge Hong was not a master of any of the related traditions, however. One gathers from the *Baopu zi* that his main interest was the preservation of the religious legacy of Jiangnan and its acceptance by other aristocrats and literati. This does not decrease the value of his testimony. In particular, although Ge acknowledges that he had not compounded any elixir by the time he wrote the *Baopu zi* (Ware 1966, 70 and 262), his quotations from alchemical texts have proven essential for reconstructing some features of the early \*Taiqing tradition of \*waidan.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Barrett 1987a; Bokenkamp 1986b; Campany 2002, 13–17; Chen Feilong 1980; Chen Guofu 1963, 95–98; Davis T. L. 1934; Davis and Ch'en 1941; Hu Fuchen 1989, 77–81; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 487–35 (= 1964, 67–116); Sailey 1978, 277–304

※ Ge Xuan; Zheng Yin; *Baopu zi*; *Shenxian zhuan*; Taiqing

Ge Xuan

葛玄

164–244; *zi*: Xiaoxian 孝先; *hao*: Ge xiangong 葛仙公  
(Transcendent Duke Ge)

Ge Xuan is a mythological figure associated with several traditions in Taoism. He owed his preeminence to the one thing that we can reliably know about him, that he was the paternal granduncle of \*Ge Hong. In his \**Baopu zi*, Ge Hong, who calls Xuan the “Transcendent Duke,” traces three alchemical texts from \*Zuo Ci to Ge Xuan, who in turn passed them on to his disciple and Ge Hong's master, \*Zheng Yin, and relates several of his miraculous accomplishments. In the \**Shenxian zhuan*, Ge Hong provides a biography for Xuan, recounting more of his miracles and the manner of his “release from the corpse” (\**shijie*). He reports that Xuan was summoned to court by the Wu ruler, Sun Quan 孫權 (Dadi, r. 222–52). During this time, Xuan seemed to have drowned when a number of the emperor's boats were capsized by a severe wind, but returned several days later apologizing that he had been detained by the water-deity, Wu Zixu 伍子胥. This legend, taken

together with Xuan's ability to remain underwater for long periods of time through “embryonic breathing” and his control of wind, rain, and rivers, seems to indicate that Xuan was once a cult-figure associated with water as well as the patron saint of the Ge family.

Through Ge Hong's accounts of him, Ge Xuan's legend diverged in two distinct directions. First, he became a patron of alchemical arts. Ge Hong records that he transmitted as a member of the lineage mentioned above the alchemical texts *\*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity), *\*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs), and *\*Jinye jing* (Scripture of the Golden Liquor), although nowhere does he mention that Ge Xuan concocted an elixir. Still, a number of later alchemical works were said to have been composed by him or passed through his hands. Later, Ge Hong's grandnephew, *\*Ge Chaofu*, made Xuan the first recipient of the *\*Lingbao* scriptures. The *Lingbao* scriptures contain accounts of his receipt of the scriptures from deities, who accorded him the title Transcendent Duke of the Left of the Great Ultimate (Taiji zuo xiangong 太極左仙公), and his instructions of his disciples, to whom he vouchsafed information on the many previous lives he had undergone before achieving the moral status to receive the scriptures. These lively accounts led to a decidedly different afterlife for the legend of Ge Xuan. Buddhist polemicists mention him, along with *\*Zhang Daoling*, as one of the founders of Taoism, while *\*Tao Hongjing*, editor of *\*Yang Xi's* texts, composed a stele inscription debunking the *Lingbao* account.

Nonetheless, the *Lingbao* account of Ge Xuan endured. An anonymous preface written during the Six Dynasties' period to the Heshang gong 河上公 annotated version of the *Daode jing*, the “Preface and Secret Instructions” (“Xujue” 序訣), is attributed to Ge Xuan. This text, a complete manuscript of which was recovered at *\*Dunhuang*, accords with the *Lingbao* account of Laozi, its use of the text in ordination, and its preference for the Heshang gong commentary.

Finally, the canon contains an annotated biography of Xuan, the *Taiji Ge xiangong zhuan* 太極葛仙公傳 (Biography of Transcendent Duke Ge of the Great Ultimate; CT 450), composed by Zhu Chuo 朱綽 in 1377 from a fragmentary biography that he acquired in Jiangsu. According to this biography, almost all revealed literature in early Taoism might be retraced to Ge Xuan. This biography attests to the high regard accorded Ge in later Taoism. In addition to collecting earlier sources of his hagiography, it also

records the titles imperially bestowed on Ge Xuan in 1104 and 1246.

Stephen R. BOKENKAMP

▣ Bokenkamp 1983; Bokenkamp 2004; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 93–94; Campany 2002, 152–59; Chen Guofu 1963, 92–93; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 134–38

※ Lingbao

Gengsang zi

庚桑子

also known as Kangsang zi 亢桑子 and Kangcang zi 亢倉子

According to tradition, this immortal of antiquity lived in the state of Chen 陳 (present-day Henan/Anhui) during the Zhou period. His surname was Gengsang and his given name was Chu 楚. The “Gengsang Chu” chapter of the *\*Zhuangzi* depicts him as an attendant of Laozi, and the *\*Liezi* contains a passage in which he explains the difference between sensory knowledge and self-knowledge (*zizhi* 自知; trans. Graham 1960, 77–78).

The bibliography in the *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang; van der Loon 1984, 81–82) lists a work entitled *Kangcang zi* 亢倉子, which probably is the same text as the one found in the Taoist Canon under the title *Dongling zhenjing* 洞靈真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Cavernous Numen; CT 669). Despite its attribution to Gengsang Chu, however, this is a Tang forgery composed by Wang Shiyuan 王士元. The title *Dongling zhenjing* derives from the appellation Real Man of the Cavernous Numen (Dongling zhenren 洞靈真人) that Tang Xuanzong conferred upon Gengsang zi in 742, when the *Dongling zhenjing* became, with the *Daode jing*, the *\*Zhuangzi*, the *\*Wenzi*, and the *\*Liezi*, one of the texts required for the state examination on Taoism (see *\*TAOISM AND THE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS*).

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Barrett 1996, 67–68

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

*gengshen*

庚申

According to a belief that originated during the Six Dynasties and became widespread in the Tang period, three worms (*sanchong* 三蟲; see [fig. 65](#)) or three “corpses” (*sanshi*; see \*[sanshi](#) and *jiuchong*) dwell in the human body, the uppermost in the head, the middle one in the abdomen, and the lower one in the legs. On the night of the *gengshen* day, the fifty-seventh in the sexagesimal cycle (see [table 10](#)), these worms leave the body while the person is asleep to ascend to Heaven, and report his or her sins to the Celestial Emperor (Tiandi 天帝). Since their mission could result in illness or a reduced life span, people thought it advisable to remain awake throughout this night to prevent the worms from leaving. Three such vigils were thought to severely weaken the worms, and seven to cause them to perish, together with all illness and misfortune, thus allowing for an extension of life. People also attempted to extirpate the worms through various types of abstinence, such as refraining from sexual activity and from eating meat, or through purification and meditation.

The custom of *gengshen* was also adopted by Buddhism, and “assemblies to observe *gengshen*” (*shou gengshen hui* 守庚申會) were held from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. Under the influence of Tang China, the practice of observing the *gengshen* day also took root in the Korean Peninsula, probably from around the seventh or eighth centuries. It is unclear, on the other hand, when the *gengshen* cult arrived in Japan, where it is known as *kōshin*. Since the earliest mention of it was made by Ennin 圓仁 (793–864) in 838 in his *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Records of a Pilgrimage in Tang China in Search of the Dharma; trans. Reischauer 1955, 58), it must have been known by the early ninth century. In Japan, *kōshin* observances were an occasion for social intercourse rather than spiritual abstention, and people kept themselves awake by drinking, eating, singing, and dancing. From around the twelfth century, *kōshin* was adapted as a folk belief and custom. As a result, the *kōshin* cult spread among the Japanese people, and was also consciously adopted into Shugendō and Shintō.

*YAMADA Toshiaki*

Gezao shan

閣皂山

Mount Gezao (Jiangxi)

This small mountain, rising 800 m at its highest point, is located in the Zhangshu 樟樹 district of central Jiangxi, an area dense with Taoist holy sites. Supposedly named because it looks like a black (*zao*) pavilion (*ge*), it is the thirty-third Blissful Land (*\*fudi*) of Taoist sacred geography. The major temple on the mountain, attested since 712, received the name Chongzhen gong 崇真宮 (Palace for the Veneration of Authenticity) in 1118. The nearby Mount Yusi (Yusi shan 玉笥山) was also a renowned Taoist center, particularly during the Song and Yuan dynasties.

As *\*Ge Xuan*, the putative patriarch of *\*Lingbao* liturgy, was supposed to have lived there, Mount Gezao came to be considered the center of the *Lingbao* tradition, probably around the late Tang, or the tenth century. The mountain's glorious period extended from the early Song to the late Yuan, when it was included, along with Mount Longhu (*\*Longhu shan*) and Mount Mao (*\*Maoshan*), among the “Three Mountains” (*sanshan* 三山); these were the three ordination centers officially sanctioned by a 1097 edict for the elite Taoist clergy, providing ordinations in the *Lingbao*, *\*Zhengyi*, and *\*Shangqing* lineages, respectively (all of the three lineages being tenth- or eleventh-century innovations, complete with reconstructed patriarchal succession). Mount Gezao certainly could not rival the not far away Mount Longhu as a training center, but was nevertheless covered with well-endowed institutions, inhabited by hundreds of Taoists, and visited by ordinands and pilgrims, both priestly and lay, from all over the country.

The buildings on the mountain were destroyed during the civil wars of the late Yuan period, and the site never recovered its Song-period prominence. The succession of “*Lingbao* patriarchs” on Mount Gezao continued into the Ming period, but the mountain was totally eclipsed by Mount Longhu as an ordination center, and the communities that gathered there sporadically during the Ming and Qing periods were modest. The temples have been



rebuilt anew in 1991.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Chen Dacan 1988; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 123–28

※ TAOIST SACRED SITES

*gongcao*

功曹

Merit Officer

In the regional bureaucracies of the Han and the Six Dynasties, merit officers were high-ranking officials, equivalent to the Counselor-in-chief (*xiangguo* 相國) at the court, who evaluated the service of district officers and had broad authority of promotion or dismissal. This bureaucratic title was adopted by the early Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) to designate certain inner deities that assist the Taoist priest (\**daoshi*) during rituals. As described in the \**Dengzhen yinjue* (Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Reality; 3.7a–b), during the rite of Lighting the Incense Burner the priest summons from his body the Merit Officers and other gods, which transmit his requests to the deities in heaven. These gods belong to the category of “officers, generals, clerks, and soldiers” and do not permanently reside in the heavenly realm (3.22b).

Different numbers of Merit Officers are placed within the priest's body according to the ordination registers (\*LU) that he receives (see \**Daofa huiyuan*, 181.16b). The Merit Officers appear before the priest with folded arms and wearing garments of ordinary colors. They originate from the priest's spleen and are a transformation of the yellow pneuma (*huangqi* 黃氣) associated with that organ.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 198–99

※ *chushen*

*gongde*

功德

1. merit; 2. ritual of Merit

The term *gongde* refers to accumulation of merit through practicing good and following the Dao. In particular, merit derives from the Taoist priest's reading of the scriptures and making repentance (*\*chanhui*), and is redirected to the deceased to bring about their salvation. Therefore a *\*zhai* (Retreat) ritual performed as a service for the dead is also called *gongde*.

The idea of accumulating merit is already found in the *\*Baopu zi*, but in this work the purpose is individual immortality rather than bringing salvation to others. The earliest rituals for rescuing the deceased through the accumulation of merit are the *\*Lingbao zhai* described by *\*Lu Xiuqing* (406–77), which include the Yellow Register Retreat (*\*huanglu zhai*) for the salvation of the ancestors. This Retreat later became popular as a rite for the dead, and the Merit ritual of present-day Taiwan continues this tradition.

In Taiwan, the Merit rituals are usually performed around the time of memorial services, which are held every seven days from the seventh to the forty-ninth day after death (including the day of death) and at the time of burial. A temporary ritual area is constructed in an open space or on the road near the mourners' house. Scrolls depicting various divinities including the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*), the Jade Sovereign (*\*Yuhuang*), the Celestial Worthy Who Relieves Suffering (*\*Jiuku tianzun*), and the Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation (*\*Puhua tianzun*) are hung in front of the altar, with pictorial representations of the Kings of the Ten Courts of the Underworld (Shidian mingwang 十殿冥王) on each side. In front of the house of the deceased are placed the memorial tablet, incense, and coffin (which in Taiwan usually remains unburied for one week to one month), inside what is called the Spirit Hall (*lingtang* 靈堂). The altar is the Taoist space for venerating deities, and the Spirit Hall is the family space for venerating the deceased.

*Structure.* The *gongde* usually last between half a day to one full day, but those performed on a grand scale can last two days or longer (see [table 11](#)). The ritual consists of four main parts: an introit, the rite of Merit, the rite of Salvation through Refinement (*\*liandu*), and a closing ceremony. First, the

salvation of the deceased is requested through the recitation of scriptures such as the *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), repentance, and rites performed within the sacred space of the altar. As a result of these requests, the deceased's Writ of Pardon (*sheshu* 赦書) is sent to the underworld with a rite called Dispatching the Writ of Pardon (*\*fang shema*). The Merit section of the ritual is performed during the day, while the dispatch of the Writ of Pardon takes place from evening into night.

Table 11

DAY 1	
1	Announcement ( <i>*fabiao</i> 發表)
2	Invocation (qibai 啟白)
3	Scripture Recitation (nianjing 念經)
4	Opening a Road in the Darkness ( <i>*kaitong minglu</i> 開通冥路)
5	Recitation of Litanies (baichan 拜懺)
6	Dispatching the Writ of Pardon ( <i>*fang shema</i> 放赦馬)
7	Destruction of Hell ( <i>*poyu</i> 破獄) (also called Attack on the Fortress, <i>dacheng</i> 打城)
8	Division of the Lamps ( <i>*fendeng</i> 分燈)
DAY 2	
9	Land of the Way ( <i>*daochang</i> 道場)
10	Recitation of Litanies
11	Noon Offering ( <i>*wugong</i> 午供)
12	Scripture Recitation (nianjing 念經)
13	Exorcism
14	Uniting the Talismans (hefu 合符)
15	Bathing ( <i>*muyu</i> 沐浴)
16	Paying Homage to the Three Treasures (bai sanbao 拜三寶)
17	Untying the Knots (jiejie 解結)
18	Recitation of Litanies
19	Filling the Treasury ( <i>*tianku</i> 填庫)
20	Crossing the Bridge ( <i>*guoqiao</i> 過橋)

Program of a two-day Merit (*\*gongde*) ritual. Based on Lagerwey 1987c, 293–94.

During the rite of Salvation through Refinement, emphasis moves to the family space, and the deceased is symbolically led from the underworld to heaven by a dramatic enactment. By ritually breaking the walls of the underworld, the gates of hell are demolished and the deceased is released (see

\**poyu*). The deceased is then bathed and given a change of clothing (see \**muyu*), and brought to take refuge in Taoism by paying homage to the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶, i.e., the Dao, the Scriptures, and the Masters). This is followed by the rites of Untying the Knots (*jiejie* 解結; Lagerwey 1987c, 187–88), whereby mundane thoughts are extinguished; Filling the Treasury (\**tianku*), for returning to Heaven what was borrowed at birth; Ultimate Purport of Salvation through Refinement (*liandu zongzhi* 鍊度宗旨), consisting of a discourse on Salvation through Refinement; and a dramatic performance based on this discourse. Finally, the soul of the deceased is made to cross the Naihe Bridge (Naihe qiao 奈河橋; see \**guoqiao*) and led to the Heavenly Hall (*tiantang* 天堂).

The Salvation through Refinement section of the ritual dates from Song times and therefore is a comparatively recent tradition. The whole ritual has close connections with folk shamanic practices and Buddhism. Indeed, the *gongde* is also performed as a Buddhist ritual, with a structure very similar to the Taoist version.

*ASANO Haruji*

▣ Lagerwey 1987c, 169–237; Maruyama Hiroshi 1994b; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 463–677; Schipper 1989b

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.4 (“Ritual”)

Gu Huan

顧歡

420/428–483/491; *zi*: Jingyi 景怡, Xuanping 玄平

Gu Huan lived during the fifth century in South China, and died at the age of 63; for various reasons examined by Isabelle Robinet (1977, 77) his dates must lie between 420 to 428 and 483 to 491, but the dates often given of 420–83 are not actually justified by his biographies in the Standard Histories (*Nan Qi shu* 54; *Nanshi* 75). He is said to have come from a humble background but to have won such a reputation with his erudition that he was twice offered government appointments by the emperor, though he preferred to remain a

private scholar and teacher, attracting almost a hundred students to his retreat in the Tiantai mountains (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang). Although there is nothing in the Standard Histories to show that he was a Taoist priest (\**daoshi*), he is addressed as such in correspondence in the \**Hongming ji* (Collection Spreading the Light of Buddhism) 6 and 7, and seems to have won a reputation as a master of the occult, to judge by the additions to his biography in the *Nanshi*, which coincides with the details added in the \**Daoxue zhuan* (Biographies of Those who Studied the Dao) of the sixth century Taoist Ma Shu 馬樞 (see the reconstruction and translation of this text in Bumbacher 2000c, 230–33).

Today Gu Huan is chiefly famous as the author of the \**Yixia lun* (Essay on the Barbarians and the Chinese), a work criticizing Buddhism, but a work on the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents) is also recorded in the Standards Histories of the Tang, as are his commentaries on Laozi. The commentary now in eight chapters under his name in the Taoist Canon (*Daode zhenjing zhushu* 道德真經注疏; CT 710) cannot be that listed in the Tang as a four-chapter work, since it cites the mid-Tang emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–56); it may well date to the Song dynasty. But this compilation and other sources cite enough of his writing on the *Daode jing* (which also included another one-chapter work) that we are able to obtain some idea of his approach to the text.

Thus although \*Du Guangting's description of Gu's commentary as concerned with the governance of the self implies with some justification that he was a commentator in the tradition of the \**Laozi Heshang gong zhangju* (The *Laozi* Divided into Sections and Sentences by Heshang gong), in the view of Robinet it is possible to discern that the knowledge of Buddhism he displays in the *Yixia lun* was also adapted by him to the explication of Laozi. This is particularly the case with his handling of the terms \**wu* and *you* (Non-being and Being), which would specifically seem to display a familiarity with the Sanlun 三論 or “Three Treatises” school of Madhyamaka Buddhist thought. That would not in itself be surprising, since his main teacher as named in the Standard Histories actually studied with one of the first propagators of the Three Treatises. From the Buddhist point of view, however, as expressed in the \**Bianzheng lun* (6.536c), Gu Huan was part of a line of Taoist religious interpreters of Laozi stretching back to \*Lu Xiuqing.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Kohn 1995a, 155–69; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 248–50; Robinet 1977, 77–89 and 215–19

※ *Yixia lun*; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*guan*

觀

observation

The basic meaning of the word *guan* is “to look at carefully,” “to scrutinize.” It appears first in a religious context as the technical term for a Taoist monastery or abbey. As such it emerged in the fifth century with the rise of \*Louguan (Tiered Abbey; lit., “Tower of Observation,” “Look-out Tower”) as a major Taoist center and the place where the *Daode jing* was first transmitted. The word's use here, as in its later designation of Taoist institutions in general, intimates the role of Taoist sacred sites as places of contact with celestial beings and observation of the stars. (See \*temples and shrines, and \*TAOIST SACRED SITES.)

The next religiously significant occurrence of *guan* is in a Buddhist context, from which its later meaning in Taoist meditation derives. There it occurred together with the word *zhi* 止, “to stop,” “to cease,” in the compound *zhiguan* 止觀, commonly rendered “cessation and insight” and used to translate the Sanskrit expression *śamatha-vipaśyanā*. The two words indicate the two basic forms of Buddhist meditation: *zhi* is a concentrative exercise that achieves one-pointedness of mind or “cessation” of all thoughts and mental activities, while *guan* is a practice of open acceptance of sensory data, interpreted according to Buddhist doctrine as a form of “insight” or wisdom. The practice is particularly characteristic of Tiantai 天台 Buddhism, and has been described in great detail by its founder Zhiyi 智顛 (530–97; Hurvitz 1962).

Under Tiantai influence, *guan* in the Tang became the technical term for the Taoist form of insight meditation and as such is commonly translated “observation.” It appears in several different combinations, the most important of which is \**neiguan*, “inner observation.” Described at length in the *Neiguan jing* 內觀經 (Scripture of Inner Observation; CT 641; trans.

Kohn 1989b), it refers to the intentional awareness of the different parts and activities of the body, combined with the visualization of various inner gods and palaces.

In addition, the *\*Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching; 5.3b–6b; trans. Kohn 1993b, 224–28) of the seventh century makes a scholastic distinction among three sets of *guan*:

1. *Qiguan* 氣觀 (observation of energy) vs. *shenguan* 神觀 (observation of spirit), intended to designate a meditative focus on the physical rather than the more spiritual (divine) aspects of the body.
2. *Jiafa guan* 假法觀 (observation of apparent dharmas) vs. *shifa guan* 實法觀 (observation of real dharmas) and *piankong guan* 偏空觀 (observation of partial emptiness), geared to make practitioners aware of the different ways of looking at reality—its apparent, outer aspects; its real changing nature; and, at least in the initial stages, its ultimate emptiness.
3. *Youguan* 有觀 (observation of Being) vs. *wuguan* 無觀 (observation of Non-being) and *zhongdao guan* 中道觀 (observation of the Middle Way), the highest form of observation, which, based on Buddhist Madhyamaka thought, leads adepts from a vision of firm reality to one of non-existence to the acceptance of the Middle Way, an enlightened combination of the first two views.

A very similar distinction is made in the *\*Qingjing jing* (Scripture of Clarity and Quiescence), which contrasts *neiguan* (inner observation) with *waiguan* 外觀 (outer observation) and *yuanguan* 遠觀 (far observation), indicating observation first of the mind, then of the body, and finally of outside objects and other beings, in each case encouraging practitioners to recognize through the practice that none of the objects is really there as a firm, solid, material entity but dissolves upon closer scrutiny into emanations of the pure Dao. The practice culminates in *kongguan* 空觀 or “observation of emptiness.”

Livia KOHN

Guan Yu

關羽

?–220; also known as Guandi 關帝 (Emperor Guan)

The historical Guan Yu fought on the side of Liu Bei 劉備 (who claimed Han imperial descent) and his kingdom of Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) in the struggles among the Three Kingdoms during the late Han period and the following decades. He was captured by the armies of the kingdom of Wu 吳 and beheaded. Although the Shu kingdom and its generals were not very successful militarily, they became the subject of rich literary and religious traditions. Eventually, Guan Yu would be worshipped by people from all levels of society for a variety of reasons: as a rain-maker (he and his sword are often seen as the incarnation of a dragon), as a divine protector against demons, bandits, or soldiers, and even as a source of divine authority in planchette cults (see \**fujii*). His cult spread largely independent of oral and written literary traditions, although people's perceptions of Guan Yu as a deity were naturally also colored by the literary traditions in which he was featured.

Apart from memorial cults, the earliest properly religious cult devoted to Guan Yu arose in Jingmen 荊門 (in a region later designated as Dangyang district 當陽縣, in southern Hubei), where he had been buried. The cult's precise beginnings are unclear, but it evidently became so popular that it was incorporated into the foundational narrative of the nearby Buddhist monastery at Jade Source Mountain (Yuquan shan 玉泉山). By the mid-Tang, Guan Yu was already seen as the divine assistant of the Tiantai 天臺 patriarch Zhiyi 智顛 (530–98; Hurvitz 1962) in building the monastery overnight in 591. However, he is never referred to as the monastery's tutelary god (*qielan shen* 伽藍神), and his shrine was located some distance from the monastery's premises.

Despite this early example, the cult of Guan Yu in Buddhist monasteries is largely a phenomenon of the late imperial period. During the Song and Yuan dynasties, his Taoist connection was more important than his affiliation to



Buddhism. Like most deities of human origin, Guan Yu was first seen both as a threat (he might cause pestilences) and a helper. Early on, his cult had spread from Jade Source Mountain to his place of birth, located in Xiezhou 解州 (Shanxi). By the Northern Song, his cult was already in evidence there and in neighboring districts, spreading rapidly from the twelfth century onward throughout northern China and to a much lesser extent in the south.

A miracle involving a Northern Song Celestial Master identified by a Song-Yuan tradition as \*Zhang Jixian (1092–1126) contributed much to the rise of the cult. The Celestial Master was requested by the Song emperor to defeat the demon Chiyou 蚩尤, who had been worshipped for centuries at the saltponds of Xiezhou. Chiyou had become so angry about the Song worship of his archenemy, the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi), that he had made the saltponds dry up (or flood, in other versions where the monster is not identified as Chiyou). The Celestial Master then summoned the divine general Guan Yu, probably because of his personal link to Xiezhou. Guan Yu defeated Chiyou with the assistance of a huge divine army, after a lengthy and bloody battle.

This miracle somehow inspired a surprising number of pre-Ming temples in northern and southern China, and many of those in large southern cities were erected within Taoist monastic establishments. The miracle played a crucial legitimating role in the tradition of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) and is documented in both Taoist and non-Taoist sources, including Zhang Jixian's canonical biographies from the Yuan onward. Guan Yu became a prominent divine general in Song and Yuan exorcistic rituals found in the \**Daofa huiyuan*, and was invoked in the struggle against demons in later ages as well. Guan Yu's miracle is a typical example of the incorporation of local martial deities in Taoist exorcistic ritual traditions.

*Barend ter HAAR*

▣ Diesinger 1984; Duara 1988; ter Haar 2000b; Hansen 1993; Harada Masami 1955; Inoue Ichii 1941; Little 2000b, 258; Maspero 1981, 150–57

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*guanfu*

## 冠服

“cap and gown”; ritual vestments

Two explanations may be given for the origin of Taoist ritual vestments (*guanfu*, or *daoyi* 道衣). The first is that they derive from the robes worn by ritual healers (*zhouyi* 咒醫) and “masters of methods” (*\*fangshi*) in ancient China, whose vestments were embroidered with patterns of flowing pneuma (*\*qi*) similar to clouds, as well as images of the celestial realm and the underworld. The second is that, like the system of formal clothing used to identify the nobility and senior bureaucracy in ancient China, Taoist robes indicated various ranks of priestly attainment.



Fig. 37. Taoist Master Chen Rongsheng 陳榮盛 wears a heavy brocaded *daopao* 道袍 (“robe of the Dao”) in Tainan, Taiwan (January 1979). Photograph by Julian Pas.

When Taoist traditions were systematized during the Six Dynasties, different types of Taoist vestment were also described. According to the *\*Fengdao kejie* (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao; *j.* 5), priests of the *\*Zhengyi* rank wore a yellow gown and crimson inner and outer robes; priests of the *dongshen* 洞神 (Cavern of Spirit) rank wore a yellow gown, a blue inner robe, and a yellow outer robe; priests of the *dongxuan* 洞玄

(Cavern of Mystery) rank wore a yellow gown, a yellow inner robe, and a purple outer robe; and priests of the *dongzhen* 洞真 (Cavern of Perfection) rank wore a blue gown and purple inner and outer robes (on the latter three ranks, see under \*ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD). This system remained largely unchanged in the Yuan and Ming periods, as is evident in works such as the \**Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* (Great Rites of the Superior Scripture of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation, j. 71) and Zhou Side's 周思得 (1359–1451) *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 (Golden Writings on the Great Achievement of Deliverance by the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; in \**Zangwai daoshu*).

In modern times, Zhengyi priests in Taiwan wear three types of robe. The *haiqing* 海青 (“sea-blue”) is a single robe of black-bluish hues. The *daopao* 道袍 (“robe of the Dao”) is a robe worn by those of middle rank, red in color with motifs embroidered on the front, back, and sleeves, such as the eight trigrams (\**bagua*) and cranes. The *jiangyi* 絳衣 (“crimson mantle”) is a vestment of the highest rank; it is square-shaped and its basic color is red or orange. Representations of the Taoist universe are embroidered on the back: on top the constellation of the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台, three pairs of stars in *Ursa Major*), the Sun and the Moon, and the twenty-eight lunar lodges (\**xiu*); in the middle a nine-storied tower surrounded by dragons and cloudy pneumas; and on the hem, waves and Mount \*Kunlun. The high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see \*[daozhang](#)) wears the *jiangyi* for the rites of the Announcement (\**fabiao*), Presenting the Memorial (\**baibiao*), and Land of the Way (\**daochang*). In the \*Quanzhen order, the ordinary robe is the *dagua* 大褂 (“great gown”) while the formal vestments are the *deluo* 得羅 (an indigo ritual garment) and the *paozi* 袍子 (“robe”). The blue color of these robes represents the east and indicates descent from the Quanzhen first patriarch, Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence). Ordination robes are yellow, and the *taishang huayi* 太上化衣 (“mantle of highest transformation”) is worn as the most formal vestment for rituals.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Kohn 1993b, 335–43; Lagerwey 1987c, 291–92; Little 2000b, 194–99; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 258–61, 4: 93–99

※ *gongde*; *jiao*; *zhai*; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

## Guangcheng zi

廣成子

Master of Wide Achievement

Guangcheng zi is best known from chapter 11 of *\*Zhuangzi* (trans. Watson 1968, 118–20) as the teacher of *\*Huangdi*, the Yellow Emperor. According to this anecdote, Guangcheng zi taught Huangdi, then in his nineteenth year on the throne, the paramount importance of preserving the body. The essence of his advice was to shut out external stimuli allowing the body to restore itself, and to maintain tranquillity and purity, not exposing the body to strain. This advice is quoted in chapter 14 of *\*Huainan zi* and the entire anecdote is reproduced as Guangcheng zi's biography in *\*Shenxian zhuan*. Guangcheng zi claims that by using these methods he has lived 1200 years.

Not surprisingly, in later tradition Guangcheng zi was understood to be one of the transformations of Laozi, although in the *\*Laozi bianhua jing*, an early text to explicate these transformations, Guangcheng zi is said to have lived in the time of Zhu Rong 祝融 while one of his disciples, Tian Lao 天老, was Laozi in the time of Huangdi. However, later listings of Laozi's incarnations typically have Guangcheng zi as Huangdi's teacher.

An alternate version of this encounter is told in chapter 17 of *\*Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 289) where Guangcheng zi's lesson for Huangdi related to avoiding snakes while climbing mountains. Guangcheng zi instructed the emperor to hang realgar from his belt which would cause all the snakes to slither away.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Campany 2002, 159–61; Little 2000b, 177; Seidel 1969, 66 and 103

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

*gui*

鬼

spirit; demon; ghost

The word *gui* broadly defines spirit beings in general, as in the term *guishen* 鬼神 or “spirits and gods” (in some contexts, “demons and gods”). Traditionally, the Chinese have believed that human life is borne by two “souls,” the *\*hun* and the *\*po*. In simple terms, the *hun* is the spiritual dimension, and the *po* the physical. Since both can be reduced to *\*qi* (pneuma), however, there is no sense of duality between them. When a person dies, the union of *hun* and *po* dissolves, with the *hun* returning to heaven and the *po* returning to the earth. Both then change: the *hun*, having ascended to heaven, is called *\*shen* (spirit, or deity) and the *po*, having descended to the earth, is called *gui*. The *shen* is believed to remain in heaven permanently, endowed with the spiritual power to protect its descendants, and to return to where its descendants live on the occasions of festivals. On the other hand, the *gui*, like the physical body, should have no more existence, and so it is not expected to return to this world. Therefore, *gui* that erroneously wander lost in the world are abhorred and feared as ghosts. The *po* (or *gui*) is believed to dwell in the grave, and the *hun* (or *shen*) in the temple.

The Neo-Confucian thinker Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–77), developing Wang Chong's 王充 (27-ca. 100 CE) ideas about *qi*, naturalized supernormal entities like *gui* and *shen* as the movement of Yin and Yang. Yet in doing so he did not necessarily diverge from the traditional view: “When things have just come into existence, *qi* arrives and grows day by day. When growth reaches plenitude, *qi* withdraws and scatters day by day. When *qi* comes, there is *shen*, because there is expansion (*shen* 伸). When *qi* withdraws, there is *gui*, because there is return (*gui* 歸)” (*Zhengmeng* 正蒙, sec. 5, “Dongwu” 動物). Zhang Zai thus says that *gui* is *qi* returning from here to elsewhere, and *shen* is *qi* coming from elsewhere to here. Therefore *gui* is associated with return and *shen* with expansion, as in the ancient definition, and the mutually opposing directional relationship between *gui* and *shen* is reaffirmed.

*Spirits and diseases.* From its inception, Taoism has had very close ties with the concept of *gui*. The Way of the Five Pecks of Rice (*\*Wudoumi dao*), one of the earliest Taoist religious communities, was called *guidao* 鬼道 (Way of Demons) and its believers were called *guizu* 鬼卒 (demon troopers), *guili* 鬼吏 (demon-officials), or *guimin* 鬼民 (demon-people). Adepts believed sickness to be retribution meted out by spirits and gods for the offenses committed by the sufferers, who had to petition the deities to ease their

symptoms by confessing their faults (*daoguo* 道過), drinking water containing ashes of burned talismans (*fushui* 符水) and making “handwritten documents of the Three Offices” (*sanguan shoushu* 三官手書), which were burned for Heaven, buried for Earth, and submerged for Water (see [\\*\*sanguan\*](#)).

There were three theories about the origin of disease current in ancient China. One, mentioned above, is that disease is caused by spiritual beings, that is, by the retribution of spirits and gods, or more particularly by the curses of *gui* (dead spirits). The second is the theory seen in the *\*Huangdi neijing* that disease is brought about by the invasion of pathogenic breath (*xieqi* 邪氣) into the body. The third is a combination of the above two theories, namely that *gui* bring disease by breathing pathogenic *qi* into people. This last view can also be found in Taoist literature. For instance, the *\*Zhengao* (j. 10) states that “demonic pneuma” (*guiqi* 鬼氣) attacks people from the ground when they are sleeping if their beds are not raised high enough. It also says (j. 7) that pathogenic *qi* that issues from graves (called *guizhu* 鬼注, *zhongzhu* 冢注, or *muzhu* 墓注) flows into particular living beings and causes disease and other calamities.

*Salvation for the spirits.* What does Taoism consider to be salvation for the *gui*, i.e., the dead people? According to the *Zhengao* (j. 15), all the dead gather on Mount Luofeng 羅酆 (also called *\*Fengdu*), “in the north (*gui* 癸),” and there receive judgement. Those who have accumulated virtue will be drawn up from this city of the dead to the Palace of Vermilion Fire (Zhuhuo gong 朱火宮, also known as the Southern Palace or Nangong 南宮) in the heavenly realm. There their bodies and *hun* are purified and they are reborn as immortals. As shown by *\*Dadong zhenjing* (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern) and other texts, the *\*Shangqing* school also taught that besides individual salvation, ancestors to the seventh generation could be rescued from the sufferings of hell and be reborn in the Southern Palace and the heavenly realm (Robinet 1984, 1: 170–73).

MIURA Kunio

▣ Cedzich 1993; Harrell 1974; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1996; Nickerson 1994; Schipper 1971; Strickmann 2002; Strickmann 2002, 71–74 and *passim*

※ DEMONS AND SPIRITS

## Guigu zi

鬼谷子

### Master of the Valley of Demons

Guigu zi is traditionally known as a thinker and political writer of the Spring and Autumn period. His historicity and dates, however, are uncertain, and there is no consensus even about his name, which may have been Wang Xu 王詡 or Wang Li 王利. He was given the appellation Guigu zi because he lived in a place called Valley of Demons in the southeastern part of Dengfeng 登封 (Henan). According to \*Du Guangting's (850–933) *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺 (Uncollected Biographies of Immortals), “the master concentrated his mind and guarded the One (\**shouyi*). He lived in simplicity, did not show himself, and remained in the world for several hundred years. It is not known what finally became of him” (Yan Yiping 1974, 1: 8–9).

A text called *Guigu zi* is first mentioned in the bibliography of the *Suishu* (History of the Sui). According to this source, there were originally two commentaries, one by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–82) and the other by Yue Yi 樂一, who is mentioned as Yue Yi 樂臺 in the bibliography in the *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang). The *Xin Tangshu* adds that a commentary by Yin Zhizhang 尹知章 also existed in the Tang dynasty. All three works are lost, and only a commentary attributed to \*Tao Hongjing (456–536) has survived to the present (CT 1025).

Guigu zi has long been venerated at a popular level as the patriarch of physiognomy (*xiangshu* 相術). This association derives from a passage in the *Guigu zi* containing conjectures about the human heart, analysis of personal affairs, and prediction of the future. A work on physiognomy called *Mingshu* 命書 (Book of Destiny) appeared, appropriating the name of Guigu zi, and a commentary by Li Xuzhong 李虛中 of the Tang period also exists.

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 70–71; Satō Hitoshi 1958; Takeuchi Yoshio 1929; Xiao Dengfu 1984

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

*Guizhong zhinan*

規中指南

Guide to Peering into the Center

The full title of this two-chapter text on *\*neidan* (CT 243; *\*Daozang jiyao*, vol. 16) is *Chen Xubai guizhong zhinan* 陳虛白規中指南, referring to its author, the Yuan dynasty master of alchemy from the Wuyi mountains (*\*Wuyi shan*, Fujian), Chen Chongsu 陳冲素, who resided near the area's Grotto-Heaven (*\*dongtian*). The first chapter gives a systematic nine-stage account of *neidan* practice, with each stage encapsulated by a diagram, explanatory essay, and song. The second chapter presents the “three essentials” (*sanyao* 三要) of *neidan*, discussing in refined language how to identify the mysterious locus of the body's vital energies, isolate the various components of the inner elixir, and visualize their circulation and refinement. While relying on the legacy of *\*Zhang Boduan* (987?–1082) as the core of his commentary, Chen also quotes from the writings of the *\*Quanzhen* master *\*Ma Yu* (1123–84).

Lowell SKAR

※ *neidan*

Guo Gangfeng

郭岡鳳

twelfth/thirteenth century

The dates of Guo Gangfeng's birth and death are unclear, and hardly anything is known about his life. His textual notes and a final “Eulogy” (“Zan” 贊) to the *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation) are included in the *Duren shangpin miaojing zhu* 度人上品妙經注 (Commentary to the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 88) together with comments attributed to a Real Man of the Green Origin from Donghai (Donghai Qingyuan zhenren 東海青元真人). At the end of this work, an appendix by Guo entitled “The Efficacy of Reciting the *Duren jing*” (“Song *Duren jing*”



yingyan” 誦度人經應驗) records stories from the Shunxi, Shaoxi, Qingyuan, and Jiatai reign periods of the Southern Song. As the stories span the a period from 1174 to 1204, Guo Gangfeng probably lived between the twelfth and the thirteenth century. His notes, which are appended at the end of each paragraph or sentence of the *Duren jing*, explain its essential points to help readers grasp the general meaning of the scripture.

CHEN Yaoting

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 206–8

Guo Xiang

郭象

252?–312; *zi*: Zixuan 子玄

Guo Xiang was fond of the *Daode jing* and the *\*Zhuangzi* from an early age, and excelled in the “pure conversations” (*\*qingtan*) on philosophical matters popular in the *\*Xuanxue* (Arcane Learning) milieu. He held offices under Sima Yue 司馬越, the Prince of Donghai 東海 (Shandong). Claims that he plagiarized Xiang Xiu's 向秀 (227–72) commentary to the *Zhuangzi* have been proved untrue on the basis of quotations of Xiang Xiu's commentary in Lu Deming's 陸德明 (556–627) *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (Exegesis of Classical Texts). Gao's commentary to the *Zhuangzi* is the oldest extant and admittedly the best of all, but not necessarily the most faithful: he not only commented on the text, but also abridged it and rearranged its chapters.

*Non-being and Being.* For Guo Xiang, Non-being (*\*wu*) means nothingness; and as it is nothing, it cannot be the source of Being as *\*Wang Bi* had maintained. In fact, Guo is one of the few Chinese thinkers who give *wu* the meaning of nothingness. He emphatically rejects the concept of *wu* as a permanent substrate: Being exists eternally, and the word *wu* merely expresses the fact that beings do not issue from anything else but themselves. In other words, each being is self-produced in a spontaneous, abrupt, and mysterious way, without any cause and without depending on anything else. Hence the word *dao* 道 does not designate anything but the supreme Non-being; the Dao is powerless. Self-being and self-transformation are the very

creator (*zaohua zhe* 造化者, lit., “what informs and transforms [the world]”; see *\*zaohua*), and beings “spontaneously obtain” (*zide* 自得) their true nature in a continuous and obscure process. This spontaneity, however, is not the action of the individual, and exists prior to the individual: one comes to existence without doing anything, and similarly dies without being able to prevent it. Spontaneity is a name for the Dao and vice versa: because we do not know the cause or the prime mover of existence, we call it *dao*, *\*ziran*, *zide*, or *wu*, words that simply aim to negate the notion that there is something or someone prior to all things that makes them what they are.

The process of creation is universal and works everywhere and nowhere. It pervades everything and is the common denominator of the beings, making them all one as they “spontaneously obtain” the same Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*). Thus all beings merge in this vital Unity.

*The individual and the sage.* Beings, however, are both plural and singular. Each has its destiny (*ming* 命; see *\*xing* and *ming*), which for Guo Xiang is its *fen* 分, an allotment of time, wealth and capacity. It is their limit, as unavoidable as are natural laws, and is something like the negative face of their spontaneous nature (*xing* 性; see *\*xing* and *ming*). The differences among beings and their allotments—i.e., the plurality and the individuality of beings—are due to the multiplicity of forms (*\*xing*) and transformations (*\*bianhua*) taken by the One Pneuma. The notion of transformation also explains the infinite and eternal renewal of life; it is a huge power that moves the world, a “daily renewal” that gives the present a high value, an eternal present always new. The natural order that governs those transformations and the relations among the various beings pervades everything. Guo Xiang's view is pantheist: the world is the Totality of the reality, existing eternally without a master, without anything exterior to it, naturally regulated by itself.

Each individual being must reach his or her limits to be complete, coincide with them, and follow the natural order without interfering. Guo Xiang's sage has a true Taoist flavor. He must practice non-action (*\*wuwei*), and when he is involved in governing he must, in a way somehow similar to the views of the *\*Huang-Lao* school, delegate his power to his officers, whose charges are “spontaneously obtained.” But although Guo Xiang deals with political and social issues, and holds that society and rites (*li* 禮) are an expression of the natural and spontaneous order, he focuses on the acceptance of death as well as life, and on conforming to one's true nature. He sees the Confucian virtues

from a Taoist point of view as the “traces” (*ji* 迹), the “operation” (*\*yong*) of the harmony with the world that one has acquired. One must transcend them and entrust oneself to the extreme of one's limits.

The sages are diverse and multiple, and are the “traces” of the unique Truth, “that by which” the traces take form; but the saint (*\*shengren*) is one and lives in a mystical accord with the universe, which is the “Supreme coincidence” where he forgets himself, and where there is no inside or outside and everything is illuminated in a “mysterious fusion” and harmony.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Arendrup 1974; Fukunaga Mitsuji 1954; Fung Yu-lan 1933; Knaul 1985a; Knaul 1985b; Kohn 1992a, 70–80; Mou Zongsan 1974, 168–230; Robinet 1983b; Robinet 1987d; Tang Junyi 1986, 377–404; Wang Shumin 1950 (crit. ed. of the *Zhuangzi* comm.)

※ Xuanxue

### Guodian manuscripts

The site of Guodian 郭店 (Hubei) was excavated in 1993, but the texts discovered in its graves were not known until 1998. The burial area contains about three thousand tombs, perhaps over one thousand of which are grouped in twenty cemeteries; Guodian is one of these cemeteries. The funerary objects unearthed there are typical of the Chu 楚 culture. Manuscripts related to Taoism and Confucianism were found in tomb no. 1, datable to between 350 and 300 BCE and apparently belonging to the teacher of a Chu prince.

Four manuscripts are especially noteworthy for the study of Taoism. Three of them are versions of the *Daode jing*, now referred to by scholars as *Laozi* 老子 A, B, and C; the fourth is a previously unknown text on cosmogony. The *Daode jing* manuscripts contain the earliest known version of the text. They are not divided into sections and follow a different sequence from that of the received versions. The various sections are apparently arranged by topic, among which self-cultivation and politics are particularly prominent. Correspondences between the manuscripts and the sections in the text established by \*Wang Bi (226–49) are as follows:

1. *Laozi A* = 19, 66, second part of 46, 30, 15, second part of 64, 37, part of 63, 2, 32, 25, part of 5, part of 16, 64, 56, 57, 55, 44, 40, and 9
2. *Laozi B* = 59 (with lacunae), part of 48, part of 20, 13 (with lacunae), 41, part of 52, 45, 54 (with lacunae)
3. *Laozi C* = 17, 18, 35, 31 (with lacunae), and part of 64

Although some of the Guodian readings may be older and more authentic than those of any other received version, the manuscripts do not significantly differ in meaning. One exception is the opening passage of *Laozi A*, which reads “discard artifice and deceit” in place of Wang Bi's “discard benevolence and justice.”

The manuscript on cosmogony is incomplete, and scholars have entitled it *Taiyi sheng shui* 太一生水 (The Great One Generated Water) after its opening sentence. It is the oldest known Chinese cosmogonic text. It states that \*Taiyi generated Water, then Heaven with the help of Water, and then Earth with the help of Heaven. After this, Heaven and Earth together generated the Spirits and Luminaries (*shenming* 神明), which in turn generated Yin and Yang, and so forth with each couple generating another that pertains to the atmospheric level. The sequence ends with the year, after which the text returns in an inverted order to Taiyi. The final statements deal with Taiyi and the Dao in terms that show that Taiyi here is not designated as the astral god, but as the One Principle at the basis of the universe.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Allan and Williams 2000; Boltz W. G. 1999; Bumbacher 1998; Henricks 2000; Jingmen shi Bowuguan 1998; Li Ling 2000b, 433–50; Robinet 1999a

*guoqiao*

過橋

Crossing the Bridge

Crossing the Bridge is a rite performed to allow the spirit of the deceased cross the Naihe Bridge (Naihe qiao 奈河橋) over the “River of No Recourse”

that flows through the underworld, and to lead the deceased to Heaven. In Taiwan, it occurs as the final stage of the rite of Salvation through Refinement (*\*liandu*) in the ritual of Merit (*\*gongde*). A small bridge made of paper and bamboo and a tray of saucers filled with oil are placed on the ground at the entrance to the Spirit Hall (*lingtang* 靈堂), where the deceased is enshrined. A priest carrying the Banner for Summoning the Celestial Soul (*zhaohun fan* 召魂幡; see *\*kaitong minglu*) steps over the bridge and the saucers three times, the mourners following him. After crossing the bridge, a figure of the deceased is placed in a sedan-chair made of paper and bamboo, and carried away. The bridge is then immediately burned.

ASANO Haruji

■ Lagerwey 1987c, 189–94; Liu Zhiwan 1983b, 274–306; Liu Zhiwan 1983–84, 2: 271–389; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 560–61; Schipper 1989b, 128–37

※ *gongde*

*gushen*

谷神

Spirit of the Valley

The term *gushen* can be traced back to *Daode jing* 6, where it is associated with the Mysterious Female (*\*xuanpin*). It denotes both an opening and the experience of the state of openness, and accordingly has two meanings. In the first, it refers to the sanctuary of the Spirit, i.e., the upper Cinnabar Field (*\*dantian*, also called Tiangu 天谷 or Celestial Valley) as a location similar to an open valley (Yin) between two high mountains (Yang). In the second meaning, it alludes to the Spirit residing within the upper Cinnabar Field, and to its experience of “spatiality.”

When “Mysterious Female” defines the opening produced by the conjunction of Yin and Yang, “Spirit of the Valley” analogously emphasizes the order of spatiality. Indeed, the focus of this term is on the state of openness in which the Spirit is pervading like an echo in a valley: the valley merely conveys a sound without retaining it, like a mirror that reflects an image without any intention of doing so. This is suggestive of the Original

Spirit (*yuanshen* 元神) that resides in emptiness, free from the contents of the discursive mind. The term *gushen* alludes to this experience of the spatiality of Mind or Spirit, i.e., the original nature of the state “before Heaven” (*xiantian yuanshen* 先天元神), which is tranquil and unperturbed and spontaneously resonates with things.

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Billeter 1985; Cleary 1986a, 82–83; Emerson 1992; Esposito 1993, 175–77

※ *jing, qi, shen; xuanguan; xuanpin*

*Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi*

古文周易參同契

Ancient Text of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*

Several Ming and Qing exegetical works on the \**Zhouyi cantong qi* are based on a version of the scripture that claims to be its authentic “ancient text” (*guwen*). The origins of this version can be traced as far back as Du Yicheng 杜一誠, who wrote a commentary to it in 1517. Despite the prestige that it enjoyed in the lineages of late \**neidan*, scholars from the Qing period onward have often dismissed the *Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi* (or *Guwen cantong qi*) as spurious. This judgement has in part been influenced by the controversial personality of Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559; DMB 1531–35 and IC 913–15), who claimed in 1546 to have recovered its original manuscript in a stone casket and since then is often erroneously indicated as its creator.

The *Guwen cantong qi* includes the whole text of the scripture except for a few sentences. It differs from the standard version mainly in its separation of the lines of four characters from those of five characters. Moreover, the individual passages in the “ancient” version do not always follow the same order as the standard version. This rearrangement displays a clearer pattern than the hardly discernible one found in the standard version. It also reveals much, if not of the original shape of the text, about its process of compilation: many passages in four- and five-character lines mirror each other, and were likely written at different times. The altered ordering reflects a hint given in

1248 by \*Yu Yan, who suggested that sections of different meter should be isolated from each other (*Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮; CT 1005, 9.19b–21a). Textual peculiarities show that the rewriting of the text was based on \*Chen Zhixu's recension.

The legendary account of the early transmission of the *Guwen cantong qi* is similar to that of the standard version: Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 wrote the main text, Xu Congshi 徐從事 (Attendant Xu, whom the *guwen* exegetes identify as Xu Jingxiu 徐景休) contributed a commentary, and Chunyu Shutong 淳于叔通 added a final section. To each of them is ascribed one portion of the “ancient text”:

1. “Canon” (“Jingwen” 經文), in lines of four characters, deemed to be the main text written by Wei Boyang
2. “Commentary” (“Jianzhu” 箋注), in lines of five characters, allegedly contributed by Xu Jingxiu
3. “The Three Categories” (“San xianglei” 三相類), attributed to Chunyu Shutong

\*Liu Yiming's exegesis of the *Guwen cantong qi*, dated 1799, is especially helpful in clarifying the relation between the “Canon” and the “Commentary.” His annotations to the “Commentary” regularly refer to the corresponding passages in the “Canon.”

The only passages of Du Yicheng's work that have survived appear to be those quoted in \*Qiu Zhao'ao's commentary of 1704. Besides those of Qiu Zhao'ao and Liu Yiming, important works based on the *guwen* version include the commentary by \*Peng Haogu, entitled *Guwen cantong qi*; Jiang Yibiao's 蔣一彪 *Guwen cantong qi jijie* 古文參同契集解 (Collected Explications of the Ancient Text of the *Cantong qi*; 1614), containing a transcription of Yang Shen's statement of discovery; and Yuan Renlin's 袁仁林 *Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 古文周易參同契注 (Commentary to the Ancient Text of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; 1732).

Fabrizio PREGADIO

▣ Bertschinger 1994 (trans.); Wang Ming 1984g, 288–90

※ *Zhouyi cantong qi*; *neidan*

Scripture of [the Perfected of] Sealike Emptiness,  
Storehouse of Wisdom

The ten-chapter *Haikong* scripture (CT 9) takes its name from the Perfected being of a Western city in a former world-system. Haikong zhizang, whose name is constructed so as to sound like a transcription from Sanskrit (possibly Sāgaraśūnya-jñānagarbha), appears as the interlocutor of the Celestial Worthy (Tianzun 天尊) in the text. The *Haikong* is widely cited in Tang and Song-period collectanea, attesting to its importance as a source of Taoist doctrine. Portions of chapters are also found in \*Dunhuang manuscripts. According to Xuanyi's 玄嶷 *\*Zhenzheng lun* (Treatise on Discerning the Orthodox), written in 696, the scripture was composed in the early Tang by Li Xing 黎興 of Yizhou 益州 (Sichuan) and Fang Zhang 方長 of Lizhou 澧州 (Hunan), but no further information on the origins of the scripture or these men has been discovered.

As the full title of the scripture (*Taishang yisheng Haikong zhizang jing* 太上一乘海空智藏經, Highest Scripture of [the Perfected of] Sealike Emptiness, Storehouse of Wisdom of the Single Vehicle) indicates, the text appropriates Buddhist thought, primarily from the *Huayan* 華嚴 (*Avataṃsaka*), *Nirvāṇ*, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, and *Lotus sūtras*. It also draws from a number of influential indigenously-composed Buddhist *sūtras*. The “single vehicle” thought of the scripture centers on the notion that the Taoist scriptures of all Three Caverns (\*SANDONG) and, as the above list intimates, all sources of religious knowledge are at base united in their goal of the salvation of all beings.

The basic concepts for which the scripture is most frequently cited are the Dao-nature (*daoxing* 道性), a Taoist counterpart to the doctrine that Buddha-nature is inherent in all beings; the “five fruitions” (*wuguo* 五果, namely, earthly transcendence or *dixian* 地仙, flying transcendence or *feixian* 飛仙, independent-mastery or *zizai* 自在, passionlessness or *wulou* 無漏, non-action or *\*wuwei*) of Taoist practice; and the ten cycles (*shizhuan* 十轉). While the terms employed are sometimes Buddhist, the explanations differ markedly from those found in Buddhist texts.

The “ten cycles,” which figure already in the \*Lingbao scriptures, are ten stages along the path to merger with the Dao occurring in ten lifetimes and roughly parallel with the ten *bhūmi* of the bodhisattva path. In the *Haikong*



scripture, the stages of spiritual development were charted even more closely, in response to the expanded bodhisattva path presented in the Buddhist *Huayan* and the indigenous *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 (Scripture of the Original Acts that Serve as Necklaces for the Bodhisattvas; T. 1485). Tang-period citations of the *Haikong* show that it once boasted a fifty-two stage path, including ten stages of faith, ten abodes, ten practices, ten goals, ten cycles, and two stages resulting in the full status of Celestial Worthy. Having expounded on this elaborate path, the scripture goes on at length to deconstruct it. In the remainder of the scripture, the Celestial Worthy develops the idea that one might, through wisdom, break through chains of causation to realize one's inherent unity with the Dao.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Bokenkamp 1990; Kamata Shigeo 1968, 82–101; Nakajima Ryūzō 1981; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 305–24; Yamada Takashi 1999, 370–93

※ Lingbao; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

### *Han tianshi shijia*

漢天師世家

#### Lineage of the Han Celestial Master

Three prominent Celestial Master patriarchs of the Ming are responsible for the compilation of this biographical account of the \*Zhengyi lineage centered on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). The forty-second Celestial Master \*Zhang Zhengchang (1335–78) initiated the work. His son, the forty-third Celestial Master \*Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), prepared it for publication and the fiftieth Celestial Master \*Zhang Guoxiang (?–1611) enlarged the text, adding biographies for patriarchs of the forty-second to forty-ninth generation to the original collection of forty-one accounts.

The first chapter of the four-juan copy of the text in the \**Wanli xu daoze* (Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Period) of 1607 (CT 1463) contains five prefaces. Zhang Zhengchang invited the esteemed literatus Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–81) to submit a preface to a *Shijia* in one *juan*. Song provides a lengthy introduction to the Celestial Master hierarchy

in his preface of 1376 and traces the ancestry of the first patriarch \*Zhang Daoling to \*Zhang Liang (?–187 BCE), celebrated confidant of Han Gaozu (r. 202–195 BCE). Another literatus, Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (fl. 1360–82; DMB 1214–15), composed what initially served as a postface in 1390 at the behest of Wuwei zi 無為子 (Master of Non-action), i.e., Zhang Yuchu. The three remaining prefaces date from 1593 to 1597 and are the contributions of Wang Dexin 王德新, Yu Wenwei 喻文偉, and Zhou Tianqiu 周天球 (1514–95) to Zhang Guoxiang's expanded version of the *Han tianshi shijia* in a single folio (*yizhi* 一帙). An undated postface by Zhang Yuchu and the 1607 colophon of Zhang Guoxiang appear at the close of *juan* 4.

Zhang Yue 張鉞 (fl. ca. 1530?) of Anren 安仁 (Jiangxi) is named as collator at the beginning of *juan* 2 in the text proper. He is identified as Vice Minister of the Ministry of Works, with the prestige title of Grand Master for Thorough Counsel (*tongyi dafu* 通議大夫). Immediately following this attribution is a “Tianshi shizhuan yin” 天師世傳引 (Introit to Biographies of the Celestial Master Lineage). Internal evidence reveals that this introductory tribute was authored by a contemporary of the forty-eighth Celestial Master Zhang Yanpian 張諺顛 (1480–1550).

The length of individual biographies in *juan* 2–4 ranges from a few lines to several pages, with varying quantities of detail on the activities, writings, and imperial entitlements of a patriarch. By far the most difficult to corroborate are the shortest accounts for patriarchs whose lives and precise hereditary status remain obscure. Longer accounts for early descendants, such as those for the founding father Zhang Daoling and the thirtieth Celestial Master \*Zhang Jixian (1092–1126), can be equally problematic due to the accretion of fictive lore from centuries of oral and written tradition.

The first thirty-five biographies may be compared with the corresponding entries in *juan* 18–19 of the \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*. Cognate collections of biographies extending several generations later may be found in two topographies of Mount Longhu. The *Longhu shanzhi* 龍虎山志 (Monograph of Mount Longhu) includes accounts for altogether forty-five patriarchs, with thirty-seven from the 1314 edition compiled by Yuan Mingshan 元明善 (1269–1322) and eight added by Zhou Zhao 周召 after 1445. Biographies for a total of fifty-five generations are contained in the *Chongxiu Longhu shanzhi* 重修龍虎山志 (Recompiled Monograph of Mount Longhu) that \*Lou Jinyuan (1689–1776) completed in 1740 on the basis of an earlier redaction by Zhang Yuchu.

Later descendants of the Celestial Master patriarchy have perpetuated the legacy of the *Han tianshi shijia*. The sixty-second Celestial Master \*Zhang Yuanxu (1862–1924) compiled the *Bu Han tianshi shijia* 補漢天師世家 (Supplementary Lineage of the Han Celestial Master) in 1918, with twelve biographies for patriarchs spanning the fiftieth to the sixty-first generation. First published in 1934 by Oyanagi Shigeta, this supplement is also incorporated into the *Lidai Zhang tianshi zhuan* 歷代張天師傳 (Biographies of Successive Generations of Celestial Master Zhang) by the sixty-fourth patriarch Zhang Yuanxian 源先 (Taipei: Liuhe yinshua youxian gongsi, 1977).

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 62–64; Oyanagi Shigeta 1934, 347–56

※ Zhang Guoxiang; Zhang Yuchu; Zhang Zhengchang; Tianshi dao; Zhengyi

### *Han Wudi neizhuan*

#### 漢武帝內傳

#### Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han

This romanced biography of Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) combines borrowings from and imitations of \*Shangqing texts. It dates from around the sixth century and tells of the initiation of the emperor by the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu), who also plays this role in Shangqing scriptures. Although the text belongs to the genre of “inner” or esoteric biographies (*neizhuan* 內傳) inaugurated by the Shangqing movement, it combines hagiography with a literary and narrative mode, a somewhat moralistic tone, and terms and stereotypes close to those found in the Shangqing scriptures. Before its inclusion in the Taoist Canon of the Ming period (CT 292), it was edited several times in the Tang and Song periods, and published with the *Han Wudi waizhuan* 漢武帝外傳 (Outer Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han) and the \**Shizhou ji* (Record of the Ten Continents), two texts with separate origins and quite different in content and style.

Unlike the events recorded in the typical Shangqing hagiographies, Wudi's

initiation does not result from an initiatory journey but from visits paid to him by divinities, as was the case with \*Yang Xi; the emperor's initiation, in fact, follows the pattern of Yang Xi's initiation by \*Wei Huacun. The story begins with Wudi's disappointment after he had been introduced to various unsuccessful Taoist methods; Shangqing divine beings then grant him superior texts and methods. Textual borrowings, in particular from \*Maojun's hagiography and the *Xiaomo jing* 消魔經 (Scripture on Dispelling Demons; CT 1344), mainly consist of hymns, invocations, and lists of drugs, and form the core of the religious aspect of the text. The *Han Wudi neizhuan*, however, being addressed to lay readers, cites only minor texts. In conclusion, this biography is propaganda aiming to prove that Wudi has been initiated into the Shangqing school of Taoism.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Kominami Ichirō 1975–81; Li Fengmao 1986, 21–222; Robinet 1984, 1: 229–31; Schipper 1965 (trans.); Smith Th. E. 1992, 196–272 and 479–535 (trans.)

※ Shangqing; TAOISM AND CHINESE LITERATURE

*hanshi san*

寒食散

Cold-Food Powder

Cold-Food Powder, also known as Five Minerals Powder (*wushi san* 五石散), was a popular drug during the Six Dynasties and Tang periods. Its name derives from the fact that one had to eat cold food and bathe in cold water to counteract the rise in body temperature produced by the powder. According to \*Sun Simiao's (fl. 673) *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方 (Revised Prescriptions Worth a Thousand; j. 22), it contained five mineral drugs—fluorine, quartz, red bole clay, stalactite and sulphur—one animal drug, and nine plant drugs. It was claimed to be effective in curing many diseases and in increasing vitality, but was also said to have several side effects.

The famous physician Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–82) states that the vogue for consuming Cold-Food Powder began during the Wei dynasty with the

scholar and politician He Yan 何宴 (190–249), who had used it to achieve greater spiritual clarity and physical strength. He and his friend \*Wang Bi (226–49), the commentator of the *Daode jing* and \**Yijing*, propagated the consumption of the drug in their philosophical circles. Many other literati, such as the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (see \*Xi Kang) and the calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321?–379?), reportedly were enthusiastic users of the drug. Like an indulgent lifestyle of alcoholic excesses, the use of this drug became the hallmark of the free thinkers of the age.

Later, especially during the Song period, Cold-Food Powder was ethically condemned and became synonymous with a heterodox ideology and an immoral lifestyle. This may explain why the name of the drug was banned after the Tang, while the use of identical pharmaceutical drugs has continued under different names.

Ute ENGELHARDT

▣ Akahori Akira 1988; Obringer 1995; Obringer 1997, 145–223; Wagner 1973; Zhou Yixin and Zhang Furong 1999

Hao Datong

郝大通

1140–1213; original *ming*: Sheng 昇 and Lin 璘; *zi*: Taigu 太古;  
*hao*: Tianran zi 恬然子 (Tranquil Master), Guangning zi 廣寧子  
(Broad and Peaceful Master)

Hao Datong (Hao Taigu) is one of the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)), the group of \*Wang Zhe's disciples that was later recognized as orthodox. With \*Wang Chuyi and \*Sun Bu'er, he belonged to an outer circle of disciples who knew Wang for a brief time and acquired a Taoist education before and/or after their conversion to the nascent \*Quanzhen school. Hao further distinguished himself in the group as a professional diviner. He was widely recognized in Quanzhen circles as the one who had the deepest knowledge of cosmology, and he taught the \**Yijing* to his fellow adepts and their disciples.

This special competence, which provided Hao with an income all his life,

was not his exclusive focus of interest. Anecdotes about his predication to the communities, quoted in \*Yin Zhiping's recorded sayings, suggest a rather forceful leader. Although originally somewhat scorned by his fellow disciples, Hao went through a period of ascetic training no less spectacular than theirs: he sat three years in meditation on a bridge, and when he was thrown off the bridge he spent three more years sitting in the riverbed. After earning his Quanzhen credentials in this way, he returned to his native Shandong where he founded several communities. He had influential disciples, including \*Wang Zhijin and Fan Yuanxi 範圓曦 (1178–1249), who did much to build an extensive and powerful network of Quanzhen monasteries in western Shandong.

Hao's exegesis of the *Yijing* appears in his collected works, the *Taigu ji* 太古集 (Anthology of Master Taigu; CT 1161). Its only received edition, very lacunar, is found in the Taoist Canon; it includes a partial commentary to the \**Zhouyi cantong qi*, a set of thirty-three charts explaining the cosmological processes as laid down by the *Yijing*, and several \**neidan* poems. This sort of speculative writing on alchemy is rare in early Quanzhen literature, and can only be compared with two works by early twelfth-century masters, the *Qizhen ji* 啟真集 (Anthology of Opening Authenticity; CT 248) by Liu Zhiyuan 劉志淵 (1186–1244), and the *Huizhen ji* 會真集 (Anthology of Gathering Authenticity; CT 247) by Wang Jichang 王吉昌 (fl. 1220–40). Hao's lost works include another anthology, commentaries to Taoist and Buddhist texts, and sermons.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 65, 165–67; Endres 1985; Marsone 2001a, 106–7; Reiter 1981

※ Quanzhen

He Daoquan

何道全

1319?–1399; *hao*: Wugou zi 無垢子 (Master Free from Stains), Song-chun daoren 松淳道人 (The Taoist Pure Like a Pine)

He Daoquan is an outstanding example of a \*Quanzhen master active at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. While the Quanzhen order lost its independence and original organization with the advent of the dynasty, its pedagogy and training methods continued to enjoy a high level of prestige among all Taoists, as is well documented in the contemporary \**Daomen shigui*. He Daoquan's life is mainly known through a funerary inscription, a rubbing of which is housed at the Beijing National Library, and especially through his recorded sayings, the *Suiji yinghua lu* 隨機應化錄 (Account of Induced Conversions According to Circumstances; 1401; CT 1076). The person portrayed in these sources strongly resembles the great Quanzhen masters of the thirteenth century, such as \*Wang Zhijin and \*Yin Zhiping.

He Daoquan was a native of Hangzhou (Zhejiang) but spent his life travelling, mostly in Jiangsu and northern China, teaching in temples and in the large Quanzhen monasteries that were still active. He died near present-day Xi'an (Shaanxi), in the holy land of Quanzhen. Besides the *Suiji yinghua lu*, he also wrote a commentary to the *Daode jing*—a rather common scholastic exercise among Quanzhen Taoists—entitled *Daode jing shuzhu* 道德經述注 (Detailed Commentary to the *Daode jing*). A Ming edition of this work, which quotes several earlier lost commentaries and is also valuable for its introduction illustrated with \**neidan* charts, is at the Beijing National Library, and a similar Japanese edition of the Kōka reign period (1844–48) is reproduced in the *Wuqiu beizhai Laozi jicheng chubian* 無求備齋老子集成初編 (Complete Collection of Editions of the *Laozi*, from the Wuqiu beizhai Studio; First Series; Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965).

The *Suiji yinghua lu* is one of the liveliest “recorded sayings” (\**yulu*) in the Taoist Canon, since it focuses, as the title suggests, on the interaction between master and disciples. Among the latter, many happen to be Buddhist monks. No matter who questions He Daoquan, he seems ready to discuss anything, from Buddhist and Confucian notions to music and medicine. His answers are sometimes didactic, sometimes playful or puzzling. In several instances, the whole discussion is recorded in verse, illustrating the importance of poetry in Taoist pedagogy. Although prone to attributing a purely spiritual and ethical meaning to the various technical concepts of alchemy, He nevertheless set great store by traditional Quanzhen ascetic exercises, such as confinement in the \**huandu* or the \**zuobo* meditation.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

※ Quanzhen

He Zhizhang

賀知章

659–744; *zi*: Jizhen 季真; *hao*: Siming Kuangshuai 四明狂帥  
(Insane Commander from Siming)

He Zhizhang (*jinshi* 695) is generally remembered as a poet: he was one of Du Fu's 杜甫 (712–70) “Eight Immortals of the Winecup” (*yinzhong baxian* 飲中八仙) and the originator of his friend Li Bai's 李白 (701–62) famous byname, “Banished Immortal” (*zhexian* 謫仙). In the Standard Histories, however, He appears primarily as a statesman, whose fifty-year career spanned numerous posts (*Jiu Tangshu*, 15.5033–35; *Xin Tangshu*, 18.5606–7). In 725/726, Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) sought his advice about performing the imperial *feng* 封 ceremony. Despite a brief scandal concerning mismanagement of an imperial funeral, He was soon elevated to noble rank and charged with supervising Xuanzong's heir, the future Tang Suzong (r. 756–62). At the age of eighty-five, He received permission to retire, took ordination as a \**daoshi*, and returned to his native village. He soon died, and was lauded in a memorial edict by Suzong.

Despite his solid record of government service, and enduring admiration for his calligraphy, the Standard Histories portray He as an eccentric, whom contemporaries called “Crazy Zhang.” They depict his late-life decision to retire and take ordination as having resulted from a dream (*Xin Tangshu*) or a mental disorder (*Jiu Tangshu*). The *Xin Tangshu* adds that he asked that a palace lake be converted into a pond for liberating living beings (*fangsheng* 放生).

Although He's writings and numerous biographies reveal no other Taoist activities before his retirement, he appears as a character in several later Taoist texts. The *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Xing-guo Reign Period; 978; j. 42) describes him as a man who learns moral and spiritual lessons. In Jia Shanxiang's 賈善翔 *Gaodao zhuan* 高道傳 (Biographies of Eminent Taoists; ca. 1086), he is said to have retired after having received an elixir from a mysterious Elder. Based on that story, a



thirteenth-century local history presents him as a seller of drugs who lived hundreds of years, then “ascended to immortality.”

*Russell KIRKLAND*

▣ Kirkland 1989; Kirkland 1992b; Kirkland 1992–93, 160–65

※ TAOISM AND THE STATE

Hebo

河伯

Count of the River

Hebo is the deity who controls the Yellow River. His surname is Ping 馮 (or Bing 冰) and his given name Yi 夷, or variously, his surname is Lü 呂 and his given name Gongzi 公子. Some sources say that Ping Yi 馮夷 is his wife.

The Hebo myth has a long history. The *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (Bamboo Annals; originally ca. 300 BCE) contains the story of a fight between Hebo and Luobo 洛伯, deity of the Luo River. In the *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Mu, Son of Heaven; trans. Mathieu 1978, 17), the mountains of Yangyu 陽紆 (sometimes identified as a place in Shaanxi) are identified as Hebo's capital, while in the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; trans. Mathieu 1983, 492) it is said to be an abyss three hundred fathoms deep and wide. Hebo is portrayed there in human form, riding two dragons. In the *Tianwen* 天問 (Heavenly Questions) poem of the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 122–51) there is a verse that asks, “Why did Yi shoot Hebo and take the goddess of the River Luo to be his wife?” The commentator Wang Yi 王逸 (second century CE) cites the tale about when Hebo, having taken the form of a white dragon, was frolicking on the banks of the river, when Yi 羿 the Archer saw him and shot him in the left eye.

The biography of Hua Ji 滑稽 in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; *j.* 126) refers to another episode involving Hebo that took place during the Warring States period. It was an annual custom in the town of Ye 鄴 in the state of Wei 魏 (Henan) to throw a beautifully adorned young girl into the river to become the bride of Hebo. Ximen Bao 西門豹, however, who had

become the magistrate of Ye, devised a plan to bring this evil custom to an end. This story suggests that Hebo was originally a fearful deity who demanded human sacrifice. In later times, it was said that Ping Yi became Hebo after ingesting an elixir, and entered the Way of the Immortals.

*YOSHIKAWA Tadao*

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

Heisha

黑煞 (*or*: 黑殺)

Black Killer

The Black Killer is the divine protector of the Song dynasty, who was canonized as Yisheng jiangjun 翊聖將軍 (General Assisting Sanctity) in 981, and as Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖保德真君 (Perfected Lord Assisting Sanctity and Protecting Virtue) in 1014. The god had first appeared in the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi) in the period 960–64, when he began to speak through a man called Zhang Shouzhen 張守真, who was later ordained as a Taoist and established a temple at the place where he received these revelations. The earliest accounts suggest that the god had originally presented himself as the Black Killer General (Heisha jiangjun 黑煞將軍), a name that is suppressed in the official biography of the god, the *\*Yisheng baode zhuan* (Biography of [the Perfected Lord] Assisting Sanctity and Protecting Virtue) by *\*Wang Qinruo*, presented at court in 1016.

The figure of the Black Killer General is widespread in Song-period traditions of exorcism, and especially in the texts of the *\*Tianxin zhengfa*, where Heisha is referred to as the “talismanic agent of the Mysterious Warrior” (*Xuanwu fushi* 玄武符使), i.e., of the power of the north. In fact, the Black Killer Talisman (*Heisha fu* 黑煞符), described in the *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法 (CT 566, 3. 5b–7a), is one of the three talismans that are considered fundamental within the *Tianxin zhengfa* (see [fig. 73](#)). It has the form of a small black figure with bare feet and disheveled hair, holding a sword or metal whip in the left hand, and high in the right hand, the token of the command of the god of heaven, Ziwei dadi 紫微大帝

(Great Emperor of Purple Tenuity), in the shape of the character *chi* 敕 (“imperial decree”). This image (though without the character *chi*) closely resembles not only the general appearance of spirit mediums (*shentong* 神童) with whom Taoist practitioners are known to have collaborated during the Song, but also that of the god of the northern sky, \*Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior), who sometimes replaces Heisha in descriptions of the aforementioned basic talisman.

In the eleventh century, the Assisting Saint was joined with Zhenwu (canonized as the Helping Saint, Yousheng 佑聖), and two “semi-Tantric” deities, Tianpeng 天蓬 and Tianyou 天猷, to form the powerful group of the “Four Saints” (*sisheng* 四聖).

*Poul ANDERSEN*

▣ Andersen 1991, 125–26; Davis E. 2001, 67–86; Little 2000b, 291–311; Major 1985–86

※ *Yisheng baode zhuan*; Tianxin zhengfa; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

## Heming shan

鶴鳴山

### Mount Heming (Sichuan)

Two mountains in Sichuan are referred to as Heming shan. One of them is located in Jiange 劍閣 district; the other, to which the present entry is devoted, is about 125 km west of Chengdu in Dayi 大邑 district. The mountain is 900 m high and has two main peaks that are separated by a smaller hill. As noted by Stephen R. Bokenkamp (1997, 227), the name Heming (lit., “Crane-Call”) derives from the popular legend that the two peaks are the wings of a crane, and the hill is the crane's head. Another tradition reports that there is a stone crane on the mountain, and when it calls transcendents emerge. The mountain is also known as Quting shan 渠亭山 (Mountain of the Moated Pavilion), a name that, as Bokenkamp suggests, may derive from the fact that one of its temples resembled a pavilion encircled by two streams.

Mount Heming is best known for its associations with \*Zhang Daoling, who was visited there by the deified Laozi in 142 CE. Since then, this mountain has been closely connected with the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) and was considered one of its twenty-four parishes (\*zhi). Mount Heming is also associated with the activities of \*Du Guangting (850–933) and the semilegendary \*Zhang Sanfeng. Moreover, as remarked by Judith M. Boltz (1987a, 35), some sources trace the origins of the \*Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart) to Mount Heming rather than to Mount Huagai (Huagai shan 華蓋山) in Jiangxi.

James ROBSON

📖 Nara Yukihiro 1998, 317

✂ TAOIST SACRED SITES

## Hengshan

衡山

Mount Heng (Hunan)

Hengshan is the name of a mountain range that runs parallel to the Xiang 湘 River in Hunan province. This mountain has a long history of importance for both Taoists and Buddhists. While Hengshan is referred to as a single mountain, its sacred purlieu is traditionally said to include seventy-two peaks, of which five are given special significance. The main peak, Zhu Rong feng 祝融峰, whose name comes from an ancient fire deity, rises to a height of 1,290 meters. The four other main peaks are Zigai feng 紫蓋峰, Yunmi feng 雲密峰, Shilin feng 石廩峰, and Tianzhu feng 天柱峰. Although descriptions of the Hengshan range include sites as far north as the Yuelu feng 嶽麓峰 (Hill of the Peak, near modern Changsha 長沙), the main center of religious activity was concentrated on the peaks west of the modern city of Hengshan.

In early texts like the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Odes) and the *Erya* 爾雅 (Literary Lexicon), Hengshan is identified as the Southern Peak (\*Nanyue) in the Five Peaks classification system (\*wuyue). Yet in some early texts \*Huoshan is also identified as the Southern Peak, resulting in confusion over

the location of the Southern Peak. During the reign of Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) the designation “Southern Peak” was shifted from Hengshan (Hunan) to Mount Tianzhu (Tianzhu shan 天柱山, Anhui; also called Huoshan), where rituals directed to the Southern Peak were performed. During the reign of Sui Yangdi (r. 604–17) Hengshan was officially restored as the Southern Peak.

In the Tang period, Hengshan was home to an important lineage of \*Shangqing Taoists that descended from \*Sima Chengzhen, but was collateral to the better-known lineage connected to \*Li Hanguang. The main figures in what Franciscus Verellen has called “the Masters of Hengshan” include Xue Jichang 薛季昌 (?–759), Tian Liangyi 田良逸 (ninth century), and Feng Weiliang 馮惟良 (ninth century; Verellen 1989, 20–21 and Sunayama Minoru 1990, 412).

After Hengshan's role as the Southern Peak was solidified, it also came to serve as an important site in the veneration of \*Wei Huacun (Nanyue Wei furen 南嶽魏夫人). Taoism at Hengshan received particular support and imperial patronage during the reign of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125), and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Hengshan was connected to the expanding cult of \*Lü Dongbin. In recent years many of the Taoist abbeys at Hengshan have undergone extensive renovation.

*James ROBSON*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 109–10; Despeux 1990, 56–60; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 149–53; Robson 1995; Schafer 1979

※ Nanyue; *wuyue*; TAOIST SACRED SITES

## Hengshan

恆山

## Mount Heng (Shanxi)

Mount Heng is the Northern Peak (see under \**wuyue*), and as such has been considered a sacred mountain in both the official cult and Chinese religion generally since the Zhou period. It is located near the present seat of Hunyuan 渾源 district in northern Shanxi, not far south of Datong 大同. It

rises slightly higher than 2,000 m and offers beautiful scenery, with forests and deep gorges overlooking a rather dry plain.

Like other sacred peaks, Mount Heng had a temple for the god of the mountain built on its slopes during the Han period, which survives with an uninterrupted history until the present time. This temple, now called Beiyue miao 北嶽廟 (Shrine of the Northern Peak) and also locally known as Chaodian 朝殿 (Audience Hall), is built on degrees on the mountain slope. Like a few other adjoining temples, it was and still is staffed by a modest community of \*Quanzhen clerics. The most famous and visited site, however, is not Taoist but Buddhist: it is the Suspended Monastery (Xuankong si 懸空寺), built on stilts in the middle of a cliff, about two kilometers downhill from the Beiyue miao.

Although Mount Heng has a documented history of cults and Taoist activity, it does not compare to the other four peaks in terms of nationwide religious importance. It was never a major pilgrimage destination nor a clerical training center. The Northern Peak also suffered from adverse political conditions. As it was several times in history, notably during the Liao dynasty (916–1125), under the control of another regime, “Chinese” dynasties that needed the cult to the Five Peaks for political legitimization used a replacement site for sacrifices to the Northern Peak, some 150 km southeast of Mount Heng, in Song-controlled territory. The temple built there, the Beiyue miao in Quyang 曲陽 (Hebei), was later also maintained as supernumerary, and is famous for its Yuan-period architecture and murals.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Geil 1926, 295–344; Steinhardt 1998

※ *wuyue*; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*heqi*

合氣

1. “merging pneumas,” “union of breaths”;
2. harmonization of vital energy

*Heqi* is a ritual attested in the context of the early Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao). It presumably involved the ritual intercourse of non-married people to ensure the continued positive interaction of Yin and Yang in the cosmic rhythm, and also—in a clear violation of conventional mores—to bind members more closely to the community. Sources on *heqi* are scarce for obvious reasons, the only descriptions remaining in anti-Taoist polemics of the sixth and seventh centuries. Some information on the complex cosmological calculations that went into the practice was contained originally in the *Huangshu* 黃書 (Yellow Writ), traces of which survive in the \**Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* (Liturgy of Passage of the Yellow Writ of Highest Clarity) and the *Dongzhen huangshu* 洞真黃書 (Yellow Writ of the Cavern of Perfection; CT 1343).

The latter in particular presents charts and lists of auspicious dates for the practice of sexual intercourse. It explains the relationship of Yin and Yang in terms of the Stems and Branches (\**ganzhi*) of the traditional Chinese calendar (especially the six *jia*; see \**liujia* and *liuding*); the Five Phases (\**wuxing*) and the twenty-four energy nodes (*jieqi* 節氣) of the year; the Nine Palaces (\**jiugong*) in the sky and the eight trigrams (\**bagua*) of the \**Yijing*; and the various gods residing in the human body. In addition, the text specifies gymnastics (\**daoyin*), massages, concentration exercises, and visualizations to be undertaken before sexual practice and emphasizes the efficacy of the techniques to dissolve bad fortune and extend life. The ritual intercourse of the early group clearly was later transformed into an interiorized practice that composes part of the longevity arsenal of Taoist followers.

Livia KOHN

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 44–46; Despeux 1990, 29–31; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1992, 27–31; Maspero 1981, 386–88 and 533–41; Yan Shanzhao 2001

※ *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*; Tianshi dao

*Hetu and Luoshu*

河圖·洛書

Chart of the [Yellow] River and Writ of the Luo [River]

According to legend, the *Hetu* emerged from the Yellow River on the back of a “dragon-horse” (*longma* 龍馬) during the reign of the legendary emperor Fu Xi 伏羲. Similarly, the *Luoshu* came out of the Luo River on the back of a turtle. Several early texts—including the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents), the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects) of Confucius, the *Mozi* 墨子 (Book of Master Mo), and the \**Zhuangzi*—allude to these documents, but nothing is known of their original forms. They were believed to be diagrams that illustrated the cosmos and gave clues for its ordering, and that helped the mythical emperor Yu 禹 to drive out the flood and delineate the nine regions of the world. The *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, a portion of the \**Yijing*) relates them to the four main trigrams, and the Han “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA) were supposed to explain them. All this is related to the synthesis of different systems of reference points for space and time attempted by the cosmologists.

In a Taoist milieu, the *Hetu* and *Luoshu* are mentioned in a text as early as the \**Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace). Later, the two diagrams were related to numerology and to speculations based on the system of the *Yijing*. Their transmission to Confucianism, together with the *Xiantian tu* 先天圖 (Diagram of the Noumenal World) and the *Wuji tu* 無極圖 (Diagram of the Ultimateless), seems to have occurred though the intermediation of \*Chen Tuan (see \**Taiji tu*). They were first propagated by cosmologists and numerologists such as \*Shao Yong (1012–77), Liu Mu 劉牧 (1011–64), and Zhu Zhen 朱震 (1072–1138), and then by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). There seems, however, to be a difference between how Taoists and Neo-Confucians understood the two diagrams to be related to the configuration of the cosmos. Some early Taoist texts belonging to the \*Shangqing revelation relate the *Hetu* to the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*) and the Nine Palaces (\**jiugong*), i.e., to the figure 9, which the Neo-Confucians related instead to the *Luoshu*. In fact, the connection of the *Hetu* and the *Luoshu* with magic squares appears in Taoist texts relatively late, mainly with Song rituals, perhaps because of the wide circulation they had acquired by that time.



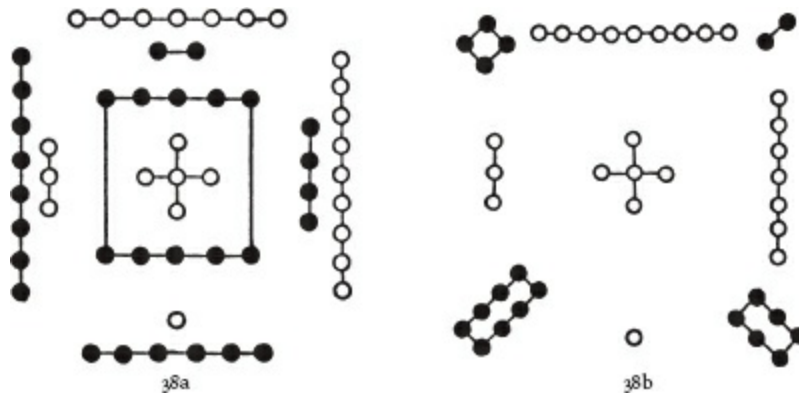


Fig. 38. (a) *Hetu* (Chart of the [Yellow] River). (b) *Luoshu* (Writ of the Luo [River]).

*The Luoshu magic square.* The so-called *Luoshu* magic square, also known as the “magic square of three” or as the arrangement of the Nine Palaces, is older than the magic square based on the *Hetu*. The first specific reference to it appears in the *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 (Records of Rites of the Elder Dai), probably compiled in the early second century CE (Riegel 1993). This magic square played a prominent role in the cult of the Great One (\**Taiyi*) and in a divination system that grew out of it. In Taoism, this square is first found in the *\*Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* (Liturgy of Passage of the Yellow Writ of Highest Clarity), dating from no later than the fifth century, where it is related to a liturgical cult of sexual union practiced by the school of the Celestial Masters (\**Tianshi dao*), and later in the *\*Kaitian jing* (Scripture of the Opening of Heaven). In both instances it is related to the cosmicization of the body, but there is no explicit mention of the *Luoshu*.

The “magic square of three” assigns the numbers 1 to 9 to each of the eight cardinal points and the center, in such a way that the odd (celestial, Yang) numbers are on the four cardinal points, the even (earthly, Yin) numbers are in the intermediary points (the “gates” of the world), and the number 5 is in the center. The sum of the numbers in the vertical, horizontal, and diagonal directions is always 15:

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

In Taoism, this arrangement is mainly used for the practice of *\*bugang* (“walking along the guideline”), and is still associated with the cosmicization

of the body in present-day rituals. It has many different titles, mainly referring to the Nine Palaces or to *bugang*, not to the *Luoshu*. At least one \*Quanzhen text relates this arrangement to the *Hetu* and the \**houtian* arrangement of the trigrams (*Baoyi hansan bijue* 抱一函三祕訣; CT 576, 3a–b). \*Lei Siqi (1231–1301?) also relates it to the *Hetu* and strongly criticizes Chen Tuan, who instead associates it with the *Luoshu* (*Yitu tongbian* 易圖通變; CT 1014, 1.1a–2b and 4.1a–3a).

*The Hetu magic square.* This square arranges the numbers so that they form a cross, or three concentric squares:

7
2
8 3 5 4 9
1
6

This arrangement highlights the center and distinguishes between the “generative” numbers (*sheng* 生, from 1 to 5) and “performative” ones (*cheng* 成, from 6 to 10), with the number 5, representing the center, being the axis between them. It emphasizes the verticality of the upright (*zheng* 正) pillar of the world, while the *Luoshu* arrangement forms an oblique cross. This square does not seem to have been used in ritual. \**Neidan* alchemists, however, refer to it probably because it is more directly linked with the “maturation” (*cheng*) of numbers. It assigns the numbers 3 to Wood/East and 2 to Fire/South, and the numbers 4 to Metal/West and 1 to Water/North, so that the sum of the numbers of the Yin agents and the Yang agents is 5. With the center, also represented by the number 5, these form the “Three Fives” in the alchemical process (see \*[sanwu](#)).

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Cammann 1961; Cammann 1962; Granet 1934, 177–208; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 379–85; Lagerwey 1987c, 126–34; Major 1984; Needham 1959, 55–62; Robinet 1995b; Saso 1978c; Seidel 1983a

※ COSMOLOGY; NUMEROLOGY; TAOISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Hong'en zhenjun

洪恩真君

Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy

The Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy, also known as Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy and Numinous Deliverance (Hong'en lingji zhenjun 洪恩靈濟真君), are the brothers Xu Zhizheng 徐知證 and Xu Zhi'e 徐知諤 (both fl. 937–46). In the human world they held official posts in several regions and prefectures. According to the *Lingji gong bei* 靈濟宮碑 (Stone Tablet of the Palace of Numinous Deliverance), written by the Yongle Emperor in 1417, during their lifetimes “they displayed clemency and consideration for all things, loyalty to their superiors, and filiality toward their elders; they held the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶) in high esteem, unanimously loved the good, attained the Dao through skillful diligence, cultivated abstinence, and offered ceremonies on behalf of souls in purgatory.” For their services to the province of Wu 吳 (Jiangsu and part of Zhejiang) they were ennobled: Xu Zhizheng was given the title King of the Yangzi River (Jiangwang 江王), and Xu Zhi'e received the title Bountiful King (Raowang 饒王). Because of their meritoriousness, people called them the Father and Mother of Rebirth (Fusheng fumu 復生父母).

The two brothers feature in many popular stories. For instance, after their death rumors spread that during a battle, when the water in the capital had been depleted, they ascended to the Celestial Palace and came back down to earth to secretly protect the people, and saved them from floods and droughts, fires and locust plagues, illnesses and wars. According to the *Hong'en lingji zhenjun shishi* 洪恩靈濟真君事實 (The True Story of the Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy and Numinous Deliverance; CT 476), in the Yongle reign period (1403–24) of the Ming dynasty, when the emperor had been unable to govern for a long time due to illness, in a dream he received the protection of the two divinities, who bestowed upon him the elixir of immortality and miraculous remedies. After the emperor had recovered from his illness, he granted the Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy additional honorific titles and erected the Lingji gong 靈濟宮 (Palace of Numinous Deliverance) in the capital where ceremonies were offered to them.

Among other works related to the two brothers is the *Hong'en lingji zhenjun zhaiyi* 洪恩靈濟真君齋儀 (Liturgies for the Retreat of the Real

Lords of Overflowing Mercy and Numinous Deliverance), included in the Taoist Canon as eight separate texts (CT 468 to CT 475). The purpose of each of the ceremonies described in these texts was to request protection and support from the Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy—to pray that the domain of the ruling house be permanently fixed, that the emperor have a long life, and that wealth be bestowed upon the ruling family, the nobles, the various regions and all people throughout the empire.

In 1420, the emperor wrote a preface to the *Hong'en lingji zhenjun miaojing* 洪恩靈濟真君妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on the Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy and Numinous Deliverance; CT 317). For this reason, the Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy must be considered Taoist divinities that enjoyed the unwavering and public support of the Ming emperor. After the Ming dynasty, ceremonies to the Real Lords of Overflowing Mercy were rarely offered and then only in some regional Taoist temples.

*CHEN Yaoting*

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 52–53, 91–93, 195–97

✂ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

### *Hongming ji*

弘明集

Collection Spreading the Light of Buddhism

The *Hongming ji* is an anthology of apologetic literature defending Buddhism against its critics. It was put together ca. 507–14 under the Liang dynasty in south China by the monk bibliographer Sengyou 僧祐 (?–518), and now occupies fourteen chapters in the Taishō Canon (T. 2102). Sengyou appends his own retrospective essay classifying the main arguments against Buddhism under six headings: that its scriptures are wildly exaggerated; that it depends on the unverifiable concept of *karma* in past and future; that it is of no practical political value; that it formed no part of classical Chinese civilization; that its foreign origins make it unsuitable for China; and that it only started to succeed when China became severely weakened.

Since Taoists were among the most dedicated critics of Buddhism, it is naturally possible to learn much about the rival religion from this Buddhist source: Taoist scriptures are sometimes mentioned, and several Taoist polemical essays, such as the \**Yixia lun* (Essay on the Barbarians and the Chinese), are quoted *in extenso* as part of opponents' refutations. Where no other text is available, however, evidence that Sengyou made a number of editorial excisions in his anthology should be taken into account, though some or all of these may be due to one of his sources, an earlier, more general anthology by Lu Cheng 陸澄 (425–94) entitled *Falun* 法論 (Essays on the Dharma). Sengyou's work was done in a part of China where Buddhism had not been subjected to intensive persecution, and where the main arguments against Buddhism on intellectual grounds were failing to undermine imperial support for the religion; this situation was to change radically by the time of the compilation of the “Expanded” version, the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集.

This later collection amounts to thirty chapters in the Taishō Canon edition (T. 2103). It includes some additional early writings and much that was written after Sengyou's time, and was put together by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), who lived under the Tang, a basically North Chinese regime of a type that had not hesitated to persecute Buddhism in the past. He also lived at a time when the Taoist religion had reached new levels of organization and doctrinal sophistication—to no small degree by learning from Buddhism—so that its appeal as an imperial cult, especially to a dynasty which fancied itself descended from Laozi, assumed a far greater menace. Accordingly Taoist opponents and Taoist literature loom much larger in the *Guang hongming ji*. Since, however, elsewhere Daoxuan does not hesitate to appeal to miracles and even revelations as well as intellectual argument in order to defeat his opponents, here, even more than in Sengyou's work, it is pointless to look for an objective account of Taoism.

These two collections have been in the Buddhist canon since Tang times, and so are covered by its separate phonological commentaries. Rather than being any larger in terms of content, the forty-chapter *Guang hongming ji* in the Ming canon simply redistributes material and omits cross-referencing to the *Hongming ji*.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Kohn 1995a, 159–73 and passim; Li Mingyou 1992; Makita Tairyō 1973–75; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 303–11 (list of texts cited); Schmidt-Glintzer 1976

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*hongtou* and *wutou*

紅頭·烏頭

“Red-head” and “Black-head”

The terms *hongtou* and *wutou* are partly equivalent to *\*fashi* (“ritual master”) and *\*daoshi* (“master of the Dao”), respectively. They are used especially in some southeastern areas of continental China and in parts of Taiwan, and refer to the headdresses worn by these religious practitioners when they perform their ritual functions.

Although the ritual functions associated with the *hongtou* and *wutou* overlap to some extent, the two terms refer to distinct privileges and tasks, and reflect a difference in rank. A “red-head” ritual master has not received ordination as a Taoist priest. He specializes in exorcism, healing, and other rites for the living, and does not perform ceremonies for the dead. He often fulfills his functions with the help of spirit-mediums (*\*tâng-ki*) who are subject to trance and possession by spirits. A “black-head” priest may perform the above functions, but he is also entitled to celebrate Taoist rituals, including those for the dead. The “black-head” priest's assistants are the chief cantor and other helpers who perform the ritual with him (see under *\*dujiang*).



Fig. 39. A “red-head” (*hongtou*) ritual master. Reproduced from Noguchi Tetsurō et al. 1994, 156.

According to one explanation, the red color associated with the *hongtou* refers to the good luck secured by their rites (red is traditionally an auspicious color in China), while the black color associated with the *heitou* refers to the world of the dead; during the funerary ritual, for instance, the *daoshi* is said to “arrest the black” (*shouwū* 收烏), with reference to the dark pneumas of the netherworld. Strictly speaking, therefore, the color of the headdress refers to the particular ritual function performed by a religious officiant, and not to the officiant himself. In fact, the Taiwanese *daoshi* also study a corpus of practices called “methods of the red-head” (*hongtou fa* 紅頭法), and when they perform exorcistic rites, they often wear a red headdress. In other words, a *heitou* may also be a *hongtou*, but not vice versa.

The *hongtou* perform their rites in the so-called *daoyin* 道音 (lit., “sounds of the Dao”), an idiom similar to the premodern Chinese “official language” (*guanhua* 官話) and to the language of Taiwanese theatre. The *heitou*, on the other hand, use either the classical language or the vernacular. There are also differences in the ritual areas and ritual tools (*\*faqi*) used by a *hongtou* and a *heitou*.

The *hongtou* emphasize rules of purity, related to their goal of bringing benefit to the living. Since the emoluments that they receive for their functions are lower than those of the *heitou*, the transmission of their methods is carefully regulated in order not to inflate their profession. They are organized into groups, and offer support to each other.

▣ Cohen 1992; Liu Zhiwan 1983c, 151–61; Schipper 1993, 49–55

※ *daoshi; fashi; tâng-ki*

*housheng*

後聖

Saint of the Latter Age

*Housheng* designates a category in the transcendent hierarchy of the \*Shangqing movement, as well as an eminent divinity of its pantheon. The term *hou* 後 refers to the state “subsequent to Heaven” (\**houtian*), the world as we know it as opposed to the state “prior to Heaven” (\**xiantian*), which represents the primal or original stages before the formation of the present cosmos. The *housheng* were divine figures higher than the \**zhenren* or Perfected. Also called *dijun* 帝君 or Imperial Lords, these saints were thought to have obtained transcendence by practicing the Dao, whereas other celestial figures had been granted their divine nature since the origin of the world.

Within the Shangqing scriptures, the appellation Saint of the Latter Age was also given to \*Li Hong, that is, the divinized Laozi, the messiah common to the various medieval Taoist movements. The \**Housheng daojun lieji* (Chronicle of the Lord of the Dao, Saint of the Latter Age), a text revealed to \*Yang Xi during the second half of the fourth century, contains a biography of this messianic saint who governs the world and transmits methods of salvation to humanity. He is supposed to appear on earth in a *renchen* 壬辰 year (the twenty-ninth of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#)), after the destruction of the universe and the annihilation of the unfaithful. He will then inaugurate the reign of the Great Peace (\**taiping*) and assign positions in the celestial bureaucracy to each of the immortal “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*).

Christine MOLLIER

▣ Robinet 1984, 1: 138 and 2: 107



※ Jinque dijun; Li Hong; *Housheng daojun lieji*; Shangqing; APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

*Housheng daojun lieji*

後聖道君列紀

Chronicle of the Lord of the Dao, Saint of the Latter Age

The *Housheng daojun lieji* (CT 442) belongs to the \*Shangqing scriptural corpus, revealed to the visionary \*Yang Xi during the years 364–70. It is, more specifically, part of a set of four works defined as Purple Scripts or *ziwen* 紫文 (see under \**Lingshu ziwen*). The text claims to have been composed by \*Qingtong (the Azure Lad) for presentation to \*Li Hong (the Lord of the Dao) and transmission to his disciple \*Wang Yuan (a patron saint of the Shangqing movement), who was charged, in turn, to deliver it to twenty-four Perfected (\**zhenren*) for instructing future immortals.

Its vision of the end of the world makes the *Housheng lieji*, with the *Santian zhengfa jing* 三天正法經 (Scripture of the Orthodox Law of the Three Heavens; CT 1203; Ozaki Masaharu 1974), one of the main scriptures of Shangqing apocalyptic eschatology. The text presents a panegyric of one of the main divinities of the Shangqing pantheon, the Imperial Lord of the Golden Portal (\*Jinque dijun), also known as the Saint of the Latter Age (\**housheng*); he is the messiah Li Hong, avatar of the god Laozi. It describes the apocalypse, and contains an account of the otherworldly bureaucracy and of the Shangqing scriptures, the possession of which gives access to this supernatural bureaucracy.

The work predicts the impending advent of the savior Li Hong as a mighty god who will descend from Mount Qingcheng (\*Qingcheng shan, Sichuan) and appear in the world on the sixth day of the third lunar month of a year marked by the cyclical characters *renchen* 壬辰 (the twenty-ninth of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#)), after the end of the world. In the preceding *jiashen* 甲申 year (the twenty-first of the sexagesimal cycle), calamities will herald the apocalypse, and great cosmic disasters and social disorder will annihilate the unfaithful. The chosen people will, by that time, have found security in the mountains and will constitute the “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*) of the new humankind. They will enjoy the delights of the era of Great Peace

(\**taiping*) inaugurated by Li Hong, and will obtain positions in the several hundred ranks of the transcendent official hierarchy, in accordance with their own spiritual achievements and the sacred scriptures they have received. Their names will be registered in the celestial palaces they will inhabit. Access to immortality is not only determined by religious merit, but also partly by predetermination: the *Housheng lieji* describes the extraordinary physical marks (*xiang* 相) that will distinguish these candidates for celestial official ranks.

Christine MOLLIER

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 339–62 (trans.); Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 171–210; Robinet 1984, 2: 107–8; Strickmann 1981, 209–24 (part. trans.); Strickmann 2002, 52–57

※ Li Hong; *housheng*; *Lingshu ziwen*; Shangqing; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

*houtian*

後天

“after Heaven”, “posterior to Heaven”; postcelestial

See \*[xiantian](#) and *houtian* 先天·後天.

*Huahu jing*

化胡經

Scripture of the Conversion of Barbarians

Wang Fu 王浮, a Celestial Master libationer (\**jijiu*), composed the first edition of the *Huahu jing* in one scroll (now lost except for citations in later works) around 300. A Buddhist monk had often defeated him in debates. Wang could not endure the shame of defeat and in anger wrote a text that was intended to denigrate Buddhism by demonstrating that Laozi actually founded the Indian religion and was in fact nothing less than the Buddha.

The origin of Wang's polemic was a passage from the oldest biography of Laozi's in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; trans. Lau 1982, x-xi). According to that text, Laozi left the Zhou court where he had served as archivist because he was disgusted with the moral decline of the dynasty and set out on a journey to the west. At the Hangu Pass (Hangu guan 函谷關) he encountered its guard \*Yin Xi who requested that he record his teachings. Laozi duly wrote out the *Daode jing* in two scrolls and then continued on his way to die at some unknown place.

By 165 CE the tradition took a new turn. In that year a court official who was proficient in astrology presented a memorial to the throne in which he stated that some believed that Laozi went further west into the territory of “barbarians” and became the Buddha. Indeed the emperor to whom the official addressed his document made a conjoint sacrifice to the Buddha and Laozi perhaps in the belief that they were one and the same deity (see \*[Laozi ming](#)). By the third century the tradition evolved and asserted that Laozi had made his way specifically to India, converted a king there, and composed Buddhist *sūtras*. Up to that point the theory served the interests of both religions in that it allowed Taoists to incorporate Buddhist tenets and Buddhists to claim that their faith had indigenous origins in China, a claim that facilitated the conversion of the natives.

With the appearance of Wang Fu's text, the character of the theory changed radically. Wang used it as a cudgel to assail the Buddhists. Thereafter the theory and his text became a point of bitter contention between the two religions. As time went on, Taoists enlarged the *Huahu jing*. By 600 it had grown to two scrolls and by 700 to ten. In addition, the theory spawned several related works. They included the *Xuanmiao neipian* 玄妙內篇 (Inner Chapters on Mysterious Wonder)—a hagiography of Laozi's mother according to which Laozi entered the mouth of a queen in India and the next year was born from her right arm-pit to become the Buddha—and the *Wenshi neizhuan* 文始內傳 (Inner Biography of Master Wenshi; Kohn 1997b, 109–13)—a hagiography of Yin Xi who accompanied Laozi on his journey to the west and became a Buddha in the same fashion as Laozi.

The “conversion of the barbarians” theory strove to demonstrate that Laozi was a universal deity who appeared in all ages as avatars assuming the forms of ancient Chinese sage-kings, the master of Confucius, the Buddha, and even Mani (the founder of Manichaeism). He taught and converted all people of the world. In one sense the theory attempted to demonstrate that Taoism

was superior to Buddhism, an inferior form of Taoist doctrines and therefore unworthy of importation to China. The notion was ethnocentric in that asserted that Indians and Central Asian were uncultured—unkempt, filthy, malodorous, and ill-mannered—and therefore in need of civilization, that is Chinese civilization. In another sense the theory was a means of justifying the adoption of Buddhist doctrines by Taoists because Buddhism had become extremely popular among the elite and peasants in China.

The Buddhist reaction to this assault on their religion was twofold. The first, that emerged in the fifth or sixth century, was to attack the *Huahu jing* on the grounds that it was irrational and absurd. There were many inconsistencies, anachronisms and contradictions in the text that provided Buddhist advocates with fertile material to ridicule the *Huahu jing*. Not the least of them was the notion that Laozi spread a doctrine in India that was Taoist, but inferior to Chinese Taoism. The second reaction was to turn the tables on Taoism and create a myth of conversion in which bodhisattvas or disciples of the Buddha converted the Chinese to their faith. In various apocrypha, the Buddhists asserted that Laozi was an avatar or a disciple of the Buddha who traveled east to propagate their religion among the Chinese. They went further to claim that Confucius and his disciple Yan Hui 顏回 were bodhisattvas, and therefore Confucianism was a form of Buddhism. Moreover they strove to co-opt the ancient sages of China for themselves by asserting that the mythical rulers Fu Xi 伏羲 and Nü Gua 女媧 were avatars of the Buddha or bodhisattvas.

The *Huahu jing* was a major point of contention in the debates between Taoists and Buddhism that raged from the fifth through the seventh centuries. The stakes at such confrontations, that usually took place at imperial courts, were high. If the emperor judged one of the two religions to be superior he accorded it precedence, that is he assigned it a higher position in processions and therefore greater prestige. That also frequently meant that the faith enjoyed greater patronage from the throne.

During the Tang dynasty the throne twice proscribed the *Huahu jing* in 668 and 705 without lasting effect. The text survived into the Song dynasty. However, in the Yuan dynasty the throne ordered destruction of it and all texts related to it. The *Huahu jing* seemed to disappear, but an illustrated version, the *Laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* 老君八十一化圖說 (Eighty-One Transformations of Lord Lao, Illustrated and Explained; see \*[Laojun bashiyi hua tu](#)), survived into the Ming dynasty and still exists today. Furthermore,

after the discovery of ancient Chinese manuscripts at \*Dunhuang in the early twentieth century, fragments from four scrolls of the ten-scroll version were recovered. In addition there are numerous citations from of the *Huahu jing* in Taoist compendia of the Tang and Buddhist polemical literature.

Charles D. BENN

▣ Chavannes and Pelliot 1911–13, part 2: 116–32; Fukui Kōjun 1958, 156–324; Kanaoka Shōkō 1983, 196–205; Kohn 1993b, 71–80; Kohn 1995a, 195–97 and *passim*; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 437–72; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 322–24 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 656–84 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 469–84; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 591–96; Robinet 1997b, 188–89; Seidel 1984; Yamada Toshiaki 1983a; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1976d; Zürcher 1972, 288–320

※ Laozi and Laojun; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*Huainan zi*

淮南子

Book of the Master of Huainan

A key document of early Han thought, the *Huainan zi* is a composite and encyclopedic work in twenty-one chapters dating from ca. 139 BCE. It was compiled at the court of Liu An 劉安 (179?–122), king of Huainan (present-day Anhui) and grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty (Wallacker 1972; Campany 2002, 233–38). Scholars have long debated the role played in its composition by the circles of savants and \**fangshi* (masters of methods) that surrounded Liu An. The work was originally divided into three parts, two of which—the “outer” (*waishu* 外書) and the “central” (*zhongshu* 中書) ones—are lost. The extant text, corresponding to the “inner” portion (*neishu* 內書), covers a wide variety of subjects, including cosmology, philosophy, the art of government, mysticism, mythology, hagiography, ethics, education, military affairs, music, and inner nature and vital force (\**xing* and *ming*). The *Huainan zi* has been extensively quoted since shortly after the Han dynasty, and its views on cosmogony have been widely adopted.

Two slightly different editions of the text existed since early times,

compiled by the commentators Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 55-ca. 149) and Gao You 高誘 (fl. 205–212). Their annotations had been merged by the eleventh century, and apparently as early as the fourth century. Scholars, however, agree on the general faithful transmission and integrity of the text. After Xu and Gao, the *Huainan zi* was the subject of many other commentaries. The earliest printed edition was probably that established in the eleventh century by Su Song 蘇頌 (1020–1101; SB 969–70), now available in the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Collectanea from the Four Sections of Literature). The edition in the Taoist Canon, entitled *Huainan honglie jie* 淮南鴻烈解 (Vast and Luminous Explications of [the Master of] Huainan; CT 1184), which is in twenty-eight chapters as it divides seven chapters into two parts, is one of the most reliable versions of the text and was the basis of several later ones.

*Nature of the text.* The *Huainan zi* has traditionally been known as an “eclectic work.” Some contemporary scholars label it as a \*Huang-Lao text. Despite extensive borrowings from earlier sources, which account for some inconsistencies in style and ideology, the text possesses a general unity. Its creative synthesis, which is one of its distinctive features, combines Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist perspectives with Yin-Yang and \*wuxing cosmology. It is based on analogical and correlative thinking, and on the idea of resonance (*ganying* 感應) and interaction among all levels of reality.

Despite its heterogeneous background, the text embodies a fundamentally Taoist attitude. It offers a synthesis of the *Daode jing* and the \*Zhuangzi, combining the former's political leanings with the latter's more contemplative tendency. Chapters 1 and 2 draw heavily on the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*. Among the many sources cited in this work, the *Zhuangzi* is the most frequently quoted. Throughout the book, the Dao is emphasized as a primal, central, and ultimate Unity and as a universal, generative, and orderly power. The ethical and sociopolitical level of the Confucian teaching, and the pragmatic and Legalist point of view that emphasizes the need for a powerful ruler and bureaucracy, laws and institutions, are both subordinated to the ontological level of Dao and its Virtue (\*de). The belief in the resonance between the two levels of reality—the Dao and the phenomenal world—is part of the text's large-scale integration of cosmology into political and historical theory, which is a basic feature of Han thought.

*The Dao and the Saint.* The *Huainan zi* offers the longest development on the Dao since the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi*. The Dao is indescribable and

unfathomable. It is the source of everything in the world, contains everything, can do everything and its contrary, and can take all forms. It cannot be paired with anything and is unique. Every thing and every being takes its meaning in reference to the eternal Dao, which one must cultivate to fulfill one's destiny and true nature.

Return (*\*fan*) to the Dao and to the original and fundamental nature of beings is the basis of all qualities and efficacious actions. This fundamental nature of beings is their overall oneness; it is found in quiescence, inner unity, and emptiness, and is accomplished by spontaneous action or non-action (*\*wuwei*). Thus, one must not try to change the nature of beings, and must follow and preserve one's authenticity. The book stresses the fundamental value of the vital and spiritual forces of life; one should respect them and let them spontaneously and freely circulate and nourish all things, as they are the basis of health on both the individual and political levels. The individual and the ruler must consequently know the rules that govern human life and cosmic order, and follow them without interfering.

Like the *Zhuangzi*, the *Huainan zi* describes values that change according to different times and points of view; therefore it emphasizes the difficulty of seeing clearly and employing the correct means to order one's life and the world. The only one who can unravel these difficulties is the Saint (*\*shengren*), the ideal ruler, due to the penetrating insight he acquires by embodying the Dao. In the *Huainan zi*, the Saint has a cosmic dimension and rules the whole universe. He is the bridge that both joins and separates the one Dao and its multiple facets, and the one who can follow and subsume all differences into one Unity within a hierarchy of ethical (Confucian) values. The Saint's intuitive and synthesizing knowledge of diverse and multiple times, beings, and means lies beyond thinking, and can harmoniously employ each being according to his capacities and relation to the whole.

Table 12

CHAPTER	TRANSLATION
1 Yuandao 原道 (Original Dao)	Balfour 1884, 74–94; Morgan 1933; Kraft 1957–58; Larre, Robinet, and Rochat de la Vallée 1993; Lau and Ames 1998
2 Shuzhen 俶真 (Primeval Reality)	Morgan 1933; Kraft 1957–58
3 Tianwen 天文 (Patterns of Heaven)	Major 1993
4 Dixing 墜形 (Forms of Earth)	Erkes 1916–17; Major 1993

5	Shice 時則 (Seasonal Rules)	Major 1993
6	Lanmin 覽冥 (Peering into Obscurity)	Le Blanc 1985
7	Jingshen 精神 (Essence and Spirit)	Morgan 1933; Larre 1982 (part.); Larre, Robinet, and Rochat de la Vallée 1993 (full)
8	Benjing 本經 (Fundamental Norm)	Morgan 1933
9	Zhushu 主術 (Art of Rulership)	Ames 1983
10	Miucheng 繆稱 (Erroneous Designations)	—
11	Qisu 齊俗 (Equalizing Customs)	Wallacker 1962; Larre, Robinet, and Rochat de la Vallée 1993
12	Daoying 道應 (Responses to the Dao)	Morgan 1933
13	Fanlun 汎論 (Compendious Discussions)	Morgan 1933; Larre, Robinet, and Rochat de la Vallée 1993
14	Quanyan 詮言 (Inquiring Words)	—
15	Binglüe 兵略 (Essential of the Military Arts)	Morgan 1933; Ryden 1998
16	Shuoshan 說山 (On Mountains)	—
17	Shuolin 說林 (On Forests)	—
18	Renjian 人間 (Among Humans)	Larre, Robinet, and Rochat de la Vallée 1993
19	Xiuwu 脩務 (Necessity of Cultivation)	Morgan 1933
20	Taizu 泰族 (Great Categories)	—
21	Yaolüe 要略 (Synopsis)	Larre, Robinet, and Rochat de la Vallée 1993

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Published translations of *Huainan zi* chapters into Western languages. Based in part on Le Blanc 1985, 14–18; Roth 1992, 13–14; Kohn 1994.

Thus the *Huainan zi* combines two notions of order: one obtained through distribution, the other through centering and radiating. The first is pyramidal, hierarchically ordering values and ranks in a Confucian way, or adequately allotting functions in a more Legalist mode; it changes in different times and places. The other is the one, permanent Taoist order that proceeds through inner centering and outer radiating.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Ames 1983 (trans. of *j.* 9); Kanaya Osamu 1959; Kohn 1994; Kusuyama Haruki 1987; Larre 1982 (trans. of *j.* 7); Larre, Robinet, and Rochat de la Vallée 1993 (trans. of *j.* 1, 7, 11, 13, 18, and 21); Le Blanc 1985 (trans. of *j.* 6); Le Blanc 1993; Le Blanc and Mathieu 2003 (complete trans.); Loewe 1994b; Major 1993 (trans. of *j.* 3–5); Robinet 1997b, 47–48; Roth 1985; Roth 1987c; Roth 1991a; Roth 1992; Roth 1996; for other translations of



individual chapters, see [table 12](#)

※ COSMOLOGY

*huandan*

還丹

Reverted Elixir

### 1. *Waidan*

In *\*waidan*, *huandan* is a generic term that denotes the elixir. It does not refer to any single compound or method, but applies to virtually all processes of refining that occur in cycles (*zhuan* 轉); hence such names as Reverted Elixir in Nine Cycles (*jiuzhuan huandan* 九轉還丹).

The main underlying notion is that the alchemical process allows the ingredients of the elixir to “revert” to their original state. The essences that coagulate under the upper part of the crucible represent the initial state of matter before its corruption caused by the action of time. Thus the elixir is equated with the original essence (*\*jing*) or the *materia prima* from which the cosmos evolved. The commentary to the *\*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs; CT 885, 10.1b) compares this substance to the “essence” that is within the Dao and is the seed of its generation of the world (*Laozi* 21).

▣ Meng Naichang 1993a, 132–44

※ *waidan*

## 2. *Neidan*

Depending on the emphasis of the particular schools, the term *dan* 丹 (elixir) in *\*neidan* has a more physical or spiritual connotation. *Huan* 還 is used in inner alchemy in the sense of “reverting” or “revolving,” and is associated with a circle or cycle that symbolizes completion and return (*\*fan*) to the Dao. As a compound term, *huandan* in *neidan* first denotes an elixir that is formed inwardly by a process of cyclical transformation and enables the adept to return to the Origin. Second, *huandan* means “returning to the Cinnabar Field (*\*dantian*)” and denotes a cyclical process of purification of the primary components of the human being. The idea of return through a cyclical process is thus central to both meanings of *huandan*.

The *\*Zhong-Lü* school, especially in the *\*Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (Anthology of Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Dao to Lü Dongbin), distinguishes several kinds of “return to the Cinnabar Field.” They are designated as Small Return to the Cinnabar Field (*xiao huandan* 小還丹), Great Return to the Cinnabar Field (*da huandan* 大還丹), Sevenfold Return to the Cinnabar Field (*qifan huandan* 七返還丹), Ninefold Return to the Cinnabar Field (*jiuzhuan huandan* 九轉還丹), Return of the Jade Liquor to the Cinnabar Field (*yuye huandan* 玉液還丹), Return of the Golden Liquor to the Cinnabar Field (*jinye huandan* 金液還丹), and in other ways (according to the *Zhong-Lü* school, Jade Liquor or *yuye* 玉液 denotes the fluid of the kidneys, while Golden Liquor or *\*jinye* 金液 refers to the fluid of the lungs; see Baldrian-Hussein 1984, 139–42 and 151–58). In the context of this physiologically-oriented *neidan* tradition, the Reverted Elixir is related to the rise and descent of the energies in the body and their refinement through these cyclical movements. For instance, the Small Return to the Cinnabar Field is based on purifying the pneuma (*\*qi*) of the five viscera (*\*wuzang*) and on cyclically increasing and decreasing the Yin and Yang qualities in the body. This process results in the collection of the refined substances in the lower Cinnabar Field. With the Great Return to the Cinnabar Field, an

energetic exchange between the lower and upper Cinnabar Fields occurs.

The *\*Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection), the *\*Zhonghe ji* (Anthology of Central Harmony), and the *\*Xingming guizhi* (Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force) emphasize that *huandan* is to be understood in relation to self-refinement and control of the heart (*\*xin*): “If you want to carry out the ninefold circulation to perfection, you should first purify yourself and control your heart” (*Wuzhen pian*, in *\*Xiuzhen shishu*, CT 263, 29.4b). In the *Zhonghe ji*, the formation of the Great Reverted Elixir (*da huandan*) is equivalent to the unification of the phenomenal and noumenal aspects of the Dao within the adept. The nine-cycled transformation is emphasized in the *Xingming guizhi*, where it corresponds to the purification of the heart and aims to return to its original state.

The formation of the nine-cycled elixir is important in *neidan* as 9 is the number of pure Yang and symbolizes attainment. When the elixir is refined nine times it attains its highest purity. According to the *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Folios of the Hundred Questions; in *\*Daoshu*, 5.7a–22a), the adept needs nine years to achieve the Reverted Elixir.

Martina DARGA

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1984, 146–47, 152, 241, and 254, Darga 1999, 253–54, 301–2, and 332

※ *neidan*

*huandu*

環堵

retreat, enclosure

The term *huandu* (lit., “encircled by four walls”) has a long history in Chinese literature and religion. It was first used in the *\*Zhuangzi* (chapter 23; trans. Watson 1987, 248–49) to denote a humble hut where a hermit takes refuge, and also appears in the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites; trans. Legge 1885, 2: 405) to refer to the abode of the poor but righteous scholar. Hence it often

took the meaning of a miserable hut, but also retained connotations that have nothing to do with poverty. The *du* or “wall” is a small unit of length, whence the meaning for *huandu* of a minimal surface which potentially becomes all-encompassing: “One can stay inside one's *huandu* and know the entire universe” (*Shuoyuan* 說苑 7.7). Moreover, the fact that its walls can isolate the room from the outside world adds the possible opposite meanings of “protective enclosure” or even “prison.” From the idea of small, secluded room, *huandu* naturally became a name for the Taoist meditation room. The *\*Zhengao* (18.6b) has a precise description of the *huandu* as a kind of *\*jingshi* (quiet chamber). This acceptance is confirmed by later texts, although many kinds of buildings were subsumed under this common term.

The *huandu* was made popular by Liu Biangong 劉卞功 (1071–1143), a Taoist living in Shandong who built an enclosure with a small hut in the middle and spent his entire life within it, speaking with guests through a wicket. After his death, his disciple took his place in the *huandu*, and this went on for three generations. A few decades afterward, the *\*Quanzhen* order, which made public displays of asceticism a formal part of its curriculum, adopted the term *huandu* but changed and institutionalized the practice. Ritualized solitary confinement in a room for a fixed term (usually one hundred days or three years) to perform *\*neidan* practices was introduced in Quanzhen by *\*Wang Zhe* and was standardized by *\*Ma Yu*. Rows of *huandu* were built in monasteries and adepts spent periods within them, at the end of which their spiritual attainment was tested by their masters. Early Yuan historical records mention several cases of scholars repudiating family and friends and locking themselves up in a *huandu*. Once enclosed, the adept meditated night and day with hardly any sleep; recorded sayings (*\*yulu*) and legal cases document instances in which such extreme asceticism led to madness and violence.

In later times, the practice was severely controlled and stays in the *huandu* were limited to shorter periods. From the late Ming onward, some monasteries also built meditation halls with compartmented cells called *huantang* 圓堂. Adepts then could enjoy the solitude of the *huandu* and still be absorbed in the discipline of the monastic community. These various kinds of institutionalized asceticism bear a close relationship with the Buddhist practice of *biguan* 閉關 (confinement), rather common to this day, and also usually lasting three years.

▣ Goossaert 1997, 171–219, Goossaert 1999; Goossaert 2001

※ *zuobo*; Quanzhen; ASCETICISM; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

Huang Lingwei

黃靈微 (*or*: 黃令微)

ca. 640–721; *hao*: Huagu 華姑 (Flowery Maiden)

Though many facets of her life remain poorly known, Huang Lingwei was one of the notable Taoist women of Tang China. She was ignored by the official historians, but we know some details of her career from two inscription texts composed by the accomplished statesman-scholar Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–85). In 768/769, Yan was appointed prefect of Fuzhou 撫州 (Jiangxi), where Huang had been active, and he soon composed an epitaph for inscription at her shrine at Linchuan 臨川 (Jiangxi). A few years later, he again explained her life in an epitaph (*Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 or *Complete Prose of the Tang*, Zhonghua shuju repr. of the 1814 edition, 340.17a–22b) prepared for inscription at the nearby shrine of “Lady Wei” (\*Wei Huacun, 251–334), the \*Tianshi dao libationer (\**jijiu*) who posthumously participated in the \*Shangqing revelations. Naturally, \*Du Guangting visited Huang's life in his anthology of materials on female Taoist figures, the \**Yongcheng jixian lu* (in YJQQ 115.9b–12a).

Though Huang's entire early life is essentially unknown, Yan's first text (in *Quan Tang wen*, 340.1a–3b) identifies her as a native of Linchuan, giving no information about her parentage. (He makes no mention of her ever having a husband or children.) At the age of twelve, she was reportedly ordained as a \**daoshi* (a plausible datum in that period). Then, Yan says nothing more about Huang's life until she was about fifty, no doubt because that part of her life was passed over in silence by his informants. In her maturity, Huang, for unknown reasons, began seeking the long-lost shrine of Lady Wei. She was unsuccessful until late 693, when she received help from a theurgist named Hu Huichao 胡惠超 (?–703). Following his directions, she found Lady Wei's shrine and excavated some religious artifacts. Yan relates

that the Empress Wu (r. 690–705) confiscated the artifacts but that she did not order an account of the matter to be recorded. Amidst wonders, Huang located and restored a second nearby shrine, and apparently continued *\*zhai* observances there for nearly thirty years. In 721/722, she informed her disciples that she wished to ascend, and instructed them not to nail her coffin shut, but only to cover it with crimson gauze. A few evenings later, lightning struck, leaving a hole in the gauze and an opening in the roof. The disciples who looked into the coffin found no body, only her shroud and “screed” (*jian* 簡). That is, she had undergone *\*shijie* (release from the corpse). Yan says little more about Huang's disciples, mentioning only one by name, a woman named Li Qiongxian 黎瓊仙. Apparently, Li and female colleagues maintained the shrines for some years, with male *daoshi* continuing the *zhai* and *\*jiao* observances. Later, the shrines evidently fell again into desuetude. Yan depicts Huang as a woman of humility, piety, and courage, and seems quite comfortable in eliciting readers’ approval of a woman who passed beyond the “traditional” norms.

Du Guangting reproduces an 882 rescript by Tang Xizong (r. 873–88), which calls Huang an immortal who had descended from heaven. She has no biography in the Standard Histories, evidently because she did little to recommend herself as a political exemplar. She apparently wrote nothing, and we know nothing more of her beliefs or practices.

*Russell KIRKLAND*

☞ Cahill 1990, 33–34; Kirkland 1991; Kirkland 1992–93, 156–60; Schafer 1977b

※ WOMEN IN TAOISM

Huang Shunshen

黃舜申

1224–after 1286; *hao*: Leiyuan zhenren 雷淵真人  
(Perfected of the Thunderous Abyss)

As the earliest and most important codifier of the *\*Qingwei* (Pure Tenuity) movement's teachings, Huang Shunshen helped to establish this important

late-Song Taoist synthesis of ritual, scripture, and contemplation among literati groups in southern and central China.

Huang's earliest hagiography comes from his disciple Chen Cai 陳采 at the end of Chen's *\*Qingwei xianpu* (Register of Pure Tenuity Transcendents, 14b–15a), which has a preface dated 1293. This source places Huang's birth in Jianning 建寧 (Fujian), the same area, it should be noted, where *\*Bai Yuchan* (1194–1229?) established himself from 1215 onward. Reported to have read widely in his youth, at the age of sixteen Huang accompanied his father who had just been appointed to serve as a transport official in Guangzhou (Canton). Shortly after arriving there, Huang became ill and a man named Nan Bidao 南畢道 (1196-?)—a patriarch of the Qingwei tradition—healed him with talismans (*\*FU*) as thunder struck in the courtyard. After curing the boy, Nan saw that Huang had the right spiritual capacity, and transmitted to him the manuscripts of his Qingwei teachings. During the Baoyou reign period (1253–58), Huang seems to have codified and transmitted these works with great vigor to many aristocrats, from Zhao Mengduan 趙孟端 in the Song imperial family up to emperor Lizong (r. 1224–64), who invited him to court and gave him the title Perfected of the Thunderous Abyss (Leiyuan zhenren). Later, in 1282, after the fall of the Song dynasty, Khubilai khan (r. 1260–94) also summoned Huang to his court.

Although Huang is reported to have taught hundreds of disciples by the end of his life, one hagiography states that the front of a stele recorded the names of thirty disciples, each of whom received one of the five component ritual traditions of Qingwei—associated, in descending order, with Yuanshi shangdi 元始上帝 (Highest Emperor of Original Commencement), *\*Shangqing*, *\*Lingbao*, Daode 道德 (i.e., *Laozi*), and *\*Zhengyi* (Orthodox Unity)—while the five disciples inscribed on the back had received the full Qingwei transmission. Huang and his disciples distributed Qingwei teachings among literati groups from Guangdong to central Hubei by the late thirteenth century. A second-generation disciple of Huang named Zeng Chenwai 曾塵外 set up a branch in 吉安 (Jiangxi) and became the teacher of *\*Zhao Yizhen* (?–1382). More important than the official and literati support, however, was the acceptance of these new synthetic teachings by the Celestial Master's *\*Zhengyi* (Orthodox Unity) tradition.

Lowell SKAR

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 38–41; Davis E. 2001, 29–30; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 345

※ *Qingwei xianpu*; Qingwei

## Huangdi

黃帝

Yellow Emperor; Yellow Thearch; Yellow Lord;  
also called Xianyuan 軒轅

Different early mythical traditions about Huangdi were combined and reinterpreted after the unification of the empire under the Han dynasty. This mythology is complex, but as far as its role in Taoism is concerned, three essential traditions may be distinguished. According to Wolfram Eberhard (1942, 158–61) there was a cult tradition in the northwest of the empire that was centered around a heavenly god Huangdi. In the myths of the eastern provinces, Huangdi was featured as the ideal ruler of ancient times and the first practitioner of Dao. At the time of the Han dynasty, these two mythical traditions merged and were complemented by the tradition of Huangdi as patron of the “masters of methods” (*\*fangshi*).

*Heavenly god.* The Huangdi cultic tradition in the northwestern kingdom of Qin dates back to the eighth century BCE. Each sector of heaven (the four points of the compass and the center) was personified by a *di* 帝 (a term that indicates not only an emperor but also an ancestral “thearch” and “god”). The family ancestor of the princes of Qin was the White Emperor, Shaohao 少皞 (Small Light), who personified the western sector. The fact that the Qin honored Huangdi as the personification of the central sector of the heavens, which should have been the domain of the ruling Zhou kings, was therefore a political presumption. At the end of the third century BCE, the Qin conquered the Zhou kingdom. The Han emperors maintained the tradition of the five heavenly gods, but Huangdi was now replaced by the Great One (*\*Taiyi*) in the central sector and instead given a place as an acolyte of the Great One among the other emperors grouped around him.

The character *huang* 黃 (yellow) is often used in ancient literature as equivalent to *huang* 皇 (august, venerable, superior). But Huangdi 皇帝 or “august emperor” is the name of the heavenly god Shangdi 上帝. Thus, the



Yellow Emperor was placed on the same level as the highest heavenly god, and the four emperors personifying the points of the compass were subordinated to him. The prestige attached to Huangdi as a heavenly god and an ancestral father of nearly all the noble families in China was one reason Huangdi was chosen as a patron of Taoism and of medicine.

*Prototype of the wise ruler.* Chapter 1 of the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian) places the perfect kingdom of the first emperor and cultural hero Huangdi at the beginning of the history of mankind. In Taoism, he is presented as the model emperor since he turns to the wise old masters for advice, as described in the *\*Zhuangzi* (chapter 11; trans. Watson 1968, 118–20). Just as Laozi was the model of the wise counselor who served as a minister under virtuous rulers, so Huangdi was the ideal ruler who took the advice of such wise counselors. This is evident in numerous records of dialogues in which Huangdi consults his ministers and counselors. While the *\*Huangdi neijing* (Inner Scripture of the Yellow Emperor) is the most notable example (Seidel 1969, 50–51), he appears as a questioner already in the first four dialogues of a *\*Mawangdui* manuscript, the *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions; trans. Harper 1998, 385–411), in which ten *\*yangsheng* specialists respond to questions.

*Patron of mantic and medical practices.* In ancient times, Huangdi was also closely linked to the families or guilds of potters and blacksmiths, who were the direct forefathers of the alchemists. Thus, *\*Li Shaojun* taught Han Wudi the way of making gold as the “art of achieving immortality, as practiced by Huangdi” (*Shiji* 28; trans. Watson 1961, 2: 39).

In the *\*Huang-Lao* tradition, which flourished in the first half of the second century BCE, the Yellow Emperor was seen as model “emperor-turned-immortal” (Yü Ying-shih 1964, 102 ff.) associated with the unofficial transmission of various mantic and medical practices, which appear to have made him an important figure for one faction at the courts of Han Wendi (r. 180–157 BCE) and Han Jingdi (r. 157–141 BCE; van Ess 1993a).

The affiliation of texts with mythical sage-rulers of antiquity, such as the Divine Husbandman (Shennong 神農) and the Yellow Emperor, became increasingly common during the Han. In the bibliography of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han), the Yellow Emperor is associated with works classified under Divinities and Immortals (*shenxian* 神仙), Medical Classics (*yijing* 醫經), Arts of the Numbers (*shushu* 數術), and Methods and Techniques (*\*fangji*). This association with ancient sage-kings did not mean

that such rulers were supposed to have written the texts, but that they were often the recipients of revelations. Han texts therefore relate that the Yellow Emperor received texts on sexual hygiene from the Sunü 素女 (Pure Woman) and \*Rong Cheng (Csikszentmihalyi 1994). He is also referred to in the *Hanshu* bibliography as the patron of massage and the “medicines of immortality” (*xianyao* 仙藥). In the *Shiji* (chapter 105) there are reports of “pulse books of Huangdi and Bian Que 扁鵲” which were transmitted to the famous physician Chunyu Yi 淳于意.

Although Huangdi's significance for Taoism declined considerably toward the end of the Han period in favor of Laozi, elsewhere—particularly in the fields of medicine and other techniques—his popularity continued to flourish.

*Ute ENGELHARDT*

▣ Csikszentmihalyi 1994; Eberhard 1942, 158–61; van Ess 1993a; Kaltenmark 1953, 50–53; Kohn 1993b, 351–52; Lewis 1990, 174–85; Seidel 1969; Seidel 1987b; Tetsui Yoshinori 1970; Tetsui Yoshinori 1972; see also bibliography for the entry \*Huang-Lao

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

### *Huangdi neijing*

黃帝內經

Inner Scripture of the Yellow Emperor

The *Huangdi neijing* is generally considered the main text on Chinese medical theory, and the *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders) the principal reference for clinical treatment. In its extant form, the *Neijing* comprises two books, each of which includes twenty-four *juan* (chapters) and eighty-one *pian* (sections): the *Suwen* 素問 (Plain Questions) and the *Lingshu* 靈樞 (Numinous Pivot). The two books are best viewed as compilations of thematically ordered knowledge from different medical traditions or lineages whose authorship is unknown. Their first compilation likely dates to the Han, between the first century BCE and the first century CE.

Both books contain dialogues between the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi)

and various ministers. These dialogues are concerned with cosmology and analogical changes in macrocosm and microcosm, lifestyle, medical ethics, diagnostics and therapeutics. The *Suwen* is generally considered to be more philosophical in content, and in many places it discusses environmental and bodily processes in terms of the Five Phases (\**wuxing*). The *Lingshu* is thought to be more clinically oriented, and frequently the text details principles of acupuncture and moxibustion therapy.

The textual history of these books is complex and remains a matter of contention. The *Suwen* has a well-known Tang dynasty editor, \*Wang Bing (fl. 762), who divided it into twenty-four *juan* and submitted it to the throne in 762. In the Northern Song period it was substantially reedited and “corrected” by Lin Yi 林億 (eleventh century) and his team. About one third of the text is devoted to the doctrine of the “five circulatory phases and six seasonal influences” (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣), also known as “phase energetics.” This doctrine is recorded in chapters 66–71, 74, and parts of chapters 5 and 9. Chapters 72 and 73 were lost by Wang Bing's time, and he gives only their titles; it is uncertain whether they dealt with this doctrine. Generally, Wang Bing is considered to have included the above chapters into the *Suwen*, but there is no certainty that their inclusion predated the Song edition of the *Suwen*.

The *Lingshu* originally may have had the title *Zhenjing* 鍼經 (Scripture of Acupuncture). Thus, Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–82) considered the *Suwen* and the *Zhenjing* available to him to constitute the *Huangdi neijing* that had been recorded in the bibliography of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han; j. 30). Wang Bing, in his preface to the *Suwen*, refers to the second book of the *Huangdi neijing* as *Lingshu* and, in his commentary to the *Suwen*, sometimes quotes from a text with the same title; but this book was later lost. The present editions of the *Lingshu* are generally derived from an edition printed during the Southern Song in 1155, which in turn was based on the reedition of a book called *Zhenjing* that the Imperial Court had recovered from Korea in the 1090s.

Two further books are known to have had *Huangdi neijing* as prefix to their title; they are the *Mingtang* 明堂 (Hall of Light) and the *Taisu* 太素 (Great Plainness). Of these only the latter is extant, and only in one recension that survived in Japan: an eleventh-century copy of an early eighth-century version. It is now generally accepted that this text was compiled during the Tang by Yang Shangshan 楊上善 (fl. 666–83), whose commentary indicates

that he was deeply involved in Taoist thought and practice (he advocates, for instance, meditation on and inner visualization of the deities of the five viscera, \**wuzang*). The extant eleventh-century Japanese version is incomplete, but its 180 *pian* all have counterparts in the *Neijing*, in either the *Suwen* or the *Lingshu*, or in both.

*Elisabeth HSU*

▣ Keegan 1988; Lu and Needham 1980, 88–106; Ma Jixing 1990, 68–98; Porkert 1974; Rochat de la Vallée and Larre 1993 (part. trans.); Sivin 1993; Sivin 1998; Yamada Keiji 1979

※ *yangsheng*

Huang-Lao

黃老

Yellow [Emperor] and Old [Master]

The term “Huang-Lao” was first coined in the Former Han dynasty in the second century BCE. *Huang* 黃 refers to \*Huangdi (Yellow Emperor) and *Lao* 老 refers to Laozi. Huang-Lao thought is said to have flourished at the courts of Han Wendi (r. 180–157 BCE) and Han Jingdi (r. 157–141 BCE), strongly supported by the Empress, later Dowager Empress, Dou before Confucian influence achieved dominance under Han Wudi from 136 BCE (Si Xiuwu 1992; Lin Congshun 1991).

Among the prominent early Han intellectuals who were attracted to Huang-Lao thought was Sima Tan 司馬談 (?–110 BCE), the father of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145?–86? BCE, the author of the *Shiji* or *Records of the Historian*). He is said to have studied under a Huang-Lao master, and sources claim the existence of a lineage of such masters reaching back into Warring States times to philosophers gathered at the famous Jixia 稷下 academy at the court of the rulers of the state of Qi 齊 (modern Shandong). In the Later Han dynasty, Huang-Lao appears to have been incorporated into the ideas and practices aimed at achieving physical immortality developed by religious masters who founded the \*Yellow Turban and Five Pecks of Rice (\*Wudoumi dao) movements. Later on, virtually all of the early texts

disappeared and knowledge about original Huang-Lao was lost.

*Thinkers and texts.* Many early philosophers and texts are said in the sources, or thought by modern scholars, to be influenced by, or representative of, Huang-Lao thought, which they consider to be a form of syncretic Taoism. Among these are the Confucian Xunzi 荀子 (ca. 335-ca. 238 BCE); Han Feizi 韓非子 (ca. 280-ca. 233 BCE), usually associated with the *fajia* 法家 (legalists); Shen Dao 慎到 (ca. 360-ca. 285 BCE; Thompson 1979), Shen Buhai 申不害 (ca. 400-ca. 340 BCE; Creel 1974), the naturalist Zou Yan 騶衍 (third century BCE; Peerenboom 1993), Tian Pian 田駢 (ca. 319–284 BCE), and Song Xing 宋鉞 (ca. 334–301 BCE), who is more commonly recognized as a Mohist (Shi Huaci 1994); the “Yueyu xia” 越語下 section of the *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the States) that possibly represents the ideas of the strategist Fan Li 范蠡 (fl. late sixth to early fifth century BCE; Ryden 1997; Li Xueqin 1990); parts of the *\*Zhuangzi* (Roth 1991b); the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Springs and Autumns of Mr. Lü; 239 BCE; Knoblock and Riegel 2000); the *Heguan zi* 鶴冠子 (Book of Master Heguan; sometime from the mid-third century to early second century BCE; Defoort 1997); the *\*Huainan zi* (139 BCE; Major 1993); sections of the *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (Profusion of Dew on the Spring and Autumn Annals) of the Confucian Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 195–115 BCE; Queen 1996); and the many texts containing in their title the name of the Yellow Emperor or his assistants in the imperial bibliography preserved in the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han; Csikszentmihalyi 1994).

These latter texts appear in the sections devoted to the Various Masters (*zajia* 雜家), the Military Specialists (*bingjia* 兵家), the Arts of the Numbers (*shushu* 數術), and the Methods and Techniques (*\*fangji*). The most famous of these works, and the only one to have survived transmission to modern times, is the foundational text of Traditional Chinese Medicine, the *\*Huangdi neijing* (Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon). Recently discovered fragments of these “Yellow Emperor” texts, however, show strong influence of Yin-Yang thought, and it is perhaps premature to attribute all of these texts as belonging to Huang-Lao Taoism.

*Features of Huang-Lao thought.* Despite the historical evidence, the precise nature and characteristics of Huang-Lao thought and the date of its appearance on the Chinese philosophical stage are still matters of great scholarly dispute. The discovery of the silk manuscripts at *\*Mawangdui* in

the winter of 1973–74 is believed by some to have solved the enigma. The four manuscripts copied in front of the B (*yi* 乙) manuscript of the *Daode jing* have been interpreted as being the long lost *Huangdi sijing* 黃帝四經 (Four Scriptures of the Yellow Emperor), the core text of Huang-Lao (Chang L. S. and Yu Feng 1998; Chen Guying 1995; Decaux 1989; Tang Lan 1974; Yu Mingguang 1989; Yu Mingguang et al. 1993). However, this identification, in the opinion of other scholars, is problematic (Yates 1997; Ryden 1997; Carrozza 1999). They argue that the sections in these texts derive from a variety of different traditions and are philosophically and/or linguistically incompatible with each other. Consequently, many of the interpretations of the nature and characteristics of Huang-Lao Taoist thought that have been based on a reading of the Mawangdui manuscripts are debatable, since they are based on the assumption that these texts form an integral whole and are really affiliated with Huang-Lao.

Randall P. Peerenboom (1993, 27) argues that Huang-Lao consists essentially of a “foundational naturalism” (cf. Turner 1989). By this he means that the cosmic natural order includes both the way of humans (*rendao* 人道) and the way of Heaven (*tiandao* 天道), is accorded “normative priority,” and is the basis for human social order that models itself upon and is in harmony with the cosmic order. John S. Major adds the importance of Dao as the “highest and most primary expression of universal potentiality, order, and potency” that is immanent in the cosmic order. The ruler, in possession of “penetrating insight” (*shenming* 神明), must act in conformity to changes in that order through the seasons and practice *wuwei* (non-striving). Others also point out the importance of the doctrine of *xingming* 形名 (“forms and names”) in Huang-Lao political thought. Harold D. Roth, on the other hand, argues that Sima Tan's description of the Taoists (*\*daoia*) preserved in the *Shiji* (130.3288–92) represents a late-second-century understanding of Huang-Lao and that it possessed three orientations, “cosmology, psychology (or psycho-physiology), and political thought,” adopting ideas from the Confucians, the Mohists, the Terminologists (*mingjia* 名家), and the Legalists (Roth 1991b; Roth 1999a). Mark Csikszentmihalyi (1994), followed by Robin D. S. Yates (1997), prefers to understand Huang-Lao as a tradition or group of traditions that included many different aspects, myth, political philosophy, military thought, divination, and medicine. Until further discoveries are made or new research throws light on the subject, these views are perhaps closest to capturing the essence of Huang-Lao.

▣ Chang L. S. and Yu Feng 1998; Chen Guying 1995; Csikszentmihalyi 1994; Emmerich 1995; van Ess 1993b; Jan Yün-hua 1980; Jan Yün-hua 1983; Lin Cong-shun 1991; Major 1993, 8–14 and 43–53; Peerenboom 1993; Robinet 1997b, 47–48; Roth 1987b; Ryden 1997; Seidel 1969, 18–26; Si Xiuwu 1992; Tang Lan 1974; Tu Wei-ming 1979; Yates 1997; Yu Mingguang 1989; Yu Mingguang et al. 1993

*huanglu zhai*

黃籙齋

Yellow Register Retreat

The Yellow Register Retreat is one of the Three Register Retreats (*sanlu zhai* 三籙齋), along with the Golden Register and the Jade Register Retreats (*\*jinlu zhai* and *\*yulu zhai*). \*Lu Xiujing (406–77) ranked it second among the \*Lingbao rites. According to his *Wugan wen* 五感文 (Text on the Five Commemorations; CT 1278), the number and dimensions of the gates of the sacred space that was prepared for this ritual were the same as those for the Golden Register Retreat, although here ten lamps, ten gates of the inner altar, and three incense burners were placed along its four sides. The number of days was also the same as for a Golden Register Retreat. There is, in fact, little difference in form and structure between the Yellow Register and the Golden Register Retreats. While the Golden Register Retreat could be performed only by the emperor, however, the Yellow Register Retreat could also be performed by the common people. For this reason, the Yellow Register Retreat has been the most universal of all rituals of Merit (*\*gongde*) for the dead from Tang and Song times until the present day.

Almost all Lingbao rituals that developed during the Song period are deemed to be based on the Yellow Register Retreat. One typical example is Jiang Shuyu's 蔣叔興 (1162–1223) *\*Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* (Standard Liturgies of the Supreme Great Yellow Register Retreat). In the Ming period, as attested by Zhou Side's 周思得 (1359–1451) *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 (Golden Writings on the Great Achievement of Deliverance of the Numinous Treasure of Highest

Clarity; in \**Zangwai daoshu*), the Yellow Register Retreat was inflated into a multipurpose ritual capable of resolving all difficulties for all people, from emperor to commoner. Since that time, the name Yellow Register Retreat became a synonym for Taoist ritual as a whole.

In present-day Taiwan, the ritual of Merit belongs to the same stream as the Yellow Register Retreats of the Six Dynasties, Tang, and Song periods. Rituals of Merit that last more than two days are often called Yellow Register Retreats.

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▣ Davis E. 2001, 227–36; Lagerwey 1981b, 163–65; Maspero 1981, 292–98; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 463–677

※ *jinlu zhai; yulu zhai; zhai; Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*

### *Huangting jing*

#### 黃庭經

#### Scripture of the Yellow Court

The Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭; [fig. 40](#)) is the Center. In the body it has various locations: in the head, in the spleen, between the eyes, or in the lower Cinnabar Field (\**dantian*). The text entitled after the Yellow Court is one of the most popular and influential Taoist scriptures. Dating originally from the second century, it is probably the earliest extant work describing the human body as animated by inner gods, and has given rise to commentaries and further elaborations.

The scripture exists in two main versions, called Inner (*nei* 內) and Outer (*wai* 外). The full titles of both contain the term *jing* 景 (light or effulgence), which refers to the luminous corporeal spirits (see \**bajing*): *Huangting neijing jing* 黃庭內景經 (Scripture of the Inner Effulgences of the Yellow Court) and *Huangting waijing jing* 黃庭外景經 (Scripture of the Outer Effulgences of the Yellow Court). The chronological priority of the two versions is still debated. Kristofer Schipper (1975a, 2–11) suggests that the Outer version is earlier on the basis of its brevity, and that the Inner version is



a later development. There are, however, instances of Taoist texts whose shorter versions are later than their longer ones. Wang Ming (1984b) supposes rather that the Inner version is older because \*Wei Huacun's biography states that she used to recite it. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (1955, 225) and Max Kaltenmark (1967–68) share the same opinion.

## 圖 庭 黃



Fig. 40. The Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭). The phrase in the inner circle reads “Spirit of the Center.” The other phrases read (clockwise from the top): “Yellow Court,” “Gate of the Meaning of the Dao,” “Empty Non-being,” “Gate of All Wonders,” “Great Ultimate,” “Gate of the Mysterious Female,” “Real Emptiness,” “Gate of the Non-dual Doctrine.” Liu Yiming 劉一明, *Huangting jing jie* 黃庭經解 (Explication of the Scripture of the Yellow Court).

The relation of the *Huangting jing* to the \*Shangqing school of Taoism has been variously interpreted. Shangqing certainly adopted the *Huangting jing*, as attested by the biography of Wei Huacun to whom the text was transmitted, and by quotations or mentions of both the Inner and the Outer version in Shangqing texts such as the *Xiaomo jing* 消魔經 (Scripture on Dispelling Demons; CT 1344) and the \**Zhengao* (Authentic Declarations). The text, however, is not associated with the \**Dadong zhenjing* (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern) as has been asserted, because it gives different names to the gods of the human body. Moreover, the practices mentioned in the Inner version pertain to the Shangqing tradition but existed prior to it. In fact, both versions seem to have been recorded before the Shangqing revelations of 364–70; Shangqing likely adopted both as “inferior” texts, as it did with several earlier texts and practices (especially those mentioned in the biographies of the Shangqing saints, as is the case with Wei Huacun). Allusions to sexual practices in both versions also indicate an origin earlier than the Shangqing revelations. Both versions, at any rate, seem to have

undergone textual adjustments.

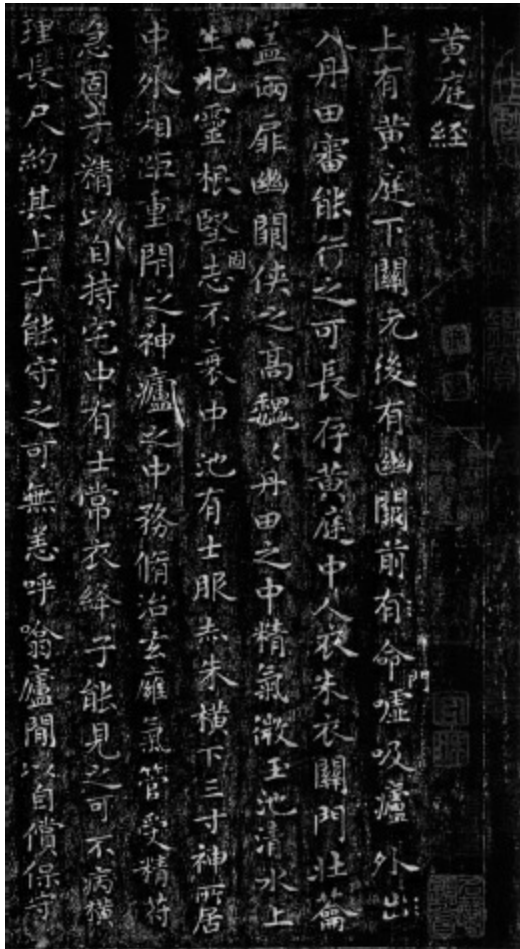


Fig. 41. Opening verses of the *Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court). Calligraphy by Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321?–379?).

*Content.* Written in heptasyllabic meter, the *Huangting jing* uses a poetic and secret language. It was to be recited to expel calamities and ailments and to attain longevity and spiritual quietude. It alludes to practices aiming to achieve bodily and spiritual perfection in the *\*yangsheng* (Nourishing Life) tradition, which can be traced back to the third century BCE. It probably had a mnemo-technical role in helping those who performed these practices, and is said to allow the practitioner to see the subtle forms of his viscera and his spirits, and to have deities become his servants. The *\*Dengzhen yinjue* (Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Reality; 3.1a–5b) describes a ritual without which the recitation of the text would be ineffective.

The main practices alluded to in the *Huangting jing* are visualization of inner bodily organs and their gods, visualization and absorption of inner light, circulation of saliva or essence (*\*jing*) and pneuma (*\*qi*), visualization of

astral bodies (Sun and Moon), sexual practices, and pacifying the souls and the heart-mind (*\*xin*). The Inner version gives more details on the names of the gods, some of which are similar to those found in the Han “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA). These are absent in the Outer version, a feature that could indicate that the Inner version is “esoteric” (*nei*) as the names of the gods are secret and their knowledge confers power.

*Main commentaries.* The earliest extant commentaries are by Liangqiu zi 梁丘子 (Bai Lüzhong 白履忠, fl. 722–29; in *\*Xiuzhen shishu* 55–60, and CT 403) and Wucheng zi 務成子 (probably Tang; YJQQ 12.28b–31b, for the Outer version and the two first sections of the Inner version). Another commentary, found in the *\*Daoshu* (7.1a–7b), interprets the text in relation to the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*) and the accretion and diminution of Yin and Yang according to *\*neidan* principles.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 236–37; Carré 1999 (trans. of Inner and Outer versions); Despeux 1994, 108–33; Homann 1971; Huang Jane 1987–90, 2: 221–54 (trans. of Inner and Outer versions); Kroll 1996a (part. trans. of Inner version); Maspero 1981, 489–95, 523–29; Mugitani Kunio 1981; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 352–77; Pregadio 2006a; Robinet 1984, 2: 253–57; Robinet 1993, 55–96; Saso 1995, 99–151 (trans. of Outer version); Schipper 1975a (concordance of Inner and Outer versions); Wang Ming 1984b

※ MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*huanjing bunao*

還精補腦

“returning the essence to replenish the brain”

In its original form, the technique of “returning the essence to replenish the brain” consists of controlling the flow of seminal essence (*\*jing*). It is based on the belief that the brain, the marrow of the spinal cord, and the semen are one and the same substance (some Western doctors of antiquity held an analogous notion). In this form, *huanjing bunao* is related to sexual

techniques (*\*fangzhong shu*) and longevity practices (*\*yangsheng*).

\*Rong Cheng's biography in the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals; trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 55–60) describes the art of “riding women” (*yunü* 御女) as follows: “One should firmly hold [the penis] with the hand, not ejaculate, and let the essence revert to replenish the brain.” This was the main sexual technique. A more detailed description is found in an anonymous “scripture of the immortals” (*xianjing* 仙經), which states that before semen flows out, one should hold the penis with the two middle fingers of the left hand behind the scrotum and in front of the anus, and simultaneously breath out slowly through the mouth and repeatedly grind one's teeth. In this way, states the text, essence “rises from the Jade Stem (*yujing* 玉莖, the penis) up to the brain” (see Maspero 1981, 522).

“Returning the essence to replenish the brain” is also mentioned in *\*neidan* texts, where it takes on a different meaning and refers to the repeated cycling of the essence in the first stage of the practice (see the entry *\*zhoutian*).

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1984, 109–36; Maspero 1981, 522–29; Needham 1983, 197–201; Wile 1992, 46–50

※ *zhoutian*; *fangzhong shu*; *yangsheng*

Huanzhen xiansheng

幻真先生

Elder of Illusory Perfection; also known as Youzhen xiansheng

幼真先生(Elder Youzhen)

The only available information about Huanzhen xiansheng comes from the preface to the *Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue* 幻真先生服內元氣訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of the Inner Original Breath According to the Elder of Illusory Perfection; CT 828; trans. Despeux 1988, 65–84, from the version in the *\*Chifeng sui*). According to this document, he received breathing techniques during the Tianbao reign period (742–56) from

Wanggong 王公, a Perfected of the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan, Guangdong).

Two texts in the Taoist Canon are attributed to Huanzhen xiansheng: the *Taixi jing zhu* 胎息經注 (Commentary to the Scripture of Embryonic Breathing; CT 130; see \**Taixi jing*) and the above-mentioned *Funei yuanqi jue* (also found in YJQQ 60.14a–25b). The *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang; 59.1542) lists a *Kang Zhongxiong fu nei yuanqi jue* 康仲熊服內元氣訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of the Inner Original Breath According to Kang Zhongxiong; van der Loon 1984, 114) that may correspond to Huanzhen xiansheng's text. No evidence, however, supports the identification of Kang Zhongxiong with Huanzhen xiansheng.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1988, 65–84 (trans. of *Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue*)

※ *yangsheng*

Huashan

華山

Mount Hua (Shaanxi)

Mount Hua (lit., “Flowery” or “Glorious”), located in the Huayin 華陰 district of Shaanxi, is the Western Peak (see under \**wuyue*). At about 2,000 m, it is not the highest but certainly one of the most impressive mountains in China. Its almost vertical granite cliffs rise just above the densely populated plain. The pilgrimage trail leads through perilous stone steps and along ridges that were gradually secured with iron rails, over the centuries. Looking northward from the five summits, one can see the Yellow River bending at the famous Tongguan 潼關 pass and flowing eastward toward the sea. Located along the road between the cities of Xi'an and Luoyang, the mountain was visited by innumerable literati who contributed to a huge accumulated travel literature and poetry.

Like the other Peaks, as early as the second century BCE Mount Hua had a temple—later named Xiyue miao 西嶽廟 or Shrine of the Western Peak—

located at its foot where official sacrifices were conducted. Although such temples came to be managed by Taoists throughout most of Chinese history, the ceremonies performed there were never Taoist rites properly speaking. Tang anecdotal evidence shows that besides the official state cult, the Xiyue miao was the locus of popular devotion, with spirit-mediums communicating with the god of the Peak and his underlings. The god of Mount Hua, like the gods of all Five Peaks, was associated with the netherworld. In contrast to Mount Tai (\*Taishan, the Eastern Peak), however, Mount Hua did not emerge as a nationwide cult connected with the realm of the dead. There were shrines to the Western Peak in districts around Mount Hua, but apparently not much further away. For this reason, Mount Hua was much visited by people of the area, but there were apparently no pilgrimage associations coming from afar, and no special pilgrimage season on the mountain. The Taoist acculturation of the mountain is linked less to the cult of its god than to ascetics who lived there, especially in the man-made caves, some of them hewn out of vertical cliffs.

Since antiquity, Mount Hua has been reputed for the drugs that can be found there, and the renown of the mountain as a meeting place for immortality seekers is already mentioned in the third century CE. It is also linked to revelations, including those concerning \*Kou Qianzhi (365?–448). The most famous Taoist associated with the mountain is \*Chen Tuan (ca. 920–89), who lived there before gaining immortality. The Taoist establishment located at the starting point of the pilgrimage trail, the Yuquan yuan 玉泉院 (Cloister of the Jade Spring), is devoted to him. Another nearby monastery, the Yuntai guan 雲臺觀 (Abbey of the Cloud Terrace; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 269–70), dates from medieval times and flourished from the Song until the Qing periods. Like all Taoist establishments in the middle valley of the Yellow River, these monasteries came under the management of the \*Quanzhen order during the 1230s, and have remained so ever since. But Mount Hua was never a large monastic center and owed its fame instead to the small shrines and hermit-ages along the pilgrimage trail and atop its different summits. Most of these shrines have been restored during the last two decades of the past century.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Andersen 1989–90a; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 107–9; Geil 1926, 217–94; Hachiya Kunio 1990, 1: 45–63 and 303–4, 2: 37–59 and 299–300; Morrison

and Eberhard 1973; Vervoorn 1990–91

※ *wuyue*; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*Huashu*

化書

Book of Transformation

The *Huashu* is a unique philosophical work of the period of the Five Dynasties, which syncretizes elements of Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian thought, and which has been noted in recent times for its scientific observations (for instance regarding optics and acoustics) and for its unusual emphasis on epistemological considerations. Its influence during the Song and subsequent dynasties was substantial, both within Taoist and Confucian metaphysics, and especially as a foundation of alchemical thought. The textual history of the work is highly complex, and it has been transmitted in several versions and redactions, including two in the *Daozang* (CT 1044 and CT 1478).

The *Huashu* was written by the shadowy figure Tan Qiao 譚峭 (ca. 860-ca. 940), but it was immediately appropriated by the high official of the Southern Tang, Song Qiqiu 宋齊丘 (886–959), who wrote a preface and published the work under his own name in 930. Thus, in official and private catalogues of the Song the work is listed with Song Qiqiu as its author, and in some still current versions its title is given as *Qiqiu zi* 齊丘子 or *Book of Master Qiqiu*. The record was set straight, however, in a postface by \*Chen Jingyuan, dated 1060, in which he reports the sordid details concerning Song's theft of the book, based on information derived from \*Chen Tuan (who referred to Tan Qiao as a “master and friend,” *shiyou* 師友).

It has been suggested, furthermore, that Tan Qiao was, in fact, identical with the roughly contemporary (though perhaps slightly later) and more fully documented Taoist figure with the same surname, \*Tan Zixiao (fl. 935-after 963), the founder of the \*Tianxin zhengfa. The conflation of the two Taoist figures gained currency from the latter part of the sixteenth century, and it is reflected for instance in the \**Wanli xu daozaang* edition of the work (CT 1478), which gives the *hao* of the author as *Zixiao zhenren* 紫霄真人, “The

Perfected (Tan) Zixiao.” The identity of Tan Qiao as Tan Zixiao remains, nonetheless, highly questionable.

The *Huashu* is normally divided into six chapters, each of which deals with a particular kind of transformation, namely, 1. “Way Transformation” (“Daohua” 道化); 2. “Techniques Transformation” (“Shuhua” 術化); 3. “Virtue Transformation” (“Dehua” 德化); 4. “Benevolence Transformation” (“Renhua” 仁化); 5. “Food Transformation” (“Shihua” 食化); and 6. “Frugality Transformation” (“Jianhua” 儉化). It has been argued, however, that the original structure of the work was quinary, and that the first chapter—from the hands of the real author, Tan Qiao—was conceived as prefatory.

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Didier 1998; Ding Zhenyan and Li Sizhen 1996; Lin Shengli 1989; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 484–92

### Hugang zi

狐剛子(*or*: 胡剛子, 胡罡子)

also known as Huzi 狐子 and  
Huqiu xiansheng 狐丘先生 (Master Huqiu)

Hugang zi is the appellation of an otherwise unknown alchemist (or perhaps group of alchemists) associated with a corpus of *waidan* writings that developed during the late Six Dynasties and is now extant in fragments. The commentary to the *Scripture of the Nine Elixirs* (*\*Jiudan jing*) mentions him as a disciple of *\*Zuo Ci* and as the master of *\*Ge Xuan*, who was *\*Ge Hong*'s granduncle and belonged to the latter's line of family transmission of *waidan* texts (*Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣; CT 885, 3.6b and 7.5a–b). Other sources relate Hugang zi to Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, the legendary author of the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* (see, e.g., *Danlun jue zhixin jian* 丹論訣旨心鑑; CT 935, 4a). Although these accounts have no historical basis, they suggest, with other details, that the texts ascribed to Hugang zi were produced in Jiangnan 江南.

The main source of fragments from this corpus is the commentary to the *Scripture of the Nine Elixirs*. Passages quoted there make it possible to gather



details on the contents of five works: *Fu xuanzhu jue* 伏玄珠訣 (Instructions for Fixing the Mysterious Pearl), *Wujin fen tujue* 五金粉圖訣 (Illustrated Instructions on the Powders of the Five Metals), *Chu jinkuang tulu* 出金礦圖錄 (Illustrated Account of the Extraction of Gold from Its Ores), *Wanjin jue* 萬金訣 (Instructions Worth a Thousand Pieces of Gold), and *Heche jing* 河車經 (Book of the River Chariot). In addition, various bibliographies ascribe to Hugang zi several other works of which no further traces appear to exist.

After the anonymous texts summarized by Ge Hong in *j.* 11 of his *\*Baopu zi*, this remarkable body of writings included the earliest known *waidan* works largely based on metals. Fragments dealing with the compounding of lead and mercury are of special interest in light of the history of alchemy in China, where these two metals progressively acquired importance owed especially to the influence of the *Cantong qi*. Among various other methods, the commentary to the *Scripture of the Nine Elixirs* preserves recipes for the separate refining of mercury (11.6a–b) and lead (12.3a), followed by a method for their conjunction (11.7a–b; also in 12.3a–b). Moreover, Hugang zi's lineage may be related to the composition of parts of the *Cantong qi* (see the materials collected in Chen Guofu 1983, 68–87), and one of the two Tang *waidan* commentaries to the *Cantong qi* (*Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注; ca. 700; CT 1004) highlights methods attributed to him. The corpus associated with this legendary master, therefore, likely reflects a local tradition that came to affect the whole development of Chinese alchemy.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

■ Chen Guofu 1983, 303–9; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 234–35; Pregadio 1991, 567–68; Zhao Kuanghua 1985a

※ *waidan*

### *Huiming jing*

慧命經

Scripture of Wisdom and Life

The *Huiming jing* was written by the Chan monk \*Liu Huayang (1735–99) in 1794. One edition (part. trans. Wilhelm R. 1929) was published by Zhanran

Huizhen zi 湛然慧真子 in 1921 together with the *\*Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*; another (trans. Wong Eva 1998) had been published earlier in the *Wu-Liu xianzong* 伍柳仙宗 (The Wu-Liu Lineage of Immortality; 1897) together with Liu's *Jinxian zhenglun* 金仙証論 (Essay on the Verification of Golden Immortality) and two works by *\*Wu Shouyang*. In fact, the spiritual foundation of this text is strictly linked to the *\*Wu-Liu* school. Eclectic in character, it draws on the *\*neidan* traditions of the Song and Yuan periods, joining them with Chan and Huayan 華嚴 Buddhism and presenting them in a readily comprehensible language.

The *Huiming jing* opens with Liu Huayang's preface, which contains notes on his life. The main text can be divided into two parts, including altogether sixteen sections (the index in the *Wu-Liu xianzong*, however, lists twenty sections). The first part, consisting of the first eight sections, contains a set of eight illustrations on the *neidan* practice with explanations, while the second part presents various related theories. As Liu states in the first section, he describes the teachings of the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (*Avatamsaka-sūtra*) and the Taoist classics in pictorial form in order to help adepts understand the true meaning of cultivating mind and body. In content, the *Huiming jing* is close to the Ming and Qing alchemical texts that relate the formation of the spiritual embryo to the process of human life—gestation, childhood, and adulthood—followed by the reversal of this process. This is accompanied by detailed descriptions of visions inspired by the *Huayan jing*, represented here as the result of the formation of the spiritual embryo.

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Wilhelm R. 1929, 67–78 (part. trans.); Wong Eva 1998 (trans.); Zhanran Huizhen zi 1921

※ Liu Huayang; *neidan*; Wu-Liu pai

*hun*

魂

Yang soul(s); celestial soul(s)

See *\*hun* and *po* 魂·魄.

## *hun* and *po*

魂·魄

Yang soul(s) and Yin soul(s); celestial soul(s) and earthly soul(s)

The notions of *hun* and *po* are central to Chinese thought and religion. Although the term “souls” is often used to refer to them, they are better seen as two types of vital entities, the source of life in every individual. The *hun* is Yang, luminous, and volatile, while the *po* is Yin, sombre, and heavy. They are, moreover, to be considered the epitome of the spiritual (*\*shen*) and the demonic (*\*gui*): the *hun* represents spirit, consciousness, and intelligence, whereas the *po* represents physical nature, bodily strength, and movement. When natural death occurs, the *hun* disperses in heaven, and the *po* returns to earth. A violent death, on the other hand, causes the *hun* and *po* to remain among humans and perform evil deeds.

Early Zhou period classical theory maintained that each aristocrat was possessed of two distinct souls which, when death came, followed separate paths, the *hun* mounting to heaven, the *po* sinking into the grave with the corpse or into the Yellow Springs (*huangquan* 黃泉), a netherworld located below the earth. The nobility built shrines in which the *hun* of their ancestors received offerings to ensure both their welfare in the post-mortem and the prosperity of their descendants. The demonic *po* instead was appeased by elaborate funerals, sumptuous tombs, and sacrifices to prevent it from returning as a malevolent revenant (Loewe 1982, 114–26). Before these rituals were performed, an attempt was made to reanimate the deceased by “summoning the *hun*” (*zhaohun* 招魂), a rite with traces of early shamanic practices described in the *Zhaohun* poem (ca. 240 BCE) of the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 219–31).



Fig. 42. The three *hun* and seven *po*. *Chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing* 除三尸九蟲保生經 (Scripture on Expelling the Three Corpses and Nine Worms to Protect Life; CT 871), 1a and 3a–b.

This system of beliefs eventually widened to include non-nobility as well. During the Later Han period, moreover, the number of the *hun* was fixed at three, and the number of the *po* at seven. Why these numbers were chosen is a matter of speculation, but the former figure may stand for the *sangang* 三綱, the three relationships between emperor and subject, father and son, and husband and wife (Needham 1974, 88–89), whereas the latter possibly denotes the seven openings of the human body and the seven emotions.

These ideas play an important role in several Taoist traditions. Since the volatile *hun* is fond of wandering and leaving the body during sleep, techniques were devised to restrain it, one of which entailed a method of staying constantly awake. Illnesses were deemed to be caused by the *hun* and *po* straying from the body, and death ensued when the *hun* and *po* left and did not return. Accordingly, the *\*fangshi* devised methods to control them whereas others used rites and ceremonies to summon them back. The three *hun* and seven *po*, moreover, were anthropomorphized and given names, and their individual attributes were described in detail. To visualize them, \*Ge Hong (283–343) suggests the ingestion of “great medicines” and the practice of a method called “multiplication of the body” (*fexing* 分形; trans. Ware

1966, 306). He also mentions an Elixir for Summoning the *hun* composed of five minerals (*zhaohun dan* 招魂丹; Ware 1966, 87).

The \*Shangqing corpus contains several methods for visualizing the *hun* and the *po*. In \**neidan*, the *po* plays a particularly sombre role as it represents the passions that dominate the *hun*. This causes the vital force to decay, especially during sexual activity, and eventually leads to death. The inner alchemical practice seeks to concentrate the vital forces within the body by reversing the respective roles of *hun* and *po*, so that the *hun* (Yang) controls the *po* (Yin).

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

▣ Brashier 1996; Despeux 1994, 133–35; Loewe 1979, 9–13; Needham 1974, 85–93; Tu Wei-ming 1985, 35–50; Tu Wei-ming 1987a; Yü Ying-shih 1987

※ TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

*hundun*

混沌

Chaos; inchoate state

The term *hundun*, commonly translated as “chaos,” has different uses and meanings both within and outside Taoism: it can denote a mythical being, function as a descriptive word, or refer to a stage of the cosmogonic process. Its uses in Taoist texts inherit some elements of ancient myths, traces of which are found in various sources. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Commentary of Zuo), for example, Hundun is a son of \*Huangdi, who banishes him for his incompetence. In the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; fourth/third century BCE?), he is a cinnabar-red animal shaped like a sack with six legs and four wings; it can dance and sing, but has no face or eyes (trans. Mathieu 1983, 110). Elsewhere, Hundun is a dog who has eyes and ears but cannot see or hear; he lives on Mount \*Kunlun and is related to thunder. According to another famous story told in the \**Zhuangzi* (trans. Watson 1968, 97), the Emperor of the Center, whose name was Hundun, had no openings and therefore could not see or hear. The Emperors of the North and

the South—emblems of duality—bore seven holes in his face, one each day, and on the seventh day Hundun died.



Fig. 43. *Hundun* (“... a cinnabar-red animal shaped like a sack with six legs and four wings . . .”). Reproduced from Yuan Ke 1980, 55 (sketch based on a 1786 edition of the *Shanhai jing* 山海經).

In these myths, Hundun is an image of primordial and central Chaos, utterly closed and dark, which disappears when it opens. This happens when the two primeval entities separate from each other, creating a space between them that is the beginning of the world. As thunder, Hundun also symbolizes the beginning of life. Taoism integrated some elements of these myths, sometimes modifying or enlarging them. In the *\*Kaitian jing*, for instance, *hundun* comes after the cosmogonic stage of *taisu* 太素 (Great Plainness; see \*COSMOGONY), and has two sons who are the gods of mountains and rivers. Generally, however, the earlier mythical aspect of Hundun is subordinate in Taoism, where *hundun* denotes primordial Chaos in a purely descriptive way.

Semantically, the term *hundun* is related to several expressions, hardly translatable into Western languages, that indicate the void or a barren and primal immensity—for instance, *hunlun* 混淪 *hundong* 混洞 *kongdong* 空洞, *menghong* 蒙洪, or *hongyuan* 洪元. It is also akin to the expression “something confused and yet complete” (*huncheng* 混成) found in *Daode jing* 25, which denotes the state prior to the formation of the world where nothing is perceptible, but which nevertheless contains a cosmic seed. Similarly, the state of *hundun* is likened to an egg; in this usage, the term alludes to a complete world round and closed in itself, which is a receptacle like a cavern (*dong* 洞) or a gourd (*hu* 壺 or *hulu* 壺盧). Moreover, *hundun* also appears as *hunlun* 混淪, a name reminiscent of Kunlun 崑崙, the mountain at the center of the world where the mythical Hundun lives, changing only the semantic indicator “mountain” (*shan* 山) to “water” (*shui* 水). This shows that Kunlun and *hundun* are the same closed center of the

world.

In some Taoist cosmogonies, the stage of *hundun* comes relatively late, after the five precosmic geneses called Five Greats (*wutai* 五太; see \*COSMOGONY). Here, *hundun* indicates the state in which pneuma (\**qi*), form (\**xing*), and matter (*zhi* 質) have already begun to exist but are still merged as one. This view, found in two Han “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA), was also incorporated in \**Liezi* 1 (Graham 1960, 18–19) and developed in many other Taoist texts. Elsewhere, *hundun* denotes a state when the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣), called Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), Original (*yuan* 元), and Inaugural (*shi* 始), are still merged.

\**Neidan* texts repeatedly allude to *hundun*. Alchemists begin their work by “opening” or “boring” *hundun*; in other words, they begin from the Origin, infusing its transcendent element of precosmic light into the cosmos in order to reshape it. From a physiological point of view, *hundun* is the beginning of embryonic life, the moment when the embryo receives the pneuma; in alchemical terms, it is the time when alchemical Lead and Mercury are still merged with each other. *Hundun* is the elixir, the number 1, and the Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*). As the Center, it is a synonym of the tripod and furnace (\**dinglu*) and of the Embryo of Sainthood (\**shengtai*). Thus, *hundun* is the origin, the center, and the end.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Eberhard 1968, 280, 363–64, 438–43, 445; Girardot 1978a; Girardot 1978b; Girardot 1983; Ikeda Tomohisa 1995

※ COSMOGONY; TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

### *Hunyuan shengji*

混元聖紀

Saintly Chronicle of Chaotic Origin

The *Hunyuan shengji* (CT 770) is a hagiography of Laozi, written by Xie Shouhao 謝守灝 (1134–1212; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 332) and dated 1191. The author came from Yongjia 永嘉 (Zhejiang) and was a classical scholar who

became an active Taoist at the \*Yulong wanshou gong (Palace of the Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Jade Beneficence) on the Western Hills (\*Xishan, Jiangxi) in his later years. He apparently closely identified with his hagiographic work, sporting “hair and beard white and hoary, so that many people said he looked like a living Laozi come to earth,” and took great pride in his writing, to the point of refusing to change even “a single word” (\**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, *Xubian* 續編, 5.8a). He moreover seems to have had every intention to continue his writing in the otherworld, dreaming before his death that a divine personage summoned him to heaven so he could “compile a historical record of the perfected immortals” (5.8b).

Xie's work is the longest and most extensive of all Laozi hagiographies, consisting of nine *juan* which begin with a general chronological survey, then describe the events of the deity's life from the creation of the world, through his transformations, birth, emigration and conversion of the barbarians, to the revelations and miracles he worked in Taoist history, ending with the reign of Song Zhezong (r. 1085–1100) at the end of the eleventh century.

Besides the *Hunyuan shengji* proper, Xie's work appears twice more in the Taoist Canon: in the *Laojun nianpu yaolie* 老君年譜要略 (Essential Chronology of Lord Lao; CT 771) in one *juan*, which contains the first *juan* with a commentary by Li Zhidao 李致道 (thirteenth century); and in the *Laozi shilüe* 老子史略 (Historical Summary of Laozi; CT 773) in three *juan*, which represents an earlier, shorter draft of the *Hunyuan shengji* and includes parts of *juan* 1–3 of the later finished work.

Livia KOHN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 133–36; Chen Guofu 1963, 171–73; Kohn 1998b, 31–32 and passim; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 393–98 and 452–61

※ Laozi and Laojun; HAGIOGRAPHY

*huohou*

火候

“fire times”; fire phasing



## 1. *Waidan*

In Chinese cosmology, which envisions the universe as functioning in cyclical phases, time is one of the basic parameters. Different time phases are defined by the twenty-four or seventy-two divisions of the year or by the seasons, lunar months, days, and hours. Each phase is characterized by correspondence to a cosmological value, symbolized for instance by Yin and Yang, the Five Agents (*\*wuxing*), or the abstract emblems of the *\*Yijing* (trigrams, hexagrams, and their unbroken and broken lines). These cosmological values alternate along the sequence of phases that form a cyclical time process.



Fig. 44. Diagram of the “fire phases” (*huohou*) by \*Yu Yan (1258–1314). From the inner circle: the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*); the four emblem-atic animals (see *\*siling*); the four seasons; six of the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*); the twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支; see *\*ganzhi*); the twelve “sovereign hexagrams” (*bigua* 辟卦; see *\*bagua*); the twenty-four periods of the year (or “energy nodes,” *jieqi* 節氣); the thirty days of the lunar month, indicated by the moon phases; sixty of the sixty-four hexagrams; the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*\*xiu*). Hu Wei 胡渭 (1633–1714), *Yitu mingbian* 易圖明辨 (Clarifications on Diagrams Related to the *Book of Changes*; 1706), *j.* 3. For similar diagrams, see

Needham 1983, 56, and Despeux 1994, 167. See also [table 13](#).

For example, each hexagram represents a particular feature of the universe. An early Han exegetic tradition of the *Yijing* attributed to Meng Xi 孟喜 (fl. 69 BCE) and Jing Fang 京方 (77–37 BCE) associates temporal phases with the hexagrams in a pattern called *guaqi* 卦氣 or “breaths of hexagrams.” In this pattern, four of the sixty-four hexagrams are correlated with the four seasons (or to the two equinoxes and the two solstices): *kan* 坎 ☵, *li* 離 ☲,

*zhen* 震 ☳ and *dui* 兌 ☱. Their twenty-four lines match the twenty-four divisions of the tropical year (the *jieqi* 節氣 or “energy nodes,” each of which lasts fifteen days). The other sixty hexagrams represent the growth and decline of Yin and Yang during the year. Each hexagram corresponds to about six days, so that a set of five hexagrams corresponds to one month. These five hexagrams are called “duke” (*gong* 公), “sovereign” (*bi* 辟), “marquis” (*hou* 侯), “high official” (*dafu* 大夫), and “minister” (*qing* 卿). There are therefore twelve “duke hexagrams,” twelve “sovereign hexagrams,” and so forth.



Fig. 45. The “fire phases” (*huohou*) in the human body. The cycle begins from *zi* 子 (at the bottom of the picture) and continues counter-clockwise along the *\*dumai* and *renmai* channels. The picture shows the twelve “sovereign hexagrams” (*bigua* 辟卦; see [\\*bagua](#)) and the corresponding moon phases. For a similar picture, see Despeux 1994, 91. See also [table 13](#).

The compounding of an elixir reproduces, in a reduced time span and in the laboratory, the process through which nature, in its own time and in its womb, transmutes minerals and metals into gold. Fire is therefore the main agent of transmutation; it is the earthly counterpart of the Sun and incarnates

Table 13

☰	復	fu	子	zi	黃鐘	huang-zhong	11月	23-1時
☷	臨	lin	丑	chou	大呂	dalu	12月	1-3時
☳	泰	tai	寅	yin	太蔟	taicou	1月	3-5時
☱	大壯	dazhuang	卯	mao	夾鐘	jiazhong	2月	5-7時
☶	夬	guai	辰	chen	姑洗	guxi	3月	7-9時
☰	乾	qian	巳	si	仲呂	zhonglü	4月	9-11時
☱	姤	gou	午	wu	蕤賓	rubin	5月	11-13時
☴	遁	dun	未	wei	林鐘	linzhong	6月	13-15時
☱	否	pi	申	shen	夷則	yize	7月	15-17時
☶	觀	guan	酉	you	南呂	nanyü	8月	17-19時
☱	剝	bo	戌	xu	無射	wuyi	9月	19-21時
☷	坤	kun	亥	hai	應鐘	yingzhong	10月	21-23時

The twelve “sovereign hexagrams” (*bigua* 辟卦 and their relation to other duodenary series: Earthly Branches (see under \**ganzhi* pitch pipes, months, and “double hours” (shi 時). (See also [table 9](#), and [fig. 45](#).)

the Yang force. “Since the heat of the flame thus stands for the active forces, the recreation of the cosmic process depends upon the binding of fire by time” (Sivin 1980, 266). As the movement of the Sun steers time and brings about change in beings and things, so the variation of heating by an alchemist follows the progress of time and brings about the creation and transformation of the elixir.

In *\*waidan*, fire phasing is performed in various ways, but essentially by varying the distance of fire from the vessel, the amount of fuel, or the duration of the heating time, and also by alternating the process of cooling and heating. The heating device and the whole procedure represent the dynamic and cyclic interaction of fundamental cosmic forces, such as the daily, monthly, and yearly phases of Yin and Yang.

Time is represented by numbers, trigrams, or hexagrams. Numbers are qualitatively chosen according to their cosmological meaning, and applied quantitatively as measures. Moreover, purely numerical equivalences in the ratio of one time unit to another make them interchangeable and permit time to be scaled in the alchemical procedure. For example, one lunar month of 30 days, having 360 “double hours” (*shi* 時), is equivalent to one year, having 360 days.

Trigrams and hexagrams similarly allow the alchemist to reduce time and reproduce the sinusoidal movement of the cosmic forces. In texts related to the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi*, for instance, the time phases are represented by the twelve “sovereign hexagrams” (*bigua* 辟卦; see [table 13](#)), a cosmological device whose origins have been mentioned above, but which is usually associated with the late Han cosmologist, Yu Fan 虞翻 (164–233 CE). In their progressive arrangement, starting with *fu* 復 ䷗, the unbroken lines in the first six hexa-grams flow upward followed by the broken lines in the other six hexagrams, reproducing the alternate growth of Yin and Yang throughout the year. Each hexagram corresponds to a stage of heating. “As those rhythms bring minerals to perfection within the earth's womb, so they transmute the ingredients into an elixir in the alchemical laboratory” (Pregadio 2000, 185).

*KIM Daeyeol*

▣ Chen Guofu 1983, 88–90; Pregadio 1995; Pregadio 2000, 184–85; Sivin 1976; Sivin 1980, 231–79; Suzuki Yoshijirō 1974, 165–207, 624–31

※ *Yijing*; *waidan*; COSMOLOGY

## 2. *Neidan*

In *\*neidan*, fire phasing constitutes the rhythm of the inner alchemical work: the Art of Measure. Through it, the alchemist knows how to measure the ingredients (*yaowu* 藥物), when to increase or decrease the Fire, and so on. The term *huo* 火 (fire) refers to the circulation of vital breath (*\*qi*), or simply the power of the effort in practice, while *hou* 候 (phase) denotes the sequence in which the practice is performed. Fire phasing therefore represents the most secret part of *neidan*, the inner rhythm that one must find and experience for oneself. Knowing how to dose activity and inactivity, movement and quiescence (*\*dong* and *jing*), the adept becomes the master of time; the accurate measuring tools symbolized by the trigrams and hexagrams of the *\*Yijing*, the moon phases, and so forth, which represent the course of time during the year, month, or day, allow one to experience this cosmic time within one's body. Time is thus spatialized, and the body becomes a celestial clock which, turning in a regular way, is similar to the chariot of the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*), while the heart (*\*xin*) is the pole star, the motionless axis around which the cosmos unceasingly revolves.

To achieve control of time, fire phasing in *neidan* is divided into different stages. The first is a phase of “yangization” in which Yang augments and Yin decreases. This is described as a warlike or martial period, corresponding to the advancement of a light called Martial Fire (*wuhuo* 武火) or Yang Fire (*yanghuo* 陽火) that purifies by burning and eliminates defiled elements to release the Original Yang and increase it. At the cosmic level, the beginning of this phase is symbolized by the winter solstice (*\*zi* 子) and by the hexagram *fu* 復 ☱ (Return, no. 24), which indicates the return of Yang. This is followed by a phase of balance, a time of rest called *\*muyu* (ablutions). At the cosmic level, this phase is symbolized by the spring and autumn equinoxes and by the hexagrams *dazhuang* 大壯 ☰ ☷ (Great Strength, no. 34) and *guan* 觀 ☵ ☶ (Contemplation, no. 20). The third stage is a phase of “yinization” in which Yin augments and Yang decreases. This period, called Civil Fire (*wenhuo* 文火) or Yin Fire (*yinfu* 陰符), corresponds to a decrease of the light. The adept achieves the alchemical work spontaneously and without any effort or voluntary intervention; water descends to moisten, fertilize, and temper fire. At the cosmic level, this phase is symbolized by the

summer solstice (*wu* 午) and by the hexagram *gou* 姤 ䷫ (Encounter, no. 44).

Fire phasing in *neidan* means that in every instant the practitioner should find the balance between Martial Fire (action, movement, temporal expansion) and Civil Fire (inactivity, immobility, temporal reduction). Alchemical texts repeatedly state that this is the innermost secret of the alchemical work, which cannot be transmitted in words.

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Despeux 1994, 163–69; Esposito 1997, 45–50; Esposito and Robinet 1998; Pregadio 1995; Robinet 1995a, 120–31

※ *muyu; sanguan; zhoutian; Yijing; neidan; COSMOLOGY*

*huoju*

火居

householder priest

Taoist priests who are married are called *huoju* or *huoju daoshi* 火居道士. This term, literally meaning “living by the fire,” distinguishes them from \*Quanzhen monastic Taoists. Secular Taoists perform rituals for clients on request as an occupation. Taoist priests in present-day Taiwan are all *huoju*. Most of them are affiliated with the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), but many have second jobs. The expression *huoju* is probably based on the Buddhist compound *huozhai* 火宅 (“burning house”), referring to the ordinary, unenlightened realm in which defilements have not been subdued.

ASANO Haruji

▣ Liu Zhiwan 1994, 188–90; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 164–65, 168

※ *daoshi*

*huoling*

火鈴

## fire-bell

Also known as *liujin huoling* 流金火鈴 (“liquid gold fire-bell”) and *liujin ling* 流金鈴 (“liquid gold bell”), the fire-bell is a ritual implement imbued with the power to drive away and suppress demons. It was originally one of the spiritual objects worn by the celestial deities on their bodies together with “tiger talismans” (*hufu* 虎符) and “dragon writs” (*longshu* 龍書); it was considered to have been formed from the essence of the nine stars of the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*) and to consist only of light, having no substance at all.

The *\*Zhengao* gives an unadorned description of its ritual function: “Within the Way of the Immortals there is a bell of liquid gold; demons and spirits can be controlled with it” (5.4a). In his commentary to the *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), Yan Dong 嚴東 (fl. ca. 485) writes that the liquid gold fire-bell emits a sparkling light throughout ten thousand *li*, permeating the eight directions, filling the Void, and eliminating demons (*Duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 度人上品妙經四注; CT 87, 2.68a). Xue Youqi 薛幽棲 (fl. 740–54) adds that its sound can be heard as far away as the Palace of the Great Ultimate (Taiji gong 太極宮). “Its light illuminates a distance of one thousand *li*; reaching the bounds of ten thousand *li*, its light shines all around, and reaching the bounds of the eight directions, it smashes [the demons]. Therefore the Real Men (*\*zhenren*) always control demon essences with it” (id., 2.68a–b).

In later Taoism, various techniques centering on the *huoling* were devised and employed, including talismans (*\*FU*), spells, mudrās (*\*shoujue*), and the method of “walking along the guideline” (*\*bugang*). Detailed descriptions of these techniques are found in such texts as the *\*Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual) and the *\*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1222–23).

MUGITANI Kunio

▣ Robinet 1984, 1: 235

※ *faqī*

Huoshan

霍山

Mount Huo

The name Huoshan, which Edward Schafer described as “an unstable and floating name,” refers to several different mountain sites in China. In the earliest sources, Huoshan seems to refer to a mountain located in Shanxi province (Kleeman 1994c, 227), but by the second through the fourth century ce sources show that there was much confusion regarding the many mountains identified with the name Huoshan (see, for example, the “Shishan” 釋山 chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅 [Literary Lexicon] and Guo Pu's 郭璞 [276–324] commentary). The issue of the location of Huoshan was further confused when Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) changed the mountain with the title \*Nanyue (Southern Peak) from Mount Heng (\*Hengshan 衡山, Hunan) to Huoshan (also referred to as Tianzhu shan 天柱山, Anhui; see Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 [574–648] commentary to the “Songgao” 崧高 ode in the *Shijing* 詩經).

In Taoist sources, however, Huoshan is primarily connected either with the mountain in Anhui province or with a mountain in Fujian province. Taoist sources refer to a “Greater Mount Huo” (Da Huoshan 大霍山) and a “Lesser Mount Huo” (Xiao Huoshan 小霍山). According to Michel Strickmann, “Greater Mount Huo” was taken to be the “real” or “true” Southern Peak (Nanyue), and referred to a secret mountain near Jin'an 晉安 in Fujian province (\**Zhengao*, 13.8a and 14.7b, and *Zhoushi mingtong ji* 周氏冥通記, CT 302). This “Greater Mount Huo” was the ultimate destination of \*Tao Hongjing in his southern journey between 508 and 512, and was considered the headquarters of \*Wei Huacun (Schafer 1977b, 129 and 134) and Mao Ying 茅盈 (Strickmann 1977, 41, and Strickmann 1979, 152; on Mao Ying see the entry \*Maojun). The “Lesser Mount Huo” was understood by Tao to refer to the mountain in Anhui. In later Taoist sources, Huoshan (Anhui) is identified as the “heir apparent” (*chujun* 儲君) or “assistant” (*fu* 副), along with Mount Qian (Qianshan 潛山 or 澗山, Anhui), to the Southern Peak, which is identified as Mount Heng in Hunan (\**Yunji qiqian*, 79.20a, and Inoue Ichii 1931, 28–30). Yet, among \*Shangqing Taoists, “Greater Mount Huo” was also associated with a site within the \*Tiantai mountain range (Zhejiang; Schafer 1979, 33).



*James ROBSON*

📖 Geil 1926, 117–63

✂ Nanyue; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*Ishinpō*  
醫心方

Methods from the Heart of Medicine

The *Ishinpō* (also transliterated as *Ishimpō*) presented in 984 to Emperor Enyū (r. 970–84), was compiled by Tamba no Yasuyori 丹波康賴 (912–95), the official acupuncturist at the Japanese imperial court, and is the earliest extant work of Japanese medicine. Its importance for the history of Chinese medicine and Taoism lies in its quotations from 204 sources, most of which have long been lost. It comprises in thirty *juan* an outline of treatment in general and drug treatment in particular (*j.* 1), acupuncture and moxibustion therapy (*j.* 2), a discussion of various disorders, classified in much the same way as those in the *\*Zhubing yuanhou lun* (Treatise on the Origin and Symptoms of Diseases; *j.* 3–18 on internal and external disorders, and 21–25 on women's disorders, obstetrics, and pediatrics), and several chapters on Nourishing Life (*\*yangsheng*), including *j.* 19–20 on the ingestion of mineral drugs, *j.* 27 on Nourishing Life, *j.* 28 on sexual techniques (*\*fangzhong shu*), and *j.* 29–30 on dietetics.

Of these, *j.* 27 is of particular interest for all the techniques discussed in that chapter relate to Taoism. The chapter reveals admiration for *\*Sun Simiao's* approach to Nourishing Life, and notably excludes discussion of the ingestion of mineral drugs as emphasized in *\*Ge Hong's \*Baopu zi* (which is given separately in *j.* 19–20). It comprises eleven sections on such topics as cultivation of spirit and body, breathing, *\*daoyin*, daily behavior, proper language, dwellings, clothing, sleep, and interdictions, and contains citations from over two dozen different works. Among the latter belong, apart from the most frequently cited *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand) by Sun Simiao and the *\*Sheyang zhenzhong fang* (Pillow Book of Methods for Preserving and Nourishing Life), probably also compiled by Sun Simiao, lost works such as the *\*Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life; early fourth century), the *\*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity), and the *Yanshou chishu* 延壽赤書 (Red Writ on Extending Longevity) by Pei Yu 裴

煜 (Tang). Among the other cited works are the *Baopu zi* and \*Xi Kang's *Yangsheng lun* 養生論 (Essay on Nourishing Life), and eighteen more texts which are cited only once.

*Elisabeth HSU*

▣ Hsia, Veith, and Geertsma 1986; Sakade Yoshinobu 1986c; Sakade Yoshinobu 1994b

※ *yangsheng*; TAOISM IN JAPAN

*ji*  
機

“mechanism”; activating force

The term *ji* designates the mechanism of the crossbow, hence the spring of something. In Taoism, since the *\*Zhuangzi* and the *\*Huainan zi*, it has the sense of “spring of the world,” or its activating force. The term is cognate to *tianji* 天機 (Celestial Mechanism, mentioned in the *Zhuangzi*), *shenji* 神機 (“divine” or “spiritual mechanism”), and *ji* 幾, a word that denotes a subtle, incipient movement whose inward spring is not yet visible outside. *Ji* is the dynamic aspect of the Dao, the motive force of the world that never ceases to function and originates in the dynamic tension between the opposites—Yin and Yang, contraction and dissolution, movement and quiescence (*\*dong* and *jing*). It is also the point of junction between them, the mechanism of transformation (*\*bianhua*). As stated in *\*Liezi* 1, the myriad beings spring out of it and re-enter into it.

Some Taoist authors say that *ji* is the *\*wuji* (Ultimateless, Infinite) or the “wondrous” aspect of *\*taiji* (Great Ultimate), the “wondrous movement” that unites movement and quiescence, the true spring that moves spontaneously by itself (*\*ziran*) and without intention (*wuxin* 無心), and that acts without action and interference (*\*wuwei*). Others say that it is the extreme degree of quiescence and purity which is on the verge of changing into movement.

On the cosmological level, *ji* alludes to the subtle moment of the birth of the world, or the location where it appears, which is impossible to locate. It is related to the thunder that announces the return of the Yang. It is metaphorically situated between the waning and the waxing of the moon, in the southwest, where *kun* 坤 ☷ (pure Yin) is located, marked by the Celestial Stem *geng* 庚, in the third day of the month; or in the cycle of the year, between the Earthly Branches *hai* 亥 and *zi* 子, in the tenth month and the northwest, just before the appearance of the Yang line in the trigram *kan* 坎 ☵ (Yang within Yin). In *\*neidan*, *ji* is the moment when the alchemist should collect his Medicine and begin his work, when time is inserted into the eternal and timeless instantaneity, and when the operation of the alchemical

work begins with inaction in an open space containing nothing. *Ji* is thus a synonym of *\*xuanpin*, the Mysterious Female.

On the physiological level, *ji* can be located in the center of the body, which in turn is related to *\*yi* (intention) and to the spleen; or it can be identified with the interval between breathing in and out (corresponding with the “closing” and “opening” of the world) in the instant that precedes the movement of breath. Some authors emphasize that this breath is not the ordinary breath, but the *\*yuanqi*, the Original Pneuma that antedates Heaven and Earth and is the source of the world.

As the center of human life, *ji* is the heart-mind (*\*xin*) or the Spirit (*\*shen*), which is associated with the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*) in Heaven, with the Thunder in Earth, and with the *zhen* 震 ☳ trigram, whose single Yang line that is beginning to ascend is correlated with the Celestial Stem *geng*. The alchemist aims at uniting the human *ji* with the *tianji*, the Celestial Mechanism.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 305–8; Robinet 1994b, 40–45; Robinet 1995a, 103–20

※ *dong* and *jing*; *fan*; *xuanpin*; *zaohua*; *ziran*

Ji Zhizhen

姬志真

1193–1268; original *ming*: Yi 翼; *zi*: Fuzhi 輔之; *hao*: Zhichang zi  
知常子 (Master Who Knows the Eternal)

Ji Zhizhen, who came from Zezhou 澤州 (Shanxi), was a scholar educated during the last decades of the Jin dynasty. When the Jurchen succumbed to the assaults of the Mongol armies, he followed the same path as many of his fellow literati, taking refuge in the *\*Quanzhen* order. Ji became a refugee in 1221 and was adopted by *\*Wang Zhijin* as a disciple in 1234. His intellectual talents gained wide recognition, and he taught at Taoist schools (*xuanxue* 玄學) set up by the Quanzhen hierarchy from 1252 onward. After his master's death, he served for a few years as abbot of the Chaoyuan gong 朝元宮

(Palace of the Audience with the [Three] Primes) in Kaifeng (Henan), the main monastery of Wang Zhijin's lineage. The two figures, however, appear utterly different. While Wang Zhijin was a charismatic leader and an indefatigable preacher, Ji Zhizhen has left few traces of his activity but imparted his posterity with the largest corpus of prose and poetic writings for a Quanzhen author after those of \*Wang Zhe and \*Ma Yu.

His collected works, *Yunshan ji* 雲山集 (Anthology of Cloudy Mountains; 1250; CT 1140), are included in the Taoist Canon, but the Beijing National Library holds a substantially different 1319 edition. This edition includes prose treatises on Taoist philosophy and mysticism, a rather rare genre among Quanzhen Taoists. Ji Zhizhen also wrote lost commentaries to the *Daode jing*, the \**Yijing*, the \**Zhuangzi*, and the \**Liezi*, although his *Daode jing* exegesis is extensively quoted in \*He Daoquan's extant commentary, the *Daode jing shuzhu* 道德經述注 (Detailed Commentary to the *Daode jing*). As a poet converted to Quanzhen Taoism, Ji Zhizhen can be compared, among others, to Feng Changquan 馮長筌 (fl. 1247), whose work was the basis for the \**Minghe yuyin*.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 172–73

※ Wang Zhijin; Quanzhen

*jiangshen*

降神

“calling down the deities”

During Taoist ceremonies, the deities are called down from the heavenly realm to the altar (*tan* 壇) where the ritual is to be performed. They are first invited to descend, then offered words and objects, and finally sent back to where they have come from. In the rite of Announcement (\**fabiao*), for example, when the priest notifies the deities that a \**jiao* (Offering) is to be performed in their honor, he calls them by saying, “May the Original Masters (*yuanshi* 元師) and the Real Lords (*zhenjun* 真君) be pleased to come down to the altar,” and then adds, “The cloud chariot has descended; the team of

cranes is approaching. When the Offering has been made, we will see you off” (Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 245b).

In the rite of Flag-raising (*yangqi* 揚旗; Lagerwey 1987c, 54), long rectangular banners are raised on bamboo poles to mark the ritual site in order to attract the deities’ attention. The priest invokes the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*) and all the gods to “descend to this place of ritual in this polluted domain” (Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 262). In this way, not only the deities, but also the life-giving pneuma (*\*qi*) are thought to enter the ritual space and the bodies of the priest and the people.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 224–25

※ *chushen; gongde; jiao; zhai*

*jiao*

醮

Offering

The term *jiao* means “offering” or “sacrifice.” It refers, in the present day, to the large-scale Taoist ceremonies organized by local communities, and by other social groups such as professional guilds and various forms of voluntary religious associations, in order to define themselves on the religious level, and specifically in order to establish or confirm the (semicontractual) relationship between the group and its tutelary deity. A *jiao* may be performed at intervals of three, five, or more years (depending on local traditions) as either a recurrent rite for renewing life and blessings for the community (“Offering of Thanksgiving and Praying for Peace,” *xie'en qi'an jiao* 謝恩乞安醮), or a rite that responds to immediate problems such as drought or epidemics (“Offering for Averting Calamities,” *rangzai jiao* 禳災醮).

A classical form of *jiao* (see [table 14](#)) is typically headed by Taoist priests representing the \*Zhengyi tradition, though in some localities variant forms can be performed by priests of the more popular (and often resident), Red-

head (*hongtou* 紅頭) category (see \**hongtou* and *wutou*). The event may last a week or longer, and invariably involves the whole community in festivities which include, for example, processions in which the statue of the deity is carried through the neighborhood, trance performances of mediums who become possessed by the god, performances by hired theatre troops on temporary stages, and large-scale presentations of offerings to the god in front of the local temple. The central part of the liturgical program in a classical Zhengyi *jiao* is performed by the priests (together with their troop of musicians) behind the closed doors of this temple and is witnessed only by select representatives of the community. The inside of the temple is rearranged for the occasion, the statue of the tutelary god being removed from the place of honor in the ritual north—which is now temporarily occupied by scrolls representing the supreme Taoist deities—and placed with its back against the closed door, in the position of worshipping these higher deities. The actual structure of the Taoist ritual area, referred to as the “Taoist altar” (*daotan* 道壇), thus bears out the Taoist vision of a cosmic hierarchy presided over by the Three Clarities (\**sansheng*), such that the gods of the common Chinese religion (representing the postcelestial state, *houtian* 後天) are viewed as deriving their authority from the higher Taoist powers (representing the precelestial state, *xiantian* 先天). *Early history.* This special function of Taoist liturgy within the local cults of the common religion did not exist before the Song dynasty. In fact, as is well known, the Taoist religion that emerged toward the end of the second century CE defined itself at the outset in sharp contradistinction to the “excessive cults” (\**yinsi*) and “bloody sacrifices” (*xueshi* 血食) of the common religion, which it viewed as the counterproductive responses of the people to extortion by demonic and false spirits. The attitude toward sacrifice and offerings within the Way of the Celestial Masters (\**Tianshi dao*) of this period was distinctly negative, and thus the earliest forms of the communal liturgies, from which the present-day *jiao* liturgy descended, were not designated by this term, but referred to as \**zhai*, “fast” or “retreat.” The overwhelming focus in the *zhai* liturgies was on purification, repentance (\**chanhui*), and the expiation of sins through self-mortification. Our sources for these early communal liturgies are mostly external and often hostile to the tradition, and we know the rituals in greater detail only as they were codified and transmitted within the \**Lingbao* tradition, that is, in texts that were constructed around the year 400 and later. They are reflected furthermore in the ritual system proposed in the imperially



sponsored anthology *\*Wushang biyao* (j. 48–57; see Lagerwey 1981b, 150–70), which draws on the totality of ritual traditions of its time while giving pride of place to the Lingbao liturgy.



Fig. 46. Taoist Master Chen Rongsheng 陳榮盛 presides at a *jiao* (Offering) ritual at the Kaiji tianhou gong 開基天后宮, Tainan (December 1978). Photograph by Julian Pas.

Table 14

DAY	1
1	Announcement ( <i>*fabiao</i> 發表)
2	Invocation ( <i>qibai</i> 啟白)
3	Flag-Raising ( <i>yangqi</i> 揚旗)
4	Noon Offering ( <i>*wugong</i> 午供)
5	Division of the Lamps ( <i>*fendeng</i> 分燈)
6	Sealing the Altar ( <i>*jintan</i> 禁壇)
7	Invocation of the Masters and Saints ( <i>qi shisheng</i> 啟師聖)
8	Nocturnal Invocation ( <i>*suqi</i> 宿啟)
DAY	2
9	Morning Audience ( <i>zaochao</i> 早朝)
10	Noon Audience ( <i>wuchao</i> 午朝)
11	Evening Audience ( <i>wanchao</i> 晚朝)
DAY	3
12	Renewed Invocation ( <i>chongbai</i> 重白)
13	Presentation of the Memorial ( <i>jinbiao</i> 進表, or <i>*baibiao</i> 拜表)

- 14 “Ten Thousand Sacred Lamps of the Three Realms” (*sanjie wangling shengdeng* 三界萬靈聖燈)
  - 15 Orthodox Offering (*\*zhengjiao* 正醮)
  - 16 Universal Salvation (*\*pudu* 普度)
- 

Program of a three-day Offering (*jiao*) ritual. Based on Schipper 1975c, 10–11. For similar programs, see Lagerwey 1987c, 293, and Tanaka Issei 1989b, 275–79.

The ritual program presented in this anthology testifies to a common tripartite structure. The first major ritual of most services is the Nocturnal Invocation (*\*suqi*), through which the sacred area is established, purified, and consecrated (within the Lingbao tradition this entailed the planting of the five Authentic Scripts or *zhenwen* 真文, the five Lingbao talismans, in the five directions of the sacred area—an act that still occurs in the classical *jiao* liturgy of southern Taiwan). It is followed by the main rite of communication—conceived as an audience with the supreme deities—in which a Declaration (*ci* 詞) is read. The program concludes with the Statement of Merit (*yangong* 言功), the purpose of which is to reward the spirits that have assisted the priest in transmitting his messages to heaven. In the earlier Zhengyi form of the *zhai* liturgy, the Statement of Merit was commonly postponed until a later time, when the ritual was determined to have had its effect (see Cedzich 1987, 97–102). In later forms of the *jiao* liturgy, the ritual corresponding to the Statement of Merit (in present-day southern Taiwan, the Presentation of the Memorial, *jinbiao* 進表) is accompanied by large-scale displays of offerings addressed to the Jade Sovereign (*\*Yuhuang*) and inaugurates a whole series of additional major rituals in which offerings are presented to all categories of the spirit-world. These offering rituals are conspicuously absent in the early forms of the *zhai* liturgy. Rewarding the subordinate spirits was implied in the “statement of merit” itself, which reported to heaven the conscientious and successful execution of their official duties, on which their advancement within the spiritual hierarchy depended. The incorporation of large-scale offerings as part of the overall liturgy, and the introduction of the term *jiao* to designate the concluding segment, did not occur until the Tang dynasty, when indeed the use of the combined term, *zhaijiao* 齋醮, became current in reference to major Taoist ceremonies.

The *jiao* that was thus added to the *zhai* liturgy clearly had a separate origin and followed a separate line of development during the Six Dynasties.

Indeed, the history of the term from before the emergence of Celestial Masters Taoism associates it with exactly the kinds of practices that this Taoism was eager to condemn. The locus classicus for these earlier forms is the *Gaotang fu* 高唐賦 (Rhapsody on Gaotang) by Song Yu 宋玉 (third century BCE), which describes the activity of certain “magicians” (*\*fangshi*), who presented “pure sacrificial oxen” (*chunxi* 純犧), prayed to the stars of the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*), and “made offerings (*jiao*) to all the deities and worshipped the Great One” (*Wenxuan* 文選, j. 19; trans. Knechtges 1982–96, 2: 325–39). It is clear that such practices were widespread within the so-called “occult traditions” of the south, prior to the full-scale transmission of the Way of the Celestial Masters that occurred after 317 CE, as is evident from the summary of these traditions in the *\*Baopu zi*, and notably in the *jiao* to the Five Emperors (Wudi 五帝) described in the *\*Lingbao wufu xu* (3.3a–5a). It clearly descends from Han dynasty ritual, and serves to establish and confirm the alliance of the practitioner with the divinities that empower the crucial five Lingbao talismans. The ritual comprises the killing of a goose, as well as elaborate offerings of wine. An updated version of this ritual is found in the Lingbao corpus, with the important elimination of the killing of the goose, which is replaced by dates and fresh fruit, and the wine, which is replaced by pure, fragrant tea (*Lingbao wudi jiaoji zhaozhen yujue* 靈寶五帝醮祭招真玉訣; CT 411, 1a–2a). However, as with the preceding *jiao*, the eponymous purpose is to make the Perfected, i.e., the Five Emperors, descend in response to the offerings (*jiaoji zhaozhen* 醮祭招真).

A similar emphasis is found in the *jiao* liturgy described in the *Suishu* (History of the Sui; 35.1092–93, completed 644), which describes the *jiao* under the heading “Methods for dispelling disaster and saving from danger,” and associates it with divinatory methods for calculating individual destinies (*shushu* 數術): “At night, under the light of the stars, wine, dried meat, cakes, and pledges of silk are laid out and offered successively to the Celestial Sovereign, the Great One (Tianhuang Taiyi 天皇太一), and to the five planets and the array of stellar mansions. [The priest] produces a document like in the ritual of sending up a petition in order to report it. This is called an Offering (*jiao*).” “Methods of petitioning,” *zhangfa* 章法, appear, at least since the end of the Six Dynasties, to have been specifically connected with the *jiao* liturgy. The term *zhangjiao* 章醮, “offering (that includes) a petition,” is frequently mentioned in Tang ritual manuals, while the Sui

dynasty author Fei Changfang 費長房 (writing in 597) anachronistically attributes the origin of a whole system of *zhangjiao* to the first Celestial Master, \*Zhang Daoling (see Li Xianzhang 1968, 204 and 213–14). It is clear, furthermore, from the description in the *Suishu*, that the *jiao* liturgy of this time was viewed as specifically addressed to the high god of the firmament, \*Taiyi, as well as to various other stellar deities, including the administration of human destinies located in the Northern Dipper. The same focus is evident throughout the Tang dynasty and in the early Song.

*Song to present day.* However, it is clearly the all-inclusive compensation of the (subordinate) spirits that assisted the priest in performing his tasks that constituted the rationale for adding a *jiao* at the end of a *zhai* service. The liturgists of the early Song dynasty generally attribute this new system to \*Du Guangting, who is said to have instituted the tradition of performing an Offering of Thanksgiving (*xie'en jiao* 謝恩醮), either as a direct continuation of the *zhai* service, or in a separate ceremony on another day (preferably taking place at a sacred grotto in the mountains). A special reason for this development was the growing importance in this period of a host of new martial spirits derived from the emerging traditions of exorcism, spirits who were invited as special protectors of the sacred area in a newly-designed ritual called Announcement (\**fabiao*), performed at the very outset of the program.

Some liturgists of the period of the Five Dynasties protest against the new emphasis on the *jiao* within the *zhai* liturgy, claiming that it distorts the focus of this liturgy by shifting attention to subordinate deities, at a point when the supreme deities addressed in the *zhai* have already left the scene (presumably escorted by these subordinate deities). A somewhat related stance is represented by the founders of the \*Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure), who comment critically on the expansion of the *jiao* in their time, and on the “separation” [sic] of the *zhai* and the *jiao* into two independent units and liturgical styles, attributing the first to the Lingbao and the second to the Zhengyi tradition (see \*[Shangqing lingbao dafa](#); CT 1221, 59.20b–23a; CT 1223, 39.3a–4b). The end result of the liturgical development of the period was a situation in which the two forms of liturgy had become fused to the point where the two terms were sometimes used interchangeably, but where the growing importance of the *jiao* component of the whole gradually led to the substitution of this term for the former as the

general designation of the combined liturgy, when applied in ceremonies for the living. The important background for this development was the fact, mentioned above, that since the Song dynasty the Taoist communal liturgy had achieved its survival through a functional symbiosis with the local cults of the common religion—in which of course the emphasis on sacrifice and offerings had remained dominant since ancient times. The term *zhai* was still used for communal services during the Song dynasty, when however its association with ceremonies for the dead becomes more and more pronounced, and today it is used most commonly as the technical term for the Taoist funeral liturgy.

A final addition to the sequence of offerings included in the *jiao* liturgy was the ritual of Universal Salvation or *\*pudu*, which was borrowed from Buddhism, first incorporated during the Song dynasty, and concerned with the salvation and feeding of the lost souls suffering in hell, the so-called “orphaned souls” (*guhun* 孤魂). In most present-day ceremonies the *pudu* occurs at the very end of the program, in fact, quite commonly after the sending away of the gods that marks the end of the Taoist liturgy, properly speaking. It thus represents in a sense the most exoteric level of activity in a *jiao*, though it should be noted that in many local traditions there is a strong emphasis both on this *pudu* ritual and on other means of averting harm from the dangerous spirits of hell. In all cases, the *jiao* today seems strongly focused on territoriality and its definition through local cults, with the important qualification that, in the perspective of the *jiao*, the territory is not the land as such, but the land as possessed by a certain community, and therefore subject to the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups (that may or may not be actually resident) from participation in the ceremony, depending on the alliances of the dominant strain of the population.

*Poul ANDERSEN*

▣ Andersen 2002; Benn 1991; Benn 2000; Cedzich 1987, 61–105; Chen Dacan 1987; Dean 1993; Dean 1996; Dean 2000; Hsu Francis L. K. 1952; Hymes 1997; Lagerwey 1987c; Lagerwey 1991, 136–56; Li Xianzhang 1968; Liu Zhiwan 1983–84; Maruyama Hiroshi 1995; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983; Min Zhiting 1995; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 234–422; Robinet 1997b, 166–83; Saso 1978b; Saso 1989; Schipper 1985e; Schipper 1993, 72–99; Schipper 1995a; Thompson 1987a; Tian Chengyang 1990; Yamada Toshiaki 1995b; Zhang Zehong 1996; Zhang Zehong 1999a

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.4 (“Ritual”)

*jie*

劫

*kalpa*, aeon (eon)

The character *jie* 劫 was used by early Buddhist translators to represent the first syllable of the Sanskrit word *kalpa* and soon entered the Chinese language as an abbreviation for the word itself. A *kalpa* is an eon, an impossibly long period of time. One illustration notes that if a heavenly being were to brush the hem of his garment across Mount Sumeru every year, a *kalpa* would have elapsed once the world mountain was levelled. Beginning in the fourth century, the term entered Taoist literature. It is commonly found in both \*Shangqing and \*Lingbao scriptures.

As in Indian literature, the Taoist *kalpa* represents not linear but cyclical time. Linked with indigenous ideas of cosmic cycles of growth and decay that were already important in early Taoism, the term *kalpa* came to connote particularly that point in the cycle when the old and sinful are destroyed and the Dao renews itself. Previously revealed scripture would be stored in heaven to await the new age and the “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*), or elect, would be saved to populate a new heaven and earth. Taoist texts tell of the fire, flood, and warfare that would occur at the end of a *kalpa*. The Shangqing scriptures added to this a vivid description of the descent of \*Li Hong, savior of the Taoist worthy, while the first section of the Lingbao scriptures (see \*[Lingbao jingmu](#)) tell of several ages prior to our own, themselves composed of many *kalpas*. These are given fantastic names: Draconic Magnificence (*longhan* 龍漢), Extended Vigor (*yankang* 延康), Vermilion Brilliance (*chiming* 赤明), Opening Luminary (*kaihuang* 開皇), and Higher Luminary (*shanghuang* 上皇). The scriptures themselves were said to have gradually taken shape over this time. In addition, their appearance itself was forwarded as a sign that a new *kalpa* had dawned.

The eschatological visions built on these concepts were shared by Taoism and Buddhism alike. Indigenously composed Buddhist scriptures are, in fact, quite similar to Taoist texts in this regard. Scriptures foretelling the end time

had a profound political dimension that was exploited by both rebel groups and emperors. Rebellions fortified with apocalyptic imagery eventually played a role in the reunification of China after the era of division (221–581). Sui Wendi (r. 581–604), named his the first reign period “Opening Luminary,” while the founder of the Tang, Li Yuan 李淵 (Gaozu, r. 618–26), claimed descent from Laozi and took on the mantle of Li Hong. The apocalyptic image of the *kalpa* endures in modern Taoism and in Chinese religion more generally.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Bokenkamp 1994; Bokenkamp 1997, 295–99 and 380–82; Lagerwey 1981b, 80–82; Nattier 1991; Seidel 1984; Strickmann 1990; Zürcher 1982

※ APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY

*jie*

戒 (*or*: 誡)

precepts

Taoist precepts, like those of other religions, function as rules for the regulation of behavior—usually to prevent wrongdoing—and range from sets of ten or fewer up to as many as three hundred. These sets of rules are graduated, with increasingly strict regimes of behavior demanded as the follower of Taoism became more committed and involved in the religion. Various different sets of precepts were bestowed to adherents at different levels of initiation into the religion and different grades of ordination. Among the many sets of precepts there is much overlap, with different sets clearly borrowing from each other and from Buddhist rules for monks and lay people which clearly played a major role in the inspiration for, if not the formation of, Taoist rules.

The justification for the existence of precepts is, of course, to lead a correct religious life. The consequences of not leading a proper life—transgressing the guidelines set down—are understood in several ways in different Taoist traditions. In the early scripture *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), for instance, transgressions lead to the build up of *\*chengfu* or

“inherited burden,” by which mechanism bad consequences, including sickness, befall the descendants of the transgressor. In the *\*Baopu zi*, *\*Ge Hong* explains that improper behavior leads directly to the shortening of life and prevents the aspirant to immortality from reaching his goal. In some later Taoist texts, on the other hand, the punishment for transgressing the precepts is a bad rebirth.

Many of the short sets of precepts are found in the first chapter of the *Zhihui shangpin dajie* 智慧上品大誠 (Great Precepts of the Highest Rank of Wisdom; CT 177). They are, however, most conveniently consulted in a study by Kusuyama Haruki (1992, 64–113). The first set of ten in the *Shangpin dajie* are the precepts observed by the “disciples of unsullied belief” (*qingxin dizi* 清信弟子; trans. Bokenkamp 1989, 18–20). Numbers 2 to 6 of these ten echo the five Buddhist prohibitions against killing, stealing, having illicit sex, lying, and drinking alcohol. This direct influence is common among the sets of ten or fewer precepts. Attached to the precepts for the “disciples of unsullied belief” are twelve admonitions which themselves echo the Buddhist bodhisattva vows.

Three early, and fundamental, large sets of precepts are the *\*Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie* (The Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao), the *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen* 上清洞真智慧觀身大戒文 (Great Precepts of Wisdom and Self-Observation of the Cavern of Perfection of Highest Clarity; CT 1364), and the *Lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing* 靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經 (Scripture on Weighing Merit based on the Precepts of the Three Primes of the Numinous Treasure; CT 456). This area of Taoism is rather underresearched and as yet clear and unequivocal statements of how these texts are related, exactly how they were used, or what doctrinal affiliations they had cannot be made with certainty.

The first set was probably completed in the fourth century and, as its name implies, has 180 rules that were supposedly granted to *\*Gan Ji* by Lord Lao (*\*Laojun*) in the third century BCE. Of these 180, 140 are negative injunctions ordering the ordained priest, among other things, not to collect taxes, not to kill or cause others to kill, not to catch hibernating animals or raid birds’ nests, and not to travel alone. Forty of them encourage right behavior such as accepting slander and abuse without retaliation, burning incense and praying for the ten thousand families, the attainment of Great Peace (*\*taiping*) in the empire, ingesting *\*qi*, and avoiding cereals.



The second set, usually abbreviated to the *Dajie wen*, is found (among other places) in the *\*Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials; Lagerwey 1981b, 144–45) so must predate 574. In all likelihood it was composed sometime in the previous century. This text is an object lesson in the necessity to examine affiliations closely—as Stephen Eskildsen has pointed out, despite its proclamation *\*Shangqing* in the title, it was thought of highly by *\*Lingbao* adherents (Eskildsen 1998, 106). This set has a total of 302 precepts divided into three groups. The first group of 180 are those of the Lower Prime (*xiayuan* 下元), the next thirty six are those of the Middle Prime (*zhongyuan* 中元), and the final eighty four are those of the Higher Prime (*shangyuan* 上元). The Precepts of the Lower Prime bear some similarities with the *Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao*—many precepts are shared—but were clearly produced with more sense of organization, showing signs of conscious grouping of certain related precepts together. For instance, many of them are formed of pairs, in turn prohibiting an action, then prohibiting the causing of others to perform that action:

3. Students of the Dao, do not drink wine.

4. Students of the Dao, do not cause others to drink wine.

There are also, for example, five precepts grouped together that concern behavior with women. The Precepts of the Middle Prime are more stringent than those of the Lower Prime stressing purification and putting others before oneself. They explicitly encourage adherents to be more tolerant, more enduring of pain, less concerned about clothing and food, etc., than others are able to be. They shift from being generally prohibitive to mostly exhortatory. The precepts of the Higher Prime are exclusively exhortatory, being expressed in the form “Students of the Dao, you ought to think on . . .” and demand even more from the adept. They encourage deep compassion, an eremitic lifestyle and particular religious practices but can also, at this level, expect to attain the powers associated with transcendence of the normal human condition: eating celestial food, travel in celestial realms, consorting with deities.

The third set, known by the shortened name *Sanyuan pin*, is also quoted in the *Wushang biyao* (Lagerwey 1981b, 143–44) but was included as one of the original *Lingbao* corpus as catalogued by *\*Lu Xiuqing* (see [table 16](#)) so must come from the fifth century, at latest. It expresses its prohibitions in the form of transgressions, addressing the first twenty-seven to “students of the Upper

Dao,” and the remainder to “students of the Dao and followers from among the people.” As would be indicated by this division, the first twenty-seven concern respecting teachers, the proper circumstances for the transmission of texts, the necessity of observing the rituals, and so forth. The rest are of a more general nature such as those seen in the *Hundred and Eighty Precepts* and the first section of the *Dajie wen*. The text claims to divide the precepts into three groups of sixty, although the first group only has forty-seven. Each group of sixty is overseen by a range of named celestial officials of various offices within the departments of Heaven, Earth and Water—the “three primes” (\**sanyuan*) of the title (see \**sanguan*).

The stability of the precepts can be gauged by noting the great similarity between the *Dajie wen* and a set in use during the nineteenth century collected by Heinrich Hackmann (1931).

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▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 48–58; Eskildsen 1998, 106–12; Hackmann 1931; Jan Yünhua 1986; Kohn 1995a, 188–90, 201, and 209; Kohn 2004a; Kusuyama Haruki 1992, 64–113; Lagerwey 1981b, 143–49; Penny 1996a; Ren Jiyu 1990, 288–339; Schipper 2001

※ *jinji*; *Chuzhen jielü*; *Fengdao kejie*; *Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie*; *Laojun yinsong jiejing*; *Siji mingke jing*; *Xiang'er jie*; *Xuandu lüwen*; *Zhengyi fawen jing*; *Zhengyi weiyi jing*; ETHICS AND MORALS; MONASTIC CODE; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

*jiji ru lüling*

急急如律令

“Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the  
statutes and ordinances!”

The expression *jiji ru lüling* is related to *ru lüling* 如律令, “in accordance with the statutes and ordinances,” and *ru zhaoshu* 如詔書, “in accordance with the imperial decree,” standard phrases that appear at the end of official Han dynasty documents. Mirroring its use in those documents, the phrase *ru lüling* is found in Han dynasty tomb texts, first appearing on an ordinance jar

dated to 92 CE and in a tomb contract of 161 CE. These funerary texts, directed to otherworldly officials, acted both as passports introducing the dead to the post-mortem bureaucracy and as commands ordering the dead to stay away from and not harm the living. One of these documents reads:

The subject deceased on the *yisi* 乙巳 day [the forty-second of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#)] has the demon name “Heavenly Brightness.” The Divine Master of the Heavenly Thearch has already been informed as to your name. Promptly remove yourself three thousand leagues away! Should you not go away, then the [*lacuna*] of Southern Mountain will be ordered to come and devour you. Promptly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances! (Trans. Seidel 1987c, 229)

As it did with other elements of state bureaucracy, Taoism adopted the phrase (*jiji*) *ru liling* in its codebooks and in its ritual petitions to otherworldly officials. One of the earliest examples of these codes, the \**Nüqing guilü* (Demon Statutes of Nüqing), protects one from illness-producing demons, the same role seen in earlier tomb documents.

*Amy Lynn MILLER*

▣ Maeda Ryōichi 1989; Miyazawa Masayori 1984c; Seidel 1987e, 39–42

※ OTHERWORLDLY BUREAUCRACY

*jijiu*

祭酒

libationer

*Jijiu* or “libationer” was the term for priests within the early Celestial Master church (\*Tianshi dao). The term is ancient, referring originally to the village elder who performed the oblation at the beginning of the village sacrificial feast. By the Han it came to be used as an official rank for the head of the Imperial Academy but had also been diluted on the local level until it meant something like “squire,” a prominent person from an established family. It is ironic that this term referring specifically to sacrificial actions was adopted as the general term for religious professionals who consciously eschewed China's sacrificial tradition.

Historical accounts record that those who first entered the Celestial Master movement were known as “demon troopers” (*guizu* 鬼卒) and only attained

the status of libationer after a period of instruction. There is no evidence for the use of the term “demon trooper” in Celestial Master texts, but there is a stele from 173 that records the initiation of several libationers under the auspices of someone (possibly a deity) referred to as a “demon soldier” (*guibing* 鬼兵). At that time, accession to the office of libationer already involved the conferral of sacred texts. There was internal differentiation within the body of libationers, with higher ranking libationers appointed to the office of Parish-heading Great Libationer (*zhitou da jijiu* 治頭大祭酒). Among the duties of these libationers was the collection of the annual tithe of grain, the management of “charity lodges” (*yishe* 義舍) supplied through these donations, and the supervision of other public works like repairing roads and bridges. Libationers presided over the three annual Assemblies (*\*sanhui*) where the faithful confessed sins, reported birth, deaths, and marriages, and shared a communal meal. During the period of the Hanzhong 漢中 theocracy, they performed all the functions of the local governmental official and probably maintained a leadership role within Taoist communities long after their formal governmental role disappeared.

Although libationers were originally appointed on the basis of merit, there was already a tendency for the posts to become hereditary by the third century, and fourth- and fifth-century reform movements like *\*Shangqing* and that led by *\*Kou Qianzhi* (365?–448) frequently decried this development, but the libationer eventually evolved into the hereditary Taoist priest (*\*daoshi*). Moreover, early libationers could be either male or female, but this evolved into an exclusively male institution, with females only accepted within monastic orders. It is unclear when these developments took place, but most seem to have been in effect by the end of the Tang.

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▣ fuchi Ninji 1991, 334–42; Stein R. A. 1963, 42–59

※ Tianshi dao

*jindan*

金丹

Golden Elixir

Modern studies usually refer to the Chinese arts of the elixirs as *\*waidan* (external alchemy) or *\*neidan* (inner alchemy), but the authors of alchemical texts often call their tradition the Way of the Golden Elixir (*jindan zhi dao* 金丹之道). Gold (*jin* 金 represents the state of constancy and immutability beyond the change and transiency that characterize the manifested world. As for *dan* 丹, or “elixir,” lexical analysis shows that the semantic field of this term—which commonly denotes a variety of red—evolves from a root-meaning of “essence,” and that its connotations include the reality, principle, or true nature of an entity, or its most basic and significant element, quality, or property.

In its various formulations, the Way of the Golden Elixir is characterized by a foundation in doctrinal principles, first set out in the founding texts of Taoism, concerning the relation between the Dao and the world of multiplicity. *Waidan* and *neidan* are two paradigmatic forms of practice, with several varieties for each of them, devised on the basis of those principles. Both forms of practice are centered on the notion of refining (*lian* 鍊, 煉) the ingredients of the outer or the inner elixir—inanimate matter in *waidan*, and the primary constituents of the cosmos and the human being, namely essence, pneuma, and spirit (*\*jing, qi, shen*), in *neidan*. The Chinese alchemical tradition has therefore three aspects, namely a doctrinal level and two main forms of practice, respectively based on the refining of an “outer” or an “inner” elixir.

*The elixir in “external alchemy.”* The *\*Taiqing* (Great Clarity) sources, which belong to the first identifiable tradition associated with *waidan* practices, contain virtually no statements on their doctrinal foundations. The emphasis given to certain aspects of the methods, and the terminology used in their descriptions, however, show that the central act of the alchemical process consists of causing matter to revert to its “essence” (*\*jing*), or *materia prima*. The main role in this procedure is played by the crucible (*\*fu*), which functions as a medium equivalent to the inchoate state (*\*hundun*) that precedes the formation of the cosmos. In that medium, under the action of fire, the ingredients of the elixir are transmuted, or “reverted” (*huan* 還), to their original state. Quoting *Daode jing* 21 (“Indistinct! Vague! But within it there is something. Dark! Obscure! But within it there is an essence”), the commentary to the *\*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs) equates this purified matter with the “essence” issued from the Dao that gives birth to the

cosmos (*Huangdi jiuding shendan jingju* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣; CT 885, 10.1b).

Among a large variety of methods, two progressively became typical of *waidan*. The first consists of refining mercury (Yin) from cinnabar (Yang). The refined essence (*feijing* 飛精) is added to sulphur (Yang) and is then refined again, typically in seven or nine cycles. At each stage it becomes more Yang, until it incorporates the properties of Pure Yang (*chunyang* 純陽), the state prior to the differentiation of the One into multiplicity. In the second method, described in *waidan* texts related to the \**Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*), the initial ingredients are cinnabar (Yang) and native lead (Yin). They are refined to produce Real Mercury (*zhenhong* 真汞), which is Original Yin, and Real Lead (*zhenqian* 真鉛), which is Original Yang, respectively. The elixir obtained through combining the two refined essences also represents Pure Yang.

*Alchemy and cosmology.* In the traditions based on the *Cantong qi*, alchemy is primarily a figurative language used to represent the relation between the Dao and the cosmos, the Absolute and the relative, Oneness and multiplicity, and timelessness and time. In these traditions, the emblems of correlative cosmology—typically arranged in patterns that include Yin and Yang, the Five Agents (\**wuxing*), the eight trigrams and the sixty-four hexagrams of the \**Yijing* (Book of Changes), and so forth—play two main roles. First, they represent the different cosmological configurations produced by the propagation of Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*) into the “ten thousand things.” In this function, the emblems of correlative cosmology show how space, time, multiplicity, and change are related to the spacelessness, timelessness, non-duality, and constancy of the Dao. For instance, the *Cantong qi* describes the Five Agents—which define, in particular, the main spatial and temporal coordinates of the cosmos—as unfolding from the center, which contains them all, runs through them, and “endows them with its efficacy.” In their second role, the emblems of correlative cosmology relate the alchemical practice to doctrinal principles. For instance, the trigrams of the *Book of Changes* are used to show how the alchemical process consists of extracting the precosmic Real Yin (*zhenyin* 真陰) and Real Yang (*zhenyang* 真陽) from Yang and Yin as they appear in the cosmos, respectively, and in combining them to produce an elixir that represents their unity.

*The elixir in “inner alchemy.”* The doctrines expounded in the treatises on the “inner elixir” essentially consist of a reformulation of those enunciated in the early Taoist texts, integrated with language and images drawn from the system of correlative cosmology according to the model provided by the *Cantong qi*. The authors of doctrinal treatises point out that the alchemical teachings can only be understood in the light of those of the *Daode jing* (a text they consider to be “the origin of the Way of the Golden Elixir”), and that correlative cosmology provides “images” (\**xiang*) that serve, as stated by \*Li Daochun (fl. 1288–92), “to give form to the Formless through words, and thus manifest the authentic and absolute Dao” (\**Zhonghe ji*, 3.13a–b; see Robinet 1995a, 75–76).

The relation of doctrine to practice was an issue that needed clarification among *neidan* adepts themselves, as shown by Chen Zhixu (1289–after 1335) who forcefully rejects the understanding of alchemy as merely consisting of techniques of self-cultivation, when he writes: “It has been said that the way of cultivation and refinement consists of the techniques (*shu* 術) of the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi) and Laozi. No more of this nonsense! This is the great Way of the Golden Elixir, and it cannot be called a technique” (\**Jindan dayao*, 3.4b). Chen Zhixu and other authors emphasize that the inner elixir is possessed by every human being, and is a representation of one's own innate realized state. \*Liu Yiming (1734–1821) expresses this notion as follows:

Human beings receive this Golden Elixir from Heaven. . . . Golden Elixir is another name for one's fundamental nature, formed out of primeval inchoateness (*huncheng* 混成, a term derived from the *Daode jing*). There is no other Golden Elixir outside one's fundamental nature. Every human being has this Golden Elixir complete in himself: it is entirely realized in everybody. It is neither more in a sage, nor less in an ordinary person. It is the seed of Immortals and Buddhas, and the root of worthies and sages. (*Wuzhen zhizhi* 悟真直指, chapter 1)

In his explication of two terms that the *Cantong qi* borrows from the *Daode jing*, Liu Yiming describes “superior virtue” (*shangde* 上德) as the immediate realization that the original “celestial reality” (*tianzhen* 天真) within and outside of oneself is never affected by change and impermanence, and “inferior virtue” (*xiade* 下德) as the performance of the alchemical practice in order to “return to the Dao.” He states, however, that the latter way, when it achieves fruition, “becomes a road leading to the same goal as superior virtue” (*Cantong zhizhi* 參同直指, “Jing 經,” chapter 2).

Although the *neidan* practices are codified in ways that differ, sometimes

noticeably, from each other, the notion of “inversion” (*ni* 逆) is common to all of them (Robinet 1995a, 131–45). In the most common codification, the practice is framed as the reintegration of each of the primary components of existence (essence, pneuma, and spirit) into the one that precedes it, culminating in their “reversion” (*huan*) to the state of Non-being, or Emptiness (\**wu*, *xu* 虛, *kong* 空). The typical formulation of this process is “refining essence into pneuma” (*lianjing huaqi* 鍊精化氣), “refining pneuma into spirit” (*lianqi huashen* 鍊氣化神), and “refining spirit and reverting to Emptiness” (*lianshen huanxu* 鍊神還虛). Li Daochun relates these stages to the cosmogonic process outlined in *Daode jing* 42: “The Dao generates the One, the One generates the Two, the Two generate the Three, the Three generate the ten thousand things.” In this sequence (see [table 15](#)), the Dao first generates Oneness, which harbors the complementary principles of Yin and Yang. After Yin and Yang are differentiated from each other, they rejoin and generate the “three,” reestablishing Oneness at the level of the particular entities. The “ten thousand things” are the totality of the entities produced by the continuous reiteration of this process. In Li Daochun's explication, the three stages of the *neidan* practice represent the inversion of this process, leading from the “ten thousand things” to Emptiness, by means of the elimination of distinctions between each of the primary components of existence and the one immediately above it.

For Li Daochun and other authors who refer to it, the form of practice outlined above is the only one that matches the principles of the Way of the Golden Elixir. In an essay found in his *Zhonghe ji* (2.11b–17a), Li thoroughly rejects sexual practices and *waidan*, and assigns a low rank to physiological practices (including \**daoyin*, breathing techniques, and diets) and methods of meditation and visualization. As for *neidan* proper, he distinguishes three “vehicles” (*sheng* 乘) that may be characterized as physiological, cosmological, and spiritual. Above them is a Supreme One Vehicle (*zuishang yisheng* 最上一乘), which he calls the “Wondrous Way of Supreme and Utmost Reality” and does not associate with any particular practice. Especially important in Li Daochun's essay is the idea of “point of application” or “point of operation” (*zuoyong chu* 作用處), according to which certain notions and practices take on different meanings and operate in different ways according to the level at which they are understood.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*



☐ Meng Naichang 1989; see also bibliographies for the entries \*neidan, \*nüdan, and \*waidan

※ neidan; nüdan; waidan

Table 15

COSMOGONY: shu 極 ("CONTINUATION")	NEIDAN PRACTICE: ni 逆 ("INVERSION")
dao 道	emptiness (xu 虛)
↓	↑
"The Dao generates the One"	from Spirit to Emptiness (鍊神化虛)
one	spirit (shen 神)
↓	↑
"The One generates the Two"	from Pneuma to Spirit (鍊氣化神)
two	pneuma (qi 氣)
↓	↑
"The Two generate the Three"	from Essence to Pneuma (鍊精化氣)
three	essence (jing 精)
↓	↑
"The Three generate the 10,000 things"	"laying out the foundations" (奠基)
10,000 things (wanwu 萬物)	

The cosmogonic stages of *Daode jing* sec. 42, and their correspondence with the stages of the \*neidan practice. Based on \*Zhonghe ji (CT 249), 5b.

## 金丹大成集

### Anthology on the Great Achievement of the Golden Elixir

Compiled by a member of the important Xiao 蕭 clan in Fuzhou (Fujian), Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260–64), this work contains various *\*neidan* texts written between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Xiao's family background matched his spiritual pedigree, since he was a premier disciple of *\*Peng Si* (fl. 1217–51), one of *\*Bai Yuchan's* (1194–1229?) two main disciples. His edited work fills five chapters and constitutes one of the “ten writings” in the late thirteenth-century compendium of Bai's legacy, the *\*Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection, *j.* 9–13), and is also separately printed in the *\*Daozang jiyao* (vol. 16). Its constituent texts, listed with references to chapter and page numbers in the *Xiuzhen shishu*, include:

1. The *Wuji tu shuo* 無極圖說 (Explanation of the Diagram of the Ultimateless; 9.1a–7a), the *Tuoyue ge* 橐籥歌 (Song of the Bellows; 9.7a–8a), and poems on the inner elixir (9.8a–13a).
2. The *Jindan wenda* 金丹問答 (Questions and Answers on the Golden Elixir; 10.1a–14b), containing short notes on about one hundred terms used in *neidan*.
3. A collection of “Eighty-One Seven-Character Quatrains” (11.1a–13a).
4. Various poetic compositions (12.1a–12b) and an essay on the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*; 12.12b–13b).
5. Commentaries to the *\*Ruyao jing* (Mirror for Compounding the Medicine; 13.1a–9b) and the *\*Qinyuan chun* (Spring in the Garden by the Qin River; 13.9b–17b).

Lowell SKAR

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 236

✳ *Xiuzhen shishu; neidan*

*Jindan dayao*

## 金丹大要

### Great Essentials of the Golden Elixir

This *\*neidan* work, *\*Chen Zhixu's magnum opus*, is contained in both the Taoist Canon (CT 1067) and the *\*Daozang jiyao* (vol. 16). Two disciples wrote prefaces (dated 1335) to the version in the Taoist Canon, which is followed by three supplements: one containing charts (*Jindan dayao tu* 圖; CT 1068), another devoted to hagiographies of *\*Quanzhen* patriarchs (*Jindan dayao liexian zhi* 列仙誌; CT 1069), and the last describing a ritual performed in honor of *\*Zhongli Quan* and *\*Lü Dongbin* (*Jindan dayao xianpai* 仙派; CT 1070). The three supplements form the second *juan* in the *Daozang jiyao* version, which is more complete than the version in the Taoist Canon. The anonymous work entitled *Xiulian xuzhi* 修鍊須知 (Required Knowledge on Cultivation and Refinement; CT 1077) contains *juan* 7–8 of CT 1067.

While the original *Jindan dayao* was in ten *juan* (CT 1067, 1.11a–b and 12.8a), the present text in the Taoist Canon is divided into sixteen *juan*. The content of the text, rearranged according the original plan, is the following:

1. The first *juan* (corresponding to *j.* 1 and 2 in CT 1067) is a commentary on the first section of the *Daode jing*.
2. The second *juan* (*j.* 3 and 4) discusses the precosmic essence, pneuma, and spirit (*\*jing, qi, shen*), i.e., the three “substances” and three stages of the alchemical work.
3. The third *juan* (*j.* 5 and 6) deals with the “wondrous functioning” (*miaoyong* 妙用) of various elements of *neidan*, such as the tripod and the furnace (*\*dinglu*), fire phasing (*\*huohou*), and the collection of the inner elixir. This *juan* was originally divided into nine sections, two of which, missing from the Taoist Canon but found in the *Daozang jiyao*, deal with the Reverted Elixir (*\*huandan*) and with the alchemical notion of “reversal” (*diandao* 顛倒).
4. The fourth *juan* (*j.* 7 and 8) mainly concerns fire phasing.
5. The fifth *juan* (*j.* 9 and 10) contains poems and a rewording of the *Daode jing* from an alchemical point of view. In the *Daozang jiyao*, this *juan* is followed by a section entitled “Five Items for the Golden Elixir” (“*Jindan wushi*” 金丹五事), which is missing in

CT 1067.

6. The sixth *juan* (j. 11 and 12), composed of small pieces addressed to Chen's disciples, emphasizes the necessity of not getting attached to alchemical metaphors.
7. The seventh *juan* (j. 13 and 14) is devoted to dialogues with disciples on various subjects; the version in the *Daozang jiyao* contains fifteen more pieces than the one in the Taoist Canon.
8. The eighth *juan* probably corresponded to the present *Jindan dayao tu* (CT 1068).
9. –10. In the last two *juan* (j. 15 and 16), Chen Zhixu adopts a Buddhist language with a strong Chan flavor, and equates the achievement of the Golden Elixir (*\*jindan*) with “seeing one's (Buddha-)nature” (*jianxing* 見性).

Chen Zhixu draws extensively on the *Daode jing*, the *\*Zhuangzi*, the *\*Wuzhen pian*, the *\*Yinfu jing*, the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* and related works, and several Quanzhen masters. He refers to *\*Zhang Boduan* as his *zushi* 祖師 (Ancestral Master), and identifies himself as the heir of the Quanzhen tradition transmitted by Zhao Youqin 趙友欽 (fl. 1329), whom he often mentions as his master. Like *\*Li Daochun*, whom he frequently quotes, Chen considers the central point in *jindan* to be the intuitive recognition of one's precosmic and perennial inborn nature (*xing* 性; see *\*xing* and *ming*), which he equates with the Buddha-nature (*foxing* 佛性 or *buddhatā*).

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 184–86; Li Yuanguo 1991; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 171–73; Robinet 1995a, 114–19 and passim

※ Chen Zhixu; *neidan*

*Jindan sibai zi*

金丹四百字

Four Hundred Words on the Golden Elixir

This alchemical treatise ascribed to *\*Zhang Boduan* consists of twenty

pentasyllabic poems. A lengthy undated preface states that it was intended for Ma Ziran 馬自然, a contemporary of Zhang Boduan and a putative disciple of \*Liu Haichan. The first allusion to the text is in a letter of thanks addressed by \*Bai Yuchan to Zhang Boduan in 1216. Bai claims to have come across the writings and commentaries by Ma Ziran on Mount Wuyi (\*Wuyi shan, Fujian), where he first read a work entitled “Sibai yan” 四百言 (Four Hundred Words; \**Xiuzhen shishu*, 6.4b). While the commentator Huang Ziru 黃自如 (fl. 1241) seems to have no doubts about the authorship of the *Jindan sibai zi*, \*Yu Yan believed it to be a forgery written by Bai Yuchan himself (Chen Bing 1985, 36; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 306).

The poem describes the inner alchemical process in a way similar to the \**Wuzhen pian*, but borrows technical language from the \*Zhong-Lü texts. It was first included in Bai Yuchan's lost collection entitled *Qunxian zhuyu ji* 群仙珠玉集 (Anthology of Pearls and Jade of the Gathered Immortals; van der Loon 1984, 149). Since then, several editions with commentaries have appeared. These include Huang Ziru's *Jindan sibai zi* (1241; CT 1081; also in *Xiuzhen shishu*, j. 5, with five additional poems on \**neidan* by Huang); \*Lu Xixing's *Jindan sibai zi ceshu* 金丹四百字測疏 (Comprehensive Commentary to the *Jindan sibai zi*; ca. 1571); \*Peng Haogu's *Jindan sibai zi zhu* 金丹四百字注 (Commentary to the *Jindan sibai zi*; 1597/1600); and \*Liu Yiming's *Jindan sibai zi jie* (Explication of the *Jindan sibai zi* 金丹四百字解; 1807; trans. Cleary 1986a).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

📖 Davis and Chao 1940b (trans.)

✂ Zhang Boduan; *neidan*; Nanzong

jing

精

essence

See \*[jing. qi. shen](#) 精·氣·神.

*jing* and *jian*

鏡·劍

mirror and sword

In Taoism, mirrors and swords are objects invested with power. Since ancient times they have been part of the royal treasures and symbols of good government. In medieval China they were the attributes of both the ruler and the Taoist priest. Well-known examples of this feature are the sword and the mirror that the twelfth \*Shangqing patriarch, \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735), gave to Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56). A related text, the *Hanxiang jianjian tu* 含象劍鑑圖 (Drawings of a Sword and Mirror with Engraved Images; CT 431), describes the mirror as a picture of the cosmos, and explains the name “Sword of Luster and Thunder” (*jingzhen jian* 景震劍), saying that the luster (*jing* 景) on one side of the blade represents the Yang principle, while the other side symbolizes thunder (*zhen* 震), which represents the Yin principle. The mirror and sword thus represent the Yin and Yang aspects of the Dao.



Fig. 47. Sword presented by \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735) to Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56). *Hanxiang jianjian tu* 含象劍鑑圖 (Drawings of a Sword and Mirror with Engraved Images; CT 431), 5a–6b.

Chinese mirrors (also called *jian* 鑑, a synonym of *jing*) were round and cast in bronze. On the back of the polished mirror surface there was an embossed decoration with a hump in the middle through which a string was drawn, enabling one to carry the mirror at one's belt. The embossed pattern on the back depicted clouds, waters, and mountains inhabited by mystical animals and feathered immortals. The circular shape of the mirror symbolized the heavens. The earth was depicted in the square at the center of the relief which bore the cyclical characters (*\*ganzhi*) marking the points of the compass and the calendar, i.e., of space and time. This *carta mundi* symbolizes the particular ability of the mirror to reveal not only the apparent but also the “real form” (*zhenxing* 真形) of the things and beings in the universe (see *\*xing*).

Inscriptions on Han-dynasty bronze mirrors include some of the oldest descriptions of Taoist paradises. One of them says: “This mirror was created in the Imperial workshops. A true masterpiece! In it you can see the immortals (*\*xianren*) who do not grow old. If they are thirsty, they drink from jade sources. If they are hungry, they eat [celestial] dates. They stroll through the world and rejoice in the four seas [at the edges of the universe]” (see Kaltenmark 1953, 11). Mirrors also served as signposts to the paradises and heavens, and this is why they are often found in graves. If a sword was found in a grave, however, this was taken as a sign that its occupant had achieved immortality through “release from the corpse” (*\*shijie*).

The *\*Zhuangzi* compares the “quiescent mind of the sage (*\*shengren*)” to a mirror that reflects the variety of all beings (chapter 13; see trans. Watson 1968, 142), and explains: “The accomplished man (*zhiren* 至人) uses the heart like a mirror; he does not escort things as they go or welcome them as they come, he responds and does not store. Therefore he is able to conquer other things without suffering a wound” (chapter 7; see trans. Watson 1968, 97). The second chapter of the *\*Huainan zi* also compares the sage who is in harmony with the natural order of the cosmos to a pure mirror in which everything is clearly reflected.



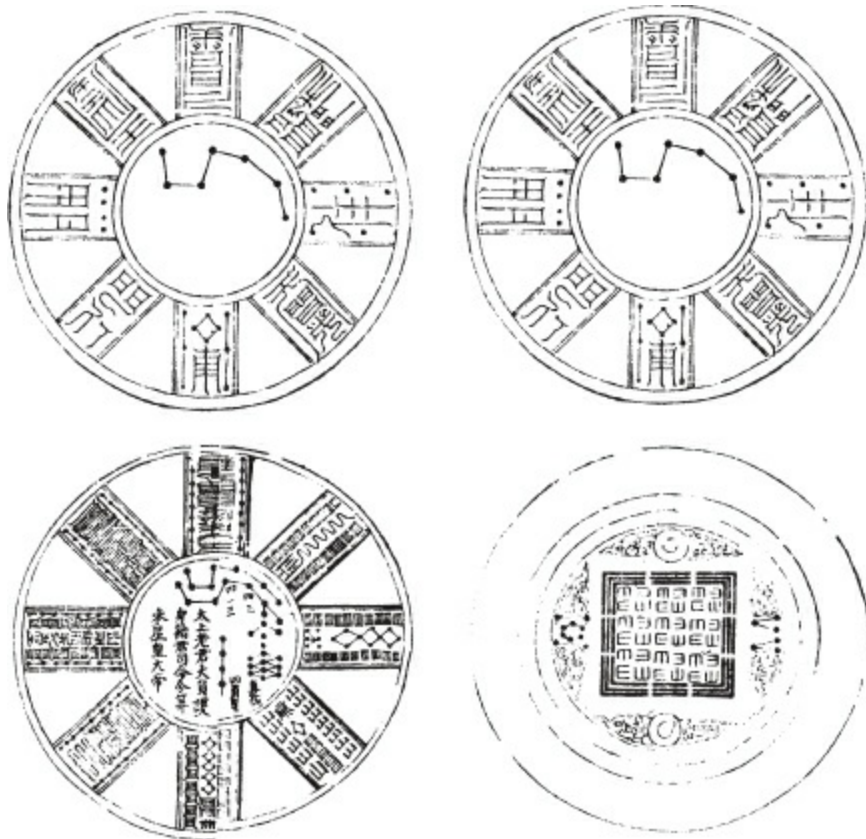


Fig. 48. Emblems inscribed on the reverse side of mirrors. *Shangqing changsheng baojian tu* 上清長生寶鑑圖 (Highest Clarity Illustrations of Precious Mirrors for the Prolonging Life; CT 429).

The mirror and sword also served as a protection against demons (*\*gui*). \*Ge Hong (283–343) recommends that mountain recluses carry a magic mirror with them and look at the reflection of every creature that approaches them in the mirror. Once a demon is recognized in a mirror, it is deprived of its power and forced to flee (*\*Baopu zi* 17; trans. Ware 1966, 281–82). In his “Records of Knives and Swords” (“*Daojian lu*” 刀劍錄, as quoted in *Taiping yulan* 343), \*Tao Hongjing (456–536) explains how an adept, by absorbing the powerful luster of the sword, can drive out demons and heal the illnesses that they bring down on him. To protect a house from demons and evil emanations, a magic mirror was hung on the door, a bucket of cold water was placed below the mirror, and a sword was laid on the bucket with its tip facing outward (*Laojun mingzhao fa* 老君明照法, YJQQ 48).

Finally, deities could also be made visible by “mirror meditations” as described in *Baopu zi* 15. Shangqing adepts could also produce spiritual mirrors in their own eyes through visualization techniques. By looking inward one could see the gods of one's own body in the light of this mirror.

Visualizations of this kind kept demons away, prolonged life, and ultimately led to immortality (relevant methods are collected in YJQQ 48; trans. Kaltenmark 1974, 154–66).

Ute ENGELHARDT

▣ Cahill and Murray 1987; Company 2002, 70–72; Demiéville 1948; Engelhardt 1987, 44–46 and 69–76; Fukunaga Mitsuji 1987, 1–69; Kaltenmark 1974; Little 2000b, 140–41, 214–17, and 354; Loewe 1979, 60–85; Needham 1962, 87–94; Schafer 1978–79; Seidel 1982, 87–99

※ *faqi*; MAGIC; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*jing, qi, shen*

精·氣 (炁) ·神

essence, pneuma (breath, energy, vital force), spirit

*Jing, qi, and shen* are three of the main notions shared by Taoism and Chinese culture alike. They are often referred to as the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶), an expression that immediately reveals their importance and the close connection among them. The ideas and practices associated with each term, and with the three terms as a whole, are complex and vary considerably in different contexts and historical periods. This entry is mainly concerned with their understanding in inner alchemy (*\*neidan*).

*Meaning of the terms.* The common translations of *jing* as “essence,” *qi* as “breath,” “pneuma,” or “energy,” and *shen* as “spirit” capture some of their respective features but are not entirely satisfying. In its broadest meaning, *jing* (a word that originally refers to bleached rice) is said to represent the life germ contained in the Dao, as stated for instance in *Daode jing* 21 (“Vague and indistinct! But in it there is an essence”). In the human being, it is a form of energy that mainly derives from food and nourishes the body, especially the five viscera (*\*wuzang*). This is the most usual sense of the term in the context of gymnastics (*\*daoyin*) and breathing techniques. In an even more restricted sense, *jing* designates the energy attached to sexuality (semen in men, menstrual blood in women). This meaning applies for instance to the

expression “returning the essence to replenish the brain” (\**huanjing bunao*). *Qi* is positioned between essence and spirit and therefore at the intersection point between matter and mind. Whereas *jing* is a carrier of life and has a nourishing function, *qi* is a dynamic force and has a transforming function. The term originally means “vapor.” *Shen* evolved from the original sense of “divinity” and outer and inner “spirits” into the designation of a single force, whose connotations include those of psychic essence and even of “soul.” To some extent, *shen* applies to anything that exists within the cosmos but has no material aspect, such as deities and human thought.



Fig. 49. Primordial Pneuma (\**yuanqi*). *Xuanlan renniao shan jingtu* 玄覽人鳥山經圖 (Scripture and Illustration for the Mysterious Contemplation of the Mountain of the Bird-Men; CT 434), 5a. See Lagerwey 1987c, 161–67.

*Neidan*. The idea of transmuting *jing*, *qi*, and *shen* is especially important in *neidan*, where the phrases “refining essence into pneuma” (*lianjing huaqi* 鍊精化氣), “refining pneuma into spirit” (*lianqi huashen* 鍊氣化神), and “refining spirit and reverting to Emptiness” (*lianshen huanxu* 鍊神還虛) define the three main stages of the inner alchemical practice.

In *neidan*, *jing* is refined by repeatedly making it ascend along the back of the body and then descend along the front of the body (see \**zhoutian*). *Qi* is cultivated through meditation, stillness of mind, and breathing practices such as “embryonic breathing” (\**taixi*). These practices are related to each other, as the more the mind is concentrated, the more outer breathing becomes refined and is replaced by embryonic breathing. *Shen* is compared to fire, particularly the fire of desire that stirs up the passions and feeds the sense organs. With reference to calming the agitated mind and the destructive fire, *neidan* employs the expression “extracting Water from the Fire of the heart”

(this Water is represented by the Yin line within *li* 離 ☲, the trigram that represents Fire). This expression means appeasing the mind by making psychic energy descend instead of going up. Mental concentration corresponds to the emergence within the body of a form of heat that rises from the lower abdomen, a phenomenon referred to in *neidan* as “extracting Fire from the Water of the kidneys” (i.e., the Yang line within *kan* 坎 ☵, the trigram that represents Water). The kidneys’ Water normally produces seminal essence and flows out of the body under the effect of the Fire of desires. This illustrates two important alchemical principles: the reversal of the energetic course (the energy of the heart descends, the energy of the kidneys ascends) and the union of opposites (the Fire from the heart joins with the Water from the kidneys).

*Precelestial and postcelestial.* An important distinction found in *neidan* and elsewhere (e.g. in \*Shao Yong and other Neo-Confucian thinkers) is between two aspects of *jing*, *qi*, and *shen*, respectively related to the states “prior to Heaven” and “posterior to Heaven” (\**xiantian* and *houtian*). Essence exists both as “precelestial essence” (*xiantian zhi jing* 先天之精), also known as Original Essence (*yuanjing* 元精), and as ordinary essence, called “postcelestial essence” (*houtian zhi jing* 後天之精). Whereas ordinary essence, which is derived from desire, is produced and kept in the kidneys, Original Essence, which issues from the appeasement of mind and the stabilization of breath, is associated with the Gate of the Vital Force (\**mingmen*), located in the right kidney or between the two kidneys.

Similarly, *qi* exists as “precelestial breath (or pneuma)” (*xiantian zhi qi* 先天之氣), also called Original Breath or Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*), and as “postcelestial breath (or pneuma)” (*houtian zhi qi* 後天之氣). These different aspects are represented by two different forms of the word *qi*: the graph for precelestial *qi* (炁) is explicated as breath or pneuma “without the fire (of desire).” At the level of the human being, the distinction between the two *qi* develops at birth: with its first cry, the newborn child enters the postcelestial state through the ingestion of outer air. Original Breath or Original Pneuma reaches fullness at puberty, then progressively decreases before disappearing at the age of forty-nine for women and sixty-four for men. Some alchemical schools even quantify the precelestial breath that a person has at birth but progressively loses during life. One of the alchemical processes consists of compensating for this loss with the help of postcelestial breath. *Neidan* also

distinguishes between an outer breath (also called Martial Fire or *wuhuo* 武火), which is common breath, and an inner breath (also called Civil Fire or *wenhuo* 文火), which corresponds to thought and the Intention (\**yi*).

The distinction between “precelestial spirit” (*xiantian zhi shen* 先天之神), also called Original Spirit (*yuanshen* 元神), and “postcelestial spirit” (*houtian zhi shen* 後天之神) follows along similar lines. In *neidan*, the transition from the latter to the former occurs by means of precelestial breath, i.e., through the progressive development of a subtle and tenuous form of breathing (so-called “embryonic breathing”) that allows one to reach a luminous state. Thus, one progressively develops a “Yin spirit” (*yinshen* 陰神), a process that is accompanied by a feeling of luminosity in the region of the head. The *shen* rises to the upper Cinnabar Field (the \**niwan*), from which it leaves the body through the sinciput in an experience known as “egress of the Spirit” (\**chushen*). The mind realizes a state in which time, space, and material limits disappear, and is transmuted into “Yang spirit” (*yangshen* 陽神).

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1979, 48–82; Harada Jirō 1988; Ishida Hidemi 1989; Larre 1982; Libbrecht 1990; Major 1987a; Maspero 1981, 460–68; Onozawa Seiichi, Fukunaga Mitsuji, and Yamanoi Yū 1978; Robinet 1985a; Robinet 1995a; Roth 1990; Sivin 1987, 46–53, 147–67; Zhang Liwen 1990; Zhu Yueli 1982

※ *chushen*; *xiantian* and *houtian*;  *yuanqi*; *neidan*;  *yangsheng*; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

*jingluo*

經絡

conduits; “ducts and links”

*Jingluo* refers to a system of “conduits,” “tracts,” “ducts,” or “channels,” invisible to the observer, which connect the upper body parts to the lower, and the inner viscera to the surface of the body. The *Lingshu* 靈樞 (Numinous Pivot, 3.10; see \*[Huangdi neijing](#)) outlines twelve such conduits (there referred to as *jingmai* 經脈): six are attributed to the hands and six to

the feet, of which three of each are Yin and three are Yang. The Yin conduits (*taiyin* 太陰, *shaoyin* 少陰, *jueyin* 厥陰) generally follow the inside of the extremities, and the Yang conduits (*yangming* 陽明, *taiyang* 太陽, *shaoyang* 少陽) the outside. Each of these conduits is said to have a trunk (*zhi* 直), which links to one of the six viscera and the corresponding one of the six bowels (and vice versa), and several branches (*zhi* 支), which lead to various other body parts. These channels control disorders of two kinds: those that arise if the conduit is stirred (*shi dong ze bing* 是動則病) and those to which it gives rise (*qi suo chan bing* 其所產病). The *jingluo* system, as generally referred to in the scholarly literature, views these conduits as linked to one another and as forming a circulation system through which *\*qixue* (“breath and blood”) flows; they are considered to be littered with loci, places where the application of needles or moxa can affect the flow and quality of *qixue* in a beneficial way.

In the Warring States period, precursors of this system were developed in the context of therapeutics by cauterization (see below); and in the Song, it began to be used for classifications of the *materia medica*. The system was mainly elaborated in the context of acupuncture and moxibustion, mostly during the Han and Tang, and it also comprises, apart from the linking channels (*luomai* 絡脈) and minute links (*sunluo* 孫絡), fifteen branching-out links (*bieluo* 別絡), twelve branching-out conduits (*jingbie* 經別), twelve muscle conduits (*jingjin* 經筋), and twelve skin regions (*pibu* 皮部). The system also comprises the “eight extraordinary channels” (*qijing bamai* 奇經八脈), a historically later addition, which therapeutically are mainly responsible for the overall regulation of *qixue*. Two among these are particularly conspicuous: the Control Channel along the spine and the Function Channel along the parallel ventral axis (*\*dumai* and *renmai*). Both became important in *\*neidan* practices from the Song period onward.

Precursors to the system are recorded in two silk manuscripts from tomb no. 3 at *\*Mawangdui*, closed in 168 BCE and excavated in 1973 (trans. Harper 1998, 192–212). These texts outline the course of eleven channels, which are similar yet not identical to and generally less elaborate than the channels described in the *Lingshu*. Their courses generally begin at the utmost point of the extremities and end on the trunk of the body. Notably, they are not linked to viscera (with few exceptions), and no *qixue* flows through them. The recommended treatment for disorders associated with these channels is cauterization, but no loci are mentioned.

Another precursory system can be seen on a lacquer figurine dating to the second century BCE, excavated in 1993 from tomb no. 2 in Mianyang 綿陽 (Sichuan; see He and Lo 1996). It shows six red lines along the arms, connecting to the head, and three along the legs. Of these, the three lines along the legs can be most easily identified as precursors of the foot's three Yang conduits in the *Lingshu*. The lines on the figurine are symmetrical, the plane of symmetry being the spine, marked by a red line that is clearly a precursor of what later became known as the *dumai*.

*Elisabeth HSU*

▣ Harper 1998, 192–212; He and Lo 1996; Li Ding 1984; Lu and Needham 1980, 13–69 and 93–106; Porkert 1974, 197–346; Sivin 1987, 133–47

※ *dumai* and *renmai*

### Jingming dao

### 淨明道

### Pure and Bright Way

A school of teachings known as Jingming dao arose around the enshrinement of \*Xu Xun (trad. 239–374) at the Western Hills (\*Xishan, Jiangxi). Hagiographic texts offer variant accounts concerning the history of devotions at his shrine. By the Tang it became a widely recognized center for a \*Lingbao form of ritual practice known as Xiaodao 孝道 (Way of Filiality). Scholars have located two versions of a Xiaodao scripture of unknown provenance in the Taoist Canon. The text appears to date to the late Tang but is devoid of any allusion to Xu Xun lore, so its relation to the early devotional community at Xishan can only be considered conjectural, pending the discovery of external evidence.

Several post-Tang compilations in the Taoist Canon attest to a derivative of Xiaodao called Jingming fa 淨明法 (Pure and Bright Ritual). Most of these texts lack prefaces or colophons. A Song date of transmission can nonetheless often be discerned from internal reference to Xu Xun by a title dating to 1112, Shengong miaoji zhenjun 神功妙濟真君 (Perfected Lord of Divine Merit and Wondrous Deliverance). Texts clearly edited no earlier than

the late thirteenth century bear an additional epithet granted Xu in 1295 by Yuan Chengzong (r. 1295–1307). This title, Zhidao xuanying 至道玄應 (Mysterious Response of the Ultimate Way), conventionally precedes the honorific of 1112.

The *\*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* (Complete Writings of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Loyalty and Filiality) is the most comprehensive resource on the Jingming dao in the Taoist Canon. This fourteenth-century anthology features the recorded sayings of \*Liu Yu (1257–1308) and his protégé Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (1271–1326). Liu Yu is recognized as the founder of a form of Jingming dao popularly known as Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道 (Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality).

*Early history.* Precisely how and when Xu Xun gained recognition as a paragon of filiality is uncertain. According to the earliest extant hagiography, devotees came from a great distance to set up an altar and ancestral hall at Xishan when they learned of Xu's ascent there in 292. Sometime later the Youwei guan 遊帷觀 (Abbey of the Flying Curtain) was built at the site by imperial decree. \*Zhai (Retreats) were held there under imperial sponsorship three times a year. In addition to commemorating Xu's ascent on the fifteenth of the eighth lunar month, ritual oblations on behalf of the empire were also authorized at the site on the fifteenth of the first and fifth lunar months. Eighteen generations of Xu's descendants, beginning with his nephew Jian 簡, are listed as *\*daoshi* (Taoist masters) who presided over Xiaodao at the abbey. By the year 627 the temple compound appeared to have been abandoned. Tang Gaozong (r. 649–83) is said to have ordered a revitalization of Xiaodao at the site. His decree is incongruently dated to the third year of Yongchun, a reign period that merely extended from the second lunar month of 682 to the twelfth lunar month of 683. The latest event recorded is a lively, well-attended *huanglu dazhai* 黃籙大齋 (Great Yellow Register Retreat) hosted at the abbey for three days in 819.

A variant account in the *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu*, reflecting centuries of hagiographic consensus, dates Xu Xun's ascent to 374. The subsequent founding of a shrine is credited to local villagers led by Xu Jian, identified here as a grandnephew. Devotees allegedly divined their fortunes by drawing slips from the set of oracular verse that Xu Xun left behind. The shrine's loss of its following is dated to the time of Sui Yangdi (r. 604–17). By the Yongchun reign period (682–83), a Celestial Master named Hu Huichao 天師



胡惠超(?–703) reportedly found the Youwei guan in ruins. Hu oversaw a restoration of the abbey, where he established himself as a recipient of the Jingming Lingbao zhongxiao zhi dao 淨明靈寶忠孝之道 (Pure and Bright Lingbao Way of Loyalty and Filiality). With Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) came a marked level of imperial patronage. Reverence for Xu Xun's role as a guardian of the empire reached new heights during the Northern Song. The current designation of the abbey as the \*Yulong wanshou gong (Palace of the Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Jade Beneficence) dates to a decree issued by Huizong (r. 1100–1125) in 1116.

The precise nature of the Xiaodao legacy celebrating Xu Xun at Xishan remains unclear. A figure no less prominent than \*Du Guangting (850–933) observes that the Xiaodao pursued in that region from the Jin to his own time scarcely differed from the Lingbao heritage. The people of Yuzhang 豫章 (Jiangxi), according to Du, had for generations maintained a staunch level of practice, with nothing outranking filiality in their esteem. He also declares that those who were filial toward their parents would certainly be loyal toward their ruler, just as orderly households inevitably led to repose in the empire itself. These comments appear in the biography of Xu Xun's mentor Chen Mu 諶姆 within the \**Yongcheng jixian lu* (5.16a–b).

Numerous scriptures transmitted during the Song and Yuan present instruction in the practice of Jingming fa, the direct heir of Xiaodao. Of outstanding interest is the single text in this vast body of literature bearing a dated preface. Assistant Lecturer He Shouzheng 何守證 of the Yizhen tan 翼真壇 (Altar of Winged Transcendents) writes that disciples came to him with a flawed text, requesting emendations and a preface, which he supplied in the year 1131. The text is entitled *Lingbao Jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa* 靈寶淨明新修九老神印伏魔祕法 (Newly Revised Secret Rites of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Lingbao for Suppressing Demons with the Divine Seal of the Nine Ancient Lords; CT 562). Lecturer He identifies this manual as a pivotal Lingbao codification originally conveyed to Xu Xun by the legendary female adept Chen Mu. Defects in the version given him, he explains, had accumulated over the years as the text was handed down from one generation to the next. The primary source of authority to which Lecturer He alludes are teachings on *zhongxiao lianshen* 忠孝廉慎 (loyalty, filiality, honesty, and prudence) revealed in 1129 under the rubric of *Lingbao Jingming bifa* 靈寶淨明祕法 (Secret Rites of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Lingbao). He also writes that two years later Xu Xun himself abruptly

appeared at the site of his shrine. This visitation reportedly occurred one month prior to the date given the preface and led to the construction of the Yizhen tan, where Lecturer He presumably received his students.

He's preface is followed by instruction on cultivating an internal state of Jingming replicating the radiance of the sun and moon. Essential to this contemplative practice is a *Fumo shenyin* 伏魔神印 (Divine Seal for Suppressing Demons) and the microcosmic imagery of a *Jingming qijing* 淨明氣鏡 (Mirror of the Pure and Bright Life-Force). The extent to which these teachings were followed remains unknown. Nearly a century later, Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25) writes in the *\*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1223, 10.13a–b) of a confusing array of texts on Jingming fa inconsistent with the earlier Lingbao scriptural corpus venerating Xu Xun. Jin's critical view no doubt evolved as diverse texts like the manual edited by He Shouzheng began appearing in abundance following the collapse of the Northern Song empire.

*Teachings of Liu Yu and Huang Yuanji.* The fullest record of Jingming dao in the Taoist Canon was produced by and for disciples, designated as *dizi* 弟子 or *fazi* 法子. As the latter term denotes, instructions in the *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* attest to an assimilation of Buddhist teachings. Their debt to the Ru 儒 scholastic legacy of Daoxue 道學 is even more pronounced. Liu Yu forth-rightly states that the fundamentals of the Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality were familiar to but largely neglected by the Ru literati in his time. His definition of Jingming as nothing but *zhengxin chengyi* 正心誠意 (equanimity and integrity) clearly harks back to the eight-step progression outlined in the *Daxue* 大學 (Great Learning; trans. Legge 1893, 357–59). By equating loyalty and filiality with fostering *gangchang* 綱常 (“guidelines and constancy”), moreover, Liu also alludes to perhaps the best-known behavioral code ascribed to Confucius, that is, the *sangang wuchang* 三綱五常 (three guidelines and five constancies). Above all he counselled moderation in all things and compared excessive adherence to *gangchang* with a boat listing in one direction, certain to cause harm. With his formulation of the Way of Jingming, Liu Yu thus intended in part to both restore and redefine the central tenets of Daoxue, or the so-called Neo-Confucian teachings of his contemporaries.

Liu's vision of Jingming dao rests on a broad interpretation of how the attributes of filiality and loyalty are best exemplified. In his view, maximum

loyalty is to be without deceit in all matters (*dazhong zhe yiwu buqi* 大忠者一物不欺). Similarly, to love everyone without exception is Liu's definition of maximum filiality (*daxiao zhe yiti jie ai* 大孝者一體皆愛). Followers of Jingming dao were expected to strive toward an embodiment of purity and radiance that ultimately brought them in consonance with the heavenly realm, like a river returning to the sea. Liu maintained that loyalty and filiality automatically ensued from conduct distinguished by purity and radiance. To him, purity meant that one did not defile anything (*buran wu* 不染物) and radiance meant that one did not disturb anything (*buchu wu* 不觸物).

Both Liu and his foremost disciple Huang Yuanji repeatedly advocated the need to *chengfen zhiyu* 懲忿窒欲 (restrain anger and stifle desire), a phrase that can be traced to the gloss accompanying hexagram 41 in the \*Yijing. It was essential for anyone striving toward absolute integrity and equanimity to learn how to restrain all expressions of hostility and obsessive attachments of desire. Harm, according to Liu, was sure to ensue with but a single irregular thought. He strongly believed that how one fared in life was entirely within one's own responsibility to determine. The efficacy of all prayers and ritual practice, in his view, completely rested with the integrity of the supplicant. Liu made simplicity the governing principle of Jingming dao, sanctioning only one talisman, one seal, and a concise petitionary model for ritual use.

Citing guidelines that Celestial Master Hu ostensibly received from Xu Xun, Liu adamantly repudiates the contemplative practice of *xiulian* 修鍊 (cultivating refinement). There was no need, in his view, to sequester oneself within a mountain retreat to undertake a study of the Dao. One could gain rank as a transcendent, he claimed, by adhering to eight treasures, ranging from loyalty and filiality to *lian* 廉 (honesty), *jin* 謹 (discretion), *kuan* 寬 (expansiveness), *yu* 裕 (generosity), *rong* 容 (tolerance), and *ren* 忍 (endurance). Liu deemed such qualities essential to the cultivation of a sense of *gongxin* 公心 (public spirit).

The instructions recorded in Huang's name enlarge upon this principle with the warning that *gongxin* can easily be feigned, whereas anyone truly acting in the interest of the public did not covet praise as such. He advised his disciples to respond compassionately to the ill-behaved and lead them back toward the right path by example rather than risk alienation by scolding. Huang also emphasized the retributive justice inherent in all conduct, with good and bad being rewarded in kind, but remains conspicuously silent regarding the so-called \**shanshu* (morality books) practice of counting merits

and demerits. Notable heirs to these teachings on Jingming dao include \*Zhao Yizhen (?–1382), \*Liu Yuanran (1351–1432), and Zhang Taixuan 張太玄 (1651–1716).

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Akizuki Kan'ei 1978; Akizuki Kan'ei 1991; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 70–78; Huang Xiaoshi 1999; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 649–52, 3: 128–35 and 347–62, and 4: 193–211; Schipper 1985d; Xu Xihua 1983

※ Xu Xun; Yulong wanshou gong; Xishan; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.7 (“Song, Jin, and Yuan: Jingming dao”) and sec. III.9 (“Ming and Qing: Persons Related to Jingming dao”)

*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu*

淨明忠孝全書

Complete Writings of the Pure and  
Bright [Way of] Loyalty and Filialty

The *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* (CT 1110) is a collection of hagiographies together with transcriptions of the revealed and oral teachings associated with the school of the Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道 (Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filialty; see \*Jingming dao) based at the \*Yulong wanshou gong (Palace of the Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Jade Beneficence) honoring \*Xu Xun (trad. 239–374) at the Western Hills (\*Xishan, Jiangxi). Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (1271–1326; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 364–65), successor to the school's founder \*Liu Yu (1257–1308), is credited with compiling the first five *juan* of the anthology. The sixth and last *juan* is ascribed to a disciple at the Yulong gong named Chen Tianhe 陳天和. Huang's preeminent disciple Xu Hui 徐慧, or Xu Yi 徐異 (1291–1350), of Luling 廬陵 (Jiangxi) is identified as the collator of all six *juan*. The biography of Xu Hui at the close of *juan* 1 is obviously an interpolation by someone from a later generation.

The text opens with seven prefaces dating from 1323 to 1327, contributed by Zhang Gui 張珪 (1264–1327), Zhao Shiyan 趙世延 (1260–1336), Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348), Teng Bin 滕賓, Zeng Xunshen 曾巽申, Peng Ye 彭埜 (fl.

1323), and Xu Hui himself. These prefaces convey a sense of the Ming literati's high regard for the Jingming school as an endorsement of the long-standing code of ethics identified with Confucius and his following. Some also provide clues to the complex history of the anthology. Zeng, for example, states that the collection of writings he received from Huang in 1323 had first been published two decades earlier. Xu Hui begins his story with a meeting that he and a colleague named Sheng Ximing 盛熙明 had with Huang, also in 1323. Huang reportedly viewed Xu's arrival as a prophetic response to his dream the night before and presented him with copies of the *Jingming zhongxiao shu* 淨明忠孝書 (Writings of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Loyalty and Filiality) and *Yuzhen yulu* 玉真語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Jade Perfection). Xu does not reveal the age of these texts but says that a few days later Huang brought out another set of transcribed teachings that had not been published. He did this, according to Xu, in appreciation of his perceptive response to the other texts and also expressed interest in having everything published as a unit.

Approximately nine months after Huang's demise in the twelfth lunar month of 1325 (15 January 1326), Xu paid a visit to the cemetery at the Yulong gong. Huang's disciples Chen Yunyin 陳雲隱 and Xiong Cangya 熊蒼崖 came forward at the time with additional texts. Xu states that he then put the recorded sayings he had collected together with the texts revealed to Liu Yu and gave it the title *Jingming zhongxiao quanshu*. By publishing this anthology, he intended to provide scholars of like mind with guidance on cultivating loyalty and filiality in both public and private affairs so that all might live in harmony and peace.

The opening *juan* includes biographical accounts for seven figures central to the Jingming formulation: Xu Xun, Zhang Yun 張氾 (653–745), Hu Huichao 胡惠超 (?–703), Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324), Liu Yu, Huang Yuanji, and Xu Hui. Copies of five texts putatively revealed to Liu Yu by Xu Xun, Hu Huichao, and Guo Pu are contained in *juan* 2. *Juan* 3–5 are devoted to transcriptions of Liu Yu's teachings, largely in response to anonymously posed questions. The heading *Yuzhen xiansheng yulu* 玉真先生語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Elder of Jade Perfection) given this body of texts is amplified by the designations *neiji* 內集 (Internal Anthology), *waiji* 外集 (External Anthology), and *bieji* 別集 (Separate Anthology), respectively, for *juan* 3, 4, and 5. The last *juan*, dedicated to Huang Yuanji's sayings, is entitled *Zhonghuang xiansheng wenda* 中黃先生問答 (Responses to

Inquiries of the Elder of Central Yellow). Whereas the biographies document the diverse ritual practices of the Jingming patriarchs in their roles as rainmakers and exorcists on call, the essential lesson that both Liu and Huang give their following is to forsake solitary contemplative pursuits in favor of devoted attention to the welfare of family and state.

Another version of this anthology, edited by \*Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (?–1462) in 1452, is contained in the library of the Naikaku bunko in Tokyo. A cognate body of writings is included in the *Xiaoyao shan Wanshou gong zhi* 逍遙山萬壽宮志 (Monograph of the Palace of Ten-thousand-fold Longevity at Mount Xiaoyao) published in 1878 (Du Jiexiang 1983, 6: 206–33 and 270–305, 7: 551–72).

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▣ Akizuki Kan'ei 1978, 16–17 and 141–55; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 75–77, 197–99, and 285; Chen Yuan 1988, 967–68; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 119–21

※ Jingming dao

*jingshi*

靜室

“quiet chamber”; meditation chamber; oratory

Literally “quiet chamber,” the term *jingshi*, or *jingshe* 靜舍, is often rendered in English as “oratory.” Variant terms conveying a sense of purification and concentration as well as serenity include *jingshi(she)* 靖室(舍), *jingshi(she)* 淨室(舍), *jingshi(she)* 精室(舍), *qingshi(she)* 清室(舍), and *jing(jing, jing) lu* 精(靜, 靖)廬.

Setting aside a private retreat for study and reflection has long been the custom of Chinese literati and Taoist and Buddhist devotees alike. Historical biographies often speak of *jingshe* 精舍 or *jinglu* 精廬 as the secluded residence where late Han scholars met with students seeking instruction. A tradition of establishing *jingshe* 精舍 for Buddhist clergy within the imperial grounds is traced to the reign of Xiaowu di (r. 372–96) of the Eastern Jin. Structures of these types are regarded as the precursors of academies and

abbeys, respectively. Advocates of various schools of Taoist teachings generally embrace both exoteric and esoteric definitions of *jingshi*.

Early accounts of the Celestial Master patriarchy (\*Tianshi dao) suggest that oratories were adjuncts to the parishes (\*zhi) that were set up in the Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) area. Parishioners suffering afflictions were reportedly sequestered in oratories to gain relief through penance and talismanic applications. The so-called *Huangshu* 黃書 (Yellow Writ) legacy of texts also speaks of the oratory as the site where male and female devotees engaged in contemplative ritual couplings under the guidance of a Celestial Master (see \*[Shangqing huangshu guodu yi](#)).

Writings concerning Celestial Master practice ascribed to \*Lu Xiujing (406–77) include directions for setting up an oratory. According to the specifications given in the \**Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community), the *jingshi* 靖室 should be completely separate from any other structure. Cleanliness and simplicity were regarded as absolutely essential to creating a site in which deities would be at home. It was no place for icons and pennants, or any other decorative furnishings popular in many households. Only four items were allowed within the oratory: incense burner, incense lantern, petition stand, and calligraphy blade. It was a place where followers of Celestial Master teachings were known to have sought divine intervention not only through the submission of written petitions but also by oral supplications as well. The story is told, for example, of how Wang Ningzhi 王凝之 (?–399), son of the renowned calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321?–379?), sought refuge from the troops of \*Sun En (?–402) by voicing prayerful entreaties within an oratory.

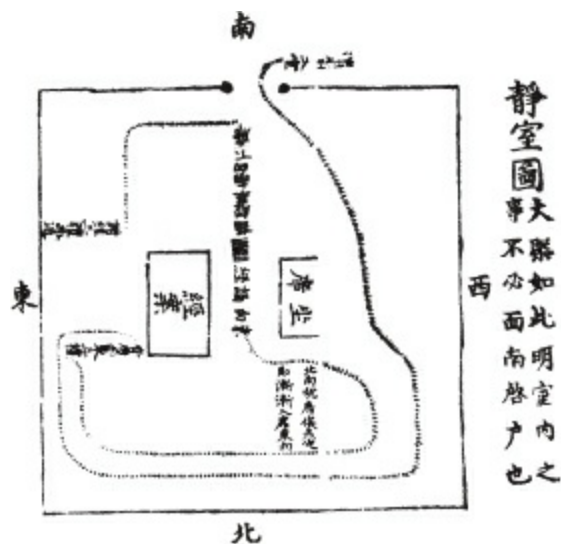


Fig. 50. Floor plan for a *jingshi* (oratory or “quiet chamber”). *Wuliang duren shangpin miaojing pangtong tu* 無量度人上品妙經旁通圖 (Supplementary Illustrations to the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Limitless Salvation; CT 148), 3.2b.

Adherents of the \*Shangqing revelations also viewed the oratory as a shelter from threatening forces. An account of the protective rituals undertaken in an oratory by one family on behalf of an infant son whose welfare lie in question is recorded in the \**Zhengao* (Declarations of the Perfected) compiled by \*Tao Hongjing (456–536). This anthology of Shangqing lore also provides the earliest known specifications for erecting an oratory. Tao copied the instructions from a manuscript in the hand of Xu Mi 許謚 (303–76), patron of the visionary \*Yang Xi (330–86). The uninhabited areas of mountains or moors were considered suitable sites. A substantial quantity of lumber clearly had to be available to build a rectangular structure measuring nineteen by twelve feet, with a ridge pole rising approximately ten feet high. The only source of light permitted was a small paper-covered window on the south wall. It was to be positioned so that it would be at the eye-level of the devotee seated on a large platform in the center of the room. Additional writings transmitted by Tao indicate that the oratory served as a shrine for family devotions at sunrise and sunset. Many adepts also withdrew to an oratory for solitary communion with the spirit realm.

A manual by the Taoist Master Liu Yuandao 劉元道 (fl. 1100–1125) is among the earliest texts on \*Lingbao ritual to contain floor plans for an oratory (fig. 50). Depicted inside are two items, a scripture stand located near the east wall and a mat facing it. Incorporated in the diagram are guidelines for pursuing devotions centering on recitation of the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation). The accompanying text supplies a step by step account of the private ritual, beginning with the devotee's entrance from the south. Homage



to the scripture invites the vision of embarking on a journey to and from the celestial realm while seated within the oratory.

Diverse teachings on contemplative practice apply the word *jingshi* or cognate terms to the *\*dantian* (Cinnabar Fields) within the body. Depending upon the context, the compound *rujing* 入靖 (lit., “entering quiet”), moreover, may mean to enter either an oratory or a state of tranquillity. Specialists in contemporary liturgy also speak of the *jingshi* as the internal retreat to which a Taoist Master takes refuge during ritual performances. The *jingshi*, both in its concrete and metaphoric usage, is thus viewed as a complement to the *tan* 壇, or sacred space where liturgy is staged.

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Ishii Masako 1987; Schipper 1993, 91–99; Stein R. A. 1963, 70–72; Strickmann 1981, 149–52 and 171–72; Yoshikawa Tadao 1987

※ *huandu*

*jingzuo*

靜坐

“quiet sitting”

*Jingzuo* is a technical term in Confucianism used to indicate a form of meditation that consists of quiet reflection while in a formal kneeling posture or, more recently, while sitting cross-legged or on a chair. The same term also commonly appears in Japanese, where it is pronounced *seiza* and means “to kneel formally.” Here the posture is ubiquitous—as it was in ancient and medieval China—in all sorts of formal occasions. More technically, *seiza* also indicates a form of Shintō meditation in which, probably under Taoist influence, attention is focused on the lower Cinnabar Field (*\*dantian*) in the abdomen.

In Taoism, the term *jingzuo* is secondary to other expressions denoting different forms of meditation, and was probably taken over from Confucianism (Chan Wing-tsit 1989, 255–70; Gernet 1981). In fact, it only appears prominently and with a specific technical meaning in the twentieth

century, used mainly by Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬 (1872–1955) in his particular mixture of modern biomedical thinking and \**neidan*, which has been widely regarded a forerunner of the contemporary \**qigong* movement (Kohn 1993a; Kohn 1993b, 135–41).

Jiang, also known as Yinshi zi 因是子 (Master of Following the Right [Path]), was from Jiangsu, where he spent most of his life and served as a provincial Minister of Education in the 1920s. A sickly childhood that culminated in tuberculosis and a stomach ulcer in his twenties led him to try many different healing methods, all of which proved ineffectual until he stumbled across an old *neidan* manuscript, whose instructions he followed with some success. This laid the foundations for his own healing regimen, which he described in the *Jingzuo fa jiyao* 靜坐法輯要 (Essentials of the Method of Quiet Sitting), first published in 1914 and included in the \**Daozang jinghua*. His key technique is *jingzuo*, which consists of sitting or kneeling quietly, preferably in a special meditation hut or chamber, and focusing attention on one's breathing. As the practitioner regulates the breath and follows it deep into the abdomen to gain control over the diaphragm, the Ocean of Pneuma (*qihai* 氣海) is activated in the lower abdomen, an area that corresponds to the Cinnabar Field. Once the diaphragm is fully controlled, breathing is reversed (the diaphragm rises on the inhalation), and breaths become deeper and less frequent. Eventually a hot energy is felt to fill the abdomen. Without conscious help, it rises up into the spine and begins to move around the body in a circle linked to the pulse and blood circulation. This practice has been used as the basis for many *qigong* exercises and clinical therapies since the 1930s.

Livia KOHN

▣ Chan Wing-tsit 1989, 255–70; Despeux 1990, 227–30; Gernet 1981; Kohn 1993a; Kohn 1993b, 135–41; Taylor R. L. 1988

※ *qigong*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*jinji*

禁忌

proscriptions and prohibitions; taboos

Discussing taboos in Taoism involves defining the range of Taoism itself. The present entry does not attempt to cover the subject in its entirety, but limits its scope to some examples of the role of taboos in ritual and in *\*waidan* (external alchemy).

*Taboos associated with Retreat and Offering rituals.* The primary purpose of the Retreat (*\*zhai*) and Offering (*\*jiao*) rituals is to remove impurity. Specific taboos are associated with this purpose, such as those for building the altar, sending petitions to the gods, and burning incense. The altar should be built inside a temple, and places where men and women mix should be avoided. Priests should not perform rites at times of birth or death, when in mourning, or when ill. In the Tang period, according to *\*Zhang Wanfu* (fl. 710–13), the *\*daoshi* observed various prohibitions when attending the altar, including those against drinking alcohol, eating the five pungent foods (chives, scallions, onions, garlic, and ginger), and looking on the dead or the newly born. These prohibitions were usually enforced for seven or fourteen days, though the ideal time was forty-nine days (*Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* 醮三洞真文五法正一盟威籙立成儀; CT 1212, 25b; trans. Lagerwey 1994, 272–73).

*\*Du Guangting's* (850–933) *Huanglu zhaiyi* 黃籙齋儀 (Liturgies for the Yellow Register Retreat; CT 507) reports that five items should be offered to the altar when venerating the deities: incense, flowers, lamps, water, and fruit. To offer incense, a priest should clean his hands and not touch anything raw or polluted. Incense, which must be of good quality, should not be burned on the days marked by the cyclical character *wu* 戊 (see *\*ganzhi*) and should not be held in the right hand. The flowers should be fresh, of a fine variety, and of five colors (the “fine” varieties today are considered to be plum blossom, orchids, chrysanthemums, and bamboo). Fruits are similarly selected for their freshness and according to season; pomegranates, sweet potatoes, and anything dirty are forbidden. Lamps are to illuminate the altar; sesame oil is used, animal fats being prohibited.

The petition sent to the deities should be reverent and modest. Before writing it, a priest should bathe himself ritually, wash his hands and face, and burn incense. The interior of the room should not be visible from outside and should be quiet, undisturbed by the sounds of dogs or fowl.

*Taboos associated with the compounding of elixirs.* In his *\*Baopu zi*, *\*Ge Hong* (283–343) states that Taoist practitioners should “enter a famous

mountain, perform the purification practices for one hundred days, abstain from the five pungent flavors and fresh fish, and avoid associating with worldly people” (see Ware 1966, 93). The prohibition against associating with worldly people derives from a concern that those who do not have faith in the Dao would criticize the compounding of the elixir and thus disrupt its preparation. These taboos continued to be observed in later times. According to a Southern Song text, the *\*Danfang xuzhi* (Required Knowledge for the Chamber of the Elixirs), “to compound the elixir, three adepts who embrace minds of purity and emptiness should work together; they should perform the purification practices before they begin, and make an offering (*jiao*) to please Heaven” (CT 900, 2b). This work further stipulates that the Chamber of the Elixir (*danshi* 丹室, i.e., the alchemical “laboratory”) be built on a site where Wood (one of the *\*wuxing*) predominates and that it be quiet and secluded. Moreover, “unsuitable are places where the cries of fowl and the barking of dogs, the weeping of people, the swift current of water, or the sound of carts and horses passing by can be heard, or execution grounds” (id., 3a).

*\*Neidan* adepts observed taboos similar to those of *waidan*; a description is found in the *Biyao juefa* 祕要訣法 (Secret and Essential Instructions and Methods; YJQQ 45).

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Asano Haruji 1999a; Ding Changyun 1999; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 311–12

※ *jiao*; *jie* [precepts]; *zhai*; *waidan*

*Jinlian zhengzong ji*

金蓮正宗記

Records of the Correct Lineage of the Golden Lotus

As attested by mentions in bibliographic catalogues of the Ming and Qing periods, the *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (CT 173) is one of the most popular Taoist hagiographic works of the last six centuries. It was written in 1241 by the *\*Quanzhen* master Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188–1244) for inclusion in the *\*Xuandu baozang*, the Taoist Canon of 1244 whose chief compilers were *\*Song* Defang and his disciple Qin Zhi'an himself. Since very few Quanzhen

works seem to have been added to this edition of the Canon, the relatively short *Jinlian zhengzong ji* had the important task of conveying the official self-image of the Quanzhen order.

The expression *jinlian* 金蓮 (Golden Lotus) in the title refers to a dream \*Wang Zhe had of a golden lotus with seven buds, which foretold his seven disciples and the future development of his predication. The work consists of fourteen biographies, namely those of the Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖), the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)), and two early disciples of Wang Zhe in Shaanxi. The Five Patriarchs here are Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence, a \*Shangqing deity given a new role by the Quanzhen order; see under \*Wang Xuanfu); the three companion immortals \*Zhongli Quan, \*Lü Dongbin, and \*Liu Haichan; and Wang Zhe. The Seven Real Men are \*Ma Yu, \*Tan Chuduan, \*Liu Chuxuan, \*Qiu Chuji, \*Wang Chuyi, \*Hao Datong, and \*Sun Bu'er. Although Quanzhen pays homage to all major figures in Taoist history and hagiography, these four immortals and ten historical masters are its quintessential references. Most if not all Quanzhen monasteries under the Yuan had shrines devoted to the Five Patriarchs and the Seven Real Men. From the Ming onward, however, individual shrines to Lü Dongbin and Qiu Chuji were favored.

This creation and authoritative definition of its own ancestry are characteristic of mid-thirteenth-century institutionalized Quanzhen. Earlier accounts do not dwell much on the Seven Real Men but rather insist on the inner core of Wang Zhe's four favorite disciples—Ma, Tan, Liu, and Qiu. The list given in the *Jinlian zhengzong ji*, moreover, has variants in some contemporary sources, in which Sun, the only woman in the group, is excluded, Wang Zhe is one of the Seven Real Men, and Laozi becomes the first of the Five Patriarchs (see [table 17](#)).

Each short biography provides a rather factual account insisting on the crucial moments of a master's life (especially the conversion), and is followed by an encomium. This format was obviously a popular one. One century later, in 1327, another similar work was compiled, the *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 (Illustrated Biographies of the Immortal Spring of the Correct Lineage of the Golden Lotus; CT 174), whose edition in the Taoist Canon includes portraits. Another collective biography of the Seven Real Men was compiled before 1237 and repeatedly expanded in later times. A 1417 edition of this work, entitled *Qizhen xianzhuan* 七真仙傳 (Biographies of the Seven Real Men), is housed at the Taiwan Normal

University Library.

This literature paved the way for several Ming and Qing novels telling the story of this cohesive group of popular ascetics. As can be seen in the Quanzhen recorded sayings (*\*yulu*), the exemplary lives of the Quanzhen patriarchs were frequently referred to in public teachings, and their emulation was considered the best practice for adepts. From this viewpoint, the deeds of the Seven Real Men appear as a catalogue of the various modes of Quanzhen life; the narrative highlights their different approaches (Wang Chuyi the ritualist, Liu Chuxuan the philosopher, Hao Datong the diviner, and so forth) and, simultaneously, their common achievement.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 246; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 196–97

※ Quanzhen; HAGIOGRAPHY

*jinlu zhai*

金錄齋

Golden Register Retreat

The Golden Register Retreat, which is one of the Three Register Retreats (*sanlu zhai* 三錄齋), along with the Jade Register and Yellow Register Retreats (*\*yulu zhai* and *\*huanglu zhai*), was made the preeminent *\*Lingbao* rite by *\*Lu Xiuqing* (406–77). As described in his *Wugan wen* 五感文 (Text on the Five Commemorations; CT 1278), the ritual lasted nine days in spring, three days in summer, seven days in autumn, and five days in winter.

According to Lu's description, the Golden Register altar (*tan* 壇) is a 2.4 *zhang* (ca. 6 m) square built outdoors, and is surrounded by a 3.2 *zhang* (ca. 8 m) square enclosure with ten gates corresponding to the ten directions. At the center of the altar is a lamp-tree, nine feet tall, with nine cups placed on it. Thirty-six additional lamp-trees are placed around the altar in the four directions. Any number of lamp-trees can be lit outside the altar area, depending on the wishes and resources of the sponsor; their purpose is to illuminate the underworld. The Authentic Scripts (*zhenwen* 真文) and the

golden dragons are placed on the altar in each of the five directions, together with lengths of silk. At the end of the ritual, the Scripts are burned and the golden dragons are distributed to gain merit for the dead. They can be considered variously to be the temporary abodes of the descending deities, to represent a covenant, and to function as a sacrifice. An important component of the ritual is the rite of Walking the Way (*\*xingdao*), making repentance (*\*chanhui*) in each of the ten directions.

A liturgy for the Golden Register Retreat as performed in the Six Dynasties period is found in the *\*Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials; *j.* 53; Lagerwey 1981b, 161–63). According to the preface to *\*Du Guangting's* (850–933) *Jinlu zhai qitan yi* 金籙齋啟壇儀 (Liturgies for Inaugurating the Altar of the Golden Register Retreat; CT 483), the Golden Register Retreat was performed for the benefit of rulers in order to pacify the Gods of Soil and Grain (Sheji 社稷), protect living beings, remove calamities, and gain release from the underworld. Even today, rites called Golden Register are performed in Taiwan, where they are classified as “pure rites” (*qingfa* 清法) to pray for peace.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Lagerwey 1981b, 161–63; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 234–422

※ *huanglu zhai*; *yulu zhai*; *zhai*

Jinque dijun

金闕帝君

Imperial Lord of the Golden Portal

The Lord of the Golden Portal, also known as the Saint of the Latter Age (*\*housheng*), is a deity of *\*Shangqing* Taoism with a strong messianic component. He is a direct successor to the earlier messiah, *\*Li Hong*, who appears either as Laozi himself or as his messenger. According to a *Shangqing* prophecy, the Lord of the Golden Portal was to come forth in a year marked by the cyclical signs *renchen* 壬辰 (the twenty-ninth of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#)) from Mount Qingcheng (*\*Qingcheng shan*, Sichuan) to establish a new world inhabited by the chosen or “seed-people”

(\**zhongmin*) of the Dao.

The key source for this figure is a southern text of the fourth century entitled \**Housheng daojun lieji* (Chronicle of the Lord of the Dao, Saint of the Latter Age). It contains a biography of Li Hong as Lord of the Golden Portal together with predictions of an age of decadence and destruction before the complete renewal of the world. The same biography also appears, in a slightly abbreviated form, in the *Taiping jingchao* 太平經鈔 (Excerpts from the Scripture of Great Peace), compiled on the basis of lost \**Taiping jing* passages in the sixth century and now found in the Taoist Canon as the first chapter of the *Taiping jing* (CT 1101).

According to this text, the Lord of the Golden Portal was an avatar of Lord Lao, sharing with him the family name Li 李 and the title Emptiness and Non-being (Xuwu 虛無), an epithet of the Dao. His early life, too, is written in imitation of Lord Lao: he himself makes the decision to be born, actively assembles his cosmic energy, completes his form, and descends to earth in the mythical country of the north, where his mother, like Laozi's Mother Li, is waiting for him in a valley of plum trees (*li* 李). His divine appearance on earth is honored by three suns rising from the east and nine dragons coming to spray water over him. He grows up bright and beautiful, curious about the Dao and eager to learn the techniques of immortality.

After a long process of searching and refinement, the Lord of the Golden Portal attains full realization of the Dao and gains access to the heavenly realms, winning power over mortals and immortals. He then becomes “the sole ruler of the nine levels (*jiuchong* 九重) of heaven and the ten ramparts (*shidie* 十疊) of earth.” In due course he collects his expertise and efficacious talismans into several sacred scriptures that he reveals to suitable representatives on earth, thus allowing the chosen people to establish the perfect realm of the Dao. His figure succeeds the messiah Li Hong, follows the hagiography of Laozi, and in his long search and striving for realization is also inspired by Maitreya, the Buddha of the future.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Andersen 1979, 11–15

※ Li Hong; *housheng*; *Housheng daojun lieji*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM



*Jinsuo liuzhu yin*

金鎖流珠引

Guide to the Golden Lock and the Flowing Pearls

The *Jinsuo liuzhu yin* (CT 1015) is the largest compendium of methods of \*bugang (“walking along the guideline”) found in the *Daozang*. It is (apparently falsely) attributed to \*Li Chunfeng (ca. 602-ca. 670), the famous astronomer with Taoist leanings, who reached the office of Grand Astrologer (*taishi ling* 太史令) during the Zhenguan reign period (627–49). The book defines itself as an “introduction” or “guide” (*shiyin* 示引) that leads into the practices implied in the now lost, comprehensive “scripture” on *bugang*, *Jinsuo liuzhu jing* 金鎖流珠經, and which (in another interpretation of the term *shiyin*) “demonstrates the patterns” that should be followed in the performance of the walk.

The compilation of the *Jinsuo liuzhu yin* is presented as the work of Li Chunfeng, who refers to himself as Feng 風 (even in the main text), and who is named in the chapter headings as the author of the commentaries. The content of the book, however, affords grounds for doubting this attribution, especially in the “autobiographical” details (21.4a–b) about the role of the author in the establishment of the Tang dynasty, through the appearance to him of the deified Laozi in the year 617 (at a time when he was, in fact, only fifteen years of age). The legends concerning the appearance of Laozi in order to express his sanction of the rise to power of the imperial Li family do not, in more generally circulated hagiographical works, appear to have been associated with the name of Li Chunfeng until the twelfth century (see \*[Hunyuan shengji](#), 8.2b). Indeed, perhaps the most significant impact of the book occurred only in the Song, when it became important in the formation of the \*Tianxin zhengfa tradition. The earliest compilation of the methods of this tradition, the \**Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (Secret Essentials of the Totality of Perfected, of the Most High, for Assisting the Country and Saving the People; preface 1116) by Yuan Miao宗 元妙宗, quotes the present book at length, and derives a good part of its methods of *bugang*, as well as its “methods of inspecting and summoning” (*kaozhao fa* 考召法), from it. The only definite certainty about the date of the *Jinsuo liuzhu yin*—apart from it being later than the life of Li Chunfeng—therefore seems to be that it is earlier than 1116. However, some apparent references to political

developments from around the middle of the Tang, as well as the absence of a number of the most characteristic elements of the ritual styles that developed in the early Song, together appear to point to a date in the late eighth or early ninth century as the most likely.

The methods of *bugang* described in the book emphasize elements derived from the \*Zhengyi tradition. However, the book also testifies to a general syncretistic attitude, and in the introductory account of the original transmitters and recipients of the tradition, almost equal weight is given to the first Celestial Master, \*Zhang Daoling, on the one hand, and the founders of the \*Shangqing tradition, represented especially by \*Wang Yuan, on the other. A number of passages from the central Shangqing scriptures on *bugang* are included, and the total result is an apparent synthesis of the methods of the two traditions. The intent of the book, however, is defined by the purposes of exorcism, and by the goal of benefiting other human beings. Together with a strongly critical attitude toward the practice of retiring to the mountains in order exclusively to seek personal salvation (associated with a criticism also of Buddhism), these themes confirm the close affiliation of the book with Zhengyi Taoism.

*Poul ANDERSEN*

▣ Andersen 1991, 12–14, 73–77; Barrett 1990; Strickmann 1996, 234–36

※ Tianxin zhengfa

*jintan*

禁壇

Sealing the Altar

The *jintan* (lit., “prohibiting [access to] the sacred area”) is the great purification of the ritual space that is carried out in the beginning of major \**zhai* (Retreat) or \**jiao* (Offering) ceremonies, as part of the initial phase of the liturgy, which is dedicated to the construction and consecration of the sacred area. It has been transmitted at least since the Tang dynasty, when it was summarized in the account of a *jiao* ceremony given by \*Zhang Wanfu (fl. 710–13), and described more fully in a separate text entitled *Zhengyi*

*chitan yi* 正一敕壇儀 (Ritual of Orthodox Unity for Commanding [i.e., Consecrating] the Sacred Area; CT 800). The rite is derived from the \*Zhengyi tradition, and indeed, in the ritual compendia of the Song dynasty it is commonly said to be performed, not by the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see \**daozhang*) himself, but by his chief cantor (\**dujiang*) or by “a specially selected Zhengyi ritual master, wearing a black cap and red woolen clothing” (see \**Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*, 19.1a). The quoted chapter 19 of this compendium is attributed to \*Du Guangting (850–933), who in fact is referred to as a key transmitter of the *jintan* by many Song dynasty liturgists. The place of the rite in the \*Lingbao liturgy codified by Du is made clear in his own writings, for instance in the *Jinlu zhai qitan yi* 金籙齋啟壇儀 (Liturgies for Inaugurating the Altar of the Golden Register Retreat; CT 483, 6a–b), where he states that the *jintan* is performed as part of the Nocturnal Invocation (\**suqi*), right after the introductory hymns, and before the procession of “entering through the door (of the sacred area)” (*ruhu* 入戶). This is exactly the place of the *jintan* in the classical Zhengyi liturgy of southern Taiwan, while in contemporary traditions in many other regions it is quite common to perform it as a more independent rite, somewhere in the introductory phase of a program, but not embedded in the Nocturnal Invocation.

The *jintan* transmitted in present-day southern Taiwan addresses not only the ritual space, which is cleansed by holy water, sword-dances, incantations, and the writing of talismans (\*FU) in the air: it also addresses the representatives of the community, into whose bodies the pure primordial energies and divine light are called down, and who are made to walk over acid fumes created by placing a red-hot piece of iron in a basin filled with vinegar. It is in good accord with this high level of “popular participation” (and with the overall theatrical quality of the rite) that the *jintan* is one of those elements of the liturgy most closely associated with local traditions, notably local forms of drama and music.

Equally operatic in character is the frantic drumming and beating of gongs that accompanies the physical actions of the rite, and especially the battle of the priest with a demon, which ensues directly after the completion of the purification of the representatives. The role of the demon is acted by an acolyte wearing a mask, who suddenly intrudes and attempts to steal the incense burner of the community. A hectic fight follows, in which the priest stabs with his sword and charges at the demon, who in the end is forced to

drop the incense burner and is chased out through the Gate of Demons (*guimen* 鬼門) in the northeastern corner, where he is imprisoned by the priest. The act of disposing of the demon is concluded by the offering of sticks of incense, which are placed in the bucket of rice that represents the prison at the Gate of Demons. It would thus appear that the imprisonment of the demon also has the effect of an enfeoffment of the spirit as an Earth God (\*Tudi gong) and divine protector of the sacred area.

*Poul ANDERSEN*

▣ Andersen 1990; Lagerwey 1987c, 90–105; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 283–87; Schipper 1985a

※ *jiao*

*jinxiang*

進香

offering incense

The burning of incense (*xiang* 香) as sticks, coils, powder, or otherwise, is one of the most fundamental religious acts in Chinese culture. The words for worshipper or pilgrim (*xiangke* 香客), worshipping or going on a pilgrimage (*jinxiang*), the altar (*xiang'an* 香案), and many other religious terms refer to incense. One burns incense simply to demonstrate respect with or without further explicit worship, for instance to a district magistrate on official tour; or one burns it when reading empowered texts, such as Confucian classics, religious scriptures, and morality books (\**shanshu*). Buddhist monks burn moxa (called “incense” in this context) on their heads as part of the ordination ritual. As an element of explicit worship, burning incense opens a channel of communication with supernatural forces. Therefore, each ritual begins with, and is frequently interrupted by, incense burning ceremonies. Different religious traditions pay much attention to their own ways of burning incense.

Incense does not derive its power from being placed in the incense burner (\**xianglu*). In fact, the two have separate histories and connotations. Prior to its use for burning incense, the burner was already a precious object

providing religious and political legitimacy (see under *\*lingbao*) and a ritual tool for preparing sacrificial food. Incense, on the other hand, does not need to be burned in a special vessel, but can be placed in a tree or on a staircase, stuck in a lantern symbolizing Heaven or in sacrificial animals, held between one's hands during worship, and so forth. The word *xiang* in older sources refers to the fragrance of sacrificial food and liquor, which was consumed by the deities. This would suggest the use of incense as the cheapest kind of offering. Another antecedent may have been the prophylactic burning of aromatic woods, plants and herbs. The latter custom survived into the imperial period, as seen for instance in the burning of artemisia in the fifth lunar month to drive away demonic forces. Finally, incense can be burned to keep away insects and to measure time.

When burned in a cultic context, the incense ashes acquire a power of their own. This is apparent in the practice of healing by ingesting water mixed with the powder of incense burned during a special ritual. Related to this practice are the customs of carrying some incense from an important cult on one's body when travelling, and of touching people with incense sticks to protect or heal them. The mediums' practice of inhaling incense fumes to get into trance can also be explained in this way, since it transfers to them the power of the cult they officiate.

Finally, the notion of incense being imbued with the power of a cult is found in the practice of “dividing incense” (*fenxiang* 分香). Here, a cult links itself to its parental cult devoted to the same deity by ritually transferring some incense from the burner of the parental cult to the burner of the new one. Such cults tend to be associated with Taoist ritual traditions, but most of the documentation available to date comes from the Fujian region. To what extent this was a widespread practice in China has yet to be investigated.

*Barend ter HAAR*

▣ Bedini 1994; Bodde 1975, 274–80, 290–91, and 302–3; Cedzich 1987, 70–80; Feuchtwang 1992, 126–49 and *passim*; ter Haar 2000a; Little 2000b, 218; Needham 1974, 128–54; Schipper 1990; Takahashi Yōichirō 1988

※ *xianglu*

*jinye*

金液

### Golden Liquor

The term *jinye* (or *jinyi*), used in both *\*neidan* and *\*waidan*, is associated with the idea that the human body can be transformed to a goldlike state by drinking gold. The *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals) describes some immortals having taken the Golden Liquor, and *\*Ge Hong* associates it with divine beings such as *\*Taiyi*, Laozi, and Yuanjun 元君 (Original Princess).

The *jinye* method in Ge Hong's *\*Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 89–91) requires a considerable amount of gold with other ingredients (some modern scholars suppose a possible formation either of potassium auricyanide or of colloidal gold with some red color). *\*Sun Simiao's \*Taiqing danjing yaojue* (Essential Instructions from the Scripture of the Elixirs of Great Clarity; trans. Sivin 1968, 185–86) gives a similar recipe. Later texts, however, simply mention “gold” being soaked in “vinegar” (*xi* 醞 or *zuowei* 左味, a diluted acetic acid), which would not react with real gold. Further study is necessary to understand the significance of these terms.

According to several *waidan* texts, when the Golden Liquor enters the body, it penetrates the five viscera (*\*wuzang*), fortifies and lubricates the four limbs, and feeds the hundred spirits in the body. In *neidan*, Golden Liquor indicates a liquid formed by the interaction of the pneuma of the kidneys (*shenqi* 腎氣) and the pneuma of the heart (*xinqi* 心氣), which combine and finally evaporate in the lungs (*fei* 肺). The term also bears a cosmological meaning. For instance, it is one of the names in the postcelestial state (*\*houtian*) for the Original Pneuma of the precelestial state (*\*xiantian*; *Zhichuan zhenren jiaozheng shu* 稚川真人校證術, CT 902).

Some scholars, including Joseph Needham, have suggested that the ancient pronunciation of the word *jinye*, close to *kiem-iak*, may be the origin of the word-root *chem-* used in several Western languages.

*KIM Daeyeol*

■ Butler et al. 1987; Chen Guofu 1983, 208; Glidewell 1989; Meng Naichang 1993a, 156–65; Needham 1976, 88–99; Wang Kuike 1964

※ *neidan*; *waidan*

*Jinye jing*

金液經

Scripture of the Golden Liquor

Along with the *\*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity) and the *\*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs), the *Jinye jing* is one of the three main scriptures of the early *\*Taiqing* tradition of *\*waidan*. *\*Ge Hong* summarizes the method of the Golden Liquor in his *\*Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 89–91), but his synopsis is so concise as to appear almost incomprehensible. The individual steps of the process, moreover, are not given in the right sequence. A three-chapter work in the Taoist Canon describes the same procedure in the correct order. This text, the *Baopu zi shenxian jinzhuo jing* 抱朴子神仙金液經 (Scripture of the Golden Liquid of the Divine Immortals, by the Master Who Embraces Simplicity; CT 917), includes the method for the Golden Liquor in the first chapter, while the second and third chapters reproduce the whole fourth chapter of the *Baopu zi*. The recipe for the Golden Liquor is divided into thirty short passages, each of which is followed by a commentary. Based on the place names that it mentions, the commentary was written in the sixth century, a dating confirmed by quotations of both text and commentary in the *\*Xiaodao lun* (trans. Kohn 1995a, 127–29).

According to the *Baopu zi shenxian jinzhuo jing*, the Golden Liquor is prepared from powdered gold and mercury, which are placed in a bamboo cylinder with saltpetre and realgar. The cylinder is sealed with silk and lacquer, and soaked in vinegar. After one hundred days, gold and mercury dissolve and form the Gold Water (*jinshui* 金水, the Golden Liquor) and the Mercury Water (*hongshui* 汞水), respectively. Both are ingested while facing the Sun; one's body is said to take on a golden hue, and one is transformed into light (*guangming* 光明) and ascends to Heaven, becoming an assistant to the Great Man of Central Yellow (Zhonghuang zhangren 中黃丈人) and the Great One (*\*Taiyi*).

In another stage of the process, a Reverted Elixir (*\*huandan*) is obtained by boiling more mercury in the Golden Liquor and pouring vinegar over it.

After thirty days of intense heating, the mercury takes on a purple color and is then placed in an earthenware crucible. The Reverted Elixir is ready in half a day. In the *Baopu zi*, the elixir obtained at this stage is called Amber Pill (*weixi junsheng* 威喜巨勝, or “black amber sesame” in James Ware's translation, 1966, 90). One pound of Reverted Elixir placed on fire forms a Cinnabar Gold (or Elixir-Gold, *danjin* 丹金), which can be used for smearing blades that will “keep armies ten thousand miles away,” or for casting dishes and cups. Those who eat and drink from them will live as long as Heaven and Earth.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Meng Naichang 1993a, 67–69; Pregadio 1991, 574–78; Pregadio 2006b, 56–57, 114–18, 288–92 (trans.)

※ *jinye*; *waidan*; Taiqing

### *Jiudan jing*

### 九丹經

### Scripture of the Nine Elixirs

The *Jiudan ding* is one of the few extant sources that describe a whole \**waidan* practice, from the preliminary rituals to the ingestion of the elixir. Portions of the text are quoted or summarized by \*Ge Hong in his \**Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 75–78). As shown by Ge Hong and demonstrated in other works, this was one of the three scriptures that formed the nucleus of the \*Taiqing corpus, reputed to have been revealed to \*Zuo Ci at the end of the Han.

Although Ge Hong neglects to mention the practical details of compounding, his quotations match the two versions of the text preserved in the Taoist Canon. The primary version is in the first chapter of the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣 (Instructions on the Scripture of the Divine Elixirs of the Nine Tripods of the Yellow Emperor; CT 885), where it is followed by a commentary in nineteen chapters. A slightly variant version is in the *Jiuzhuan liuzhu shenxian jiudan jing* 九轉流珠神仙九丹經 (Scripture of the Flowing Pearl in Nine Cycles and the Nine Elixirs of the



Divine Immortals; CT 952), where the entire text is arranged as a commentary to the heptasyllabic verses of an anonymous “*Jiudan ge*” 九丹歌 (Songs of the Nine Elixirs).

The main version opens with an introduction on the revelation of the methods, the properties of the elixirs, and various ritual rules. This is followed by methods for making two preliminary compounds, namely the *\*liuyi ni* or Mud of the Six-and-One (used for luting the crucible and avoiding dispersion of *\*qi* during its heating) and the *xuanhuang* 玄黃 or Mysterious and Yellow (a lead-mercury compound used either for luting the crucible together with the *liuyi ni*, or as the upper and lower layers within the crucible, together with the elixir ingredients). Then come the methods of the Nine Elixirs, which are independent preparations related to each other by their compounding techniques rather than their ingredients.

The nineteen-chapter commentary describes various aspects of the alchemical practice, mainly through quotations from other works. Citations of texts, mentions of person and place names, use of measures of weight and volume, respect of tabooed characters, and other details show that it dates from between 649 and 686 and that it was first addressed to a sovereign, almost certainly Tang Gaozong (r. 649–83). About half of the commentary is devoted to the general principles of the alchemical doctrines (revelation of the scriptures, transmission of texts and methods, choice of time, arrangement and protection of space, relation of *waidan* to other practices), while the other half contains a large selection of alchemical methods based on about two dozen substances. The main sources of the commentary are the *Baopu zi*, *\*Tao Hongjing's Bencao jing jizhu* 本草經集注 (Collected Commentaries to the Canonical Pharmacopoeia), and the lost works attributed to *\*Hugang zi*.

The *Jiuzhuan liuzhu shenxian jiudan jing* also dates from the late Six Dynasties or the beginning of the Tang. Another work, the *Shangdong xindan jingjue* 上洞心丹經訣 (Instructions on the Scripture of the Heart Elixir of the Highest Cavern; CT 950), is centered around two methods unrelated to those of the Nine Elixirs, but largely consists of quotations from different parts of the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue*.

Fabrizio PREGADIO

▣ Meng Naichang 1993a, 103–6; Pregadio 1991; Pregadio 2006b, 55–56, 110–14, 159–87 (trans.)

※ *waidan*; Taiqing

*jiugong*

九宮

Nine Palaces

As the original astronomical connotation of the Nine Palaces developed, it took on a number of different resonances in divination, meditation, and medical contexts both inside and outside Taoist traditions. From a description of the ninefold spatial organization of the heavens traversed by Great Unity (\*Taiyi), the Nine Palaces became a useful metaphor for other sacred spaces: the imperial palace, the body, and the brain. The Nine Palaces were often symbolized by a three-by-three square grid, and for this reason was easily homologized to other patterns that stressed the division between an interior (the center square) and an exterior (the outer eight squares).

The earliest association of the Nine Palaces was with sections of the night sky, and with its anthropomorphized denizens. The circular rotation of the stars in the night sky, the rhythm of which was seen by writers such as de Santillana and von Dechend (1969) as universally significant to early societies, was connected with a number of early practices associated with the “masters of methods” (\*fangshi) of the pre-Qin and early imperial periods. The Nine Palaces formed the basis for the *shi* 式 (cosmic board, cosmograph), the early divination tool that became the model for the design of everything from mirrors to *liubo* 六博 (Game of Sixes; on the *shi* and the *liubo* see Loewe 1979, 60–85).

In political-philosophical essays, the traversal of the Nine Palaces by Great Unity became a template for the earthly ruler. The classical ideal of the Hall of Light (\*mingtang) was described in the ritual compendium *Da Dai liji* 大戴禮記 (Records of Rites of the Elder Dai; probably compiled in the early second century CE) as consisting of nine rooms (*jiushi* 九室, later increased to twelve; Major 1993, 221–24). By the Later Han, the term Nine Palaces was introduced into the exegesis of the \*Yijing divination. The \*Hetu and *Luoshu* (Chart of the [Yellow] River and Writ of the Luo [River]) were used in early Taoist texts to correlate the Nine Palaces with the winds of the

eight directions and the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*) of the *Yijing*. This was done by adding a ninth “central” element to the original eight directions or trigrams, similar to the way that fourfold schemata (seasons, directions) became correlated with fivefold schemata like the *\*wuxing* (Five Phases).

In medieval materials, the sacred geography of the Nine Palaces was projected onto the body of the Taoist adept and on the sacred space of Taoist liturgy. In his commentary to the *\*Dengzhen yinjue* (Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Perfection), *\*Tao Hongjing* (456–536) wrote that “the Nine Palaces in the Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) [celestial] palace of Taiwei 太微 (Great Tenuity) have Perfected Lords dwelling in them. Therefore the fact that the human head is arranged according to the same positions is simply a matter of their mutual resonance” (CT 421, 1.5b). In *\*Shangqing* meditation practice, a regimen of visualization of the spirits of the Nine Palaces caused these astral spirits to occupy the nine chambers of the brain (see *\*niwan*), rendering the adept eventually able to ascend to the Shangqing heaven and receive the treasured talismans (*\*FU*). According to Isabelle Robinet (1993, 127–31), this method probably is seen for the first time in the fourth-century *\*Suling jing* (Scripture [of the Celestial Palace] of the Immaculate Numen). The Nine Palaces are described, with slight differences, in numerous Shangqing texts (Kakiuchi Tomoyuki 1998).

The Nine Palaces also played a role in Taoist liturgy as a way of organizing sacred spaces. In 744, Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) established seasonal sacrifices at the spirit altars of the Nine Palaces. These altars were dedicated to Great Unity, Heavenly Unity (Tianyi 天一), and the other spirits of the Nine Palaces. The emperor's movements through these altars echoed those of the Han recipe masters' ideal ruler, which in turn took as their model the orderly movement of the stars.

*Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI*

▣ Kakiuchi Tomoyuki 1998; Kalinowski 1985; Li Ling 2000a, 89–176; Li Ling 1995–96; Robinet 1993, 127–31; Robinet 1995b; Yamada Toshiaki 1989a

※ Taiyi; *beidou*; *niwan*; COSMOLOGY

Jiuku tianzun

救苦天尊

Celestial Worthy Who Relieves Suffering

The Celestial Worthy Who Relieves Suffering is a god who rescues the souls of the living and the dead. Dwelling in the Palace of Green Florescence (Qinghua gong 青華宮), he manifests himself in the ten directions, appearing as ten separate divinities. This notion developed based on the concept of the Buddhas of the Ten Directions (*shifo* 十佛), who appear in Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) scriptures from an early date, and the idea of savior bodhisattvas such as Guanyin 觀音 (Avalokiteśvara), Dizang 地藏 (Kṣitigarbha), and Wenshu 文殊 (Mañjuśrī). \*Du Guangting's \**Daojiao lingyan ji*, written around the year 900, shows that the belief in the ten gods played an active part in Taoist practice under the Tang, but most scriptures specifying their iconography and ritual date from the Song.

The ten gods are identified variously in the literature. An early list of ten names, still rather Buddhist in nature, includes such titles as Great Compassion (Daci 大慈), Universal Deliverance (Puji 普濟), and Wisdom Transformation (Huihua 惠化). This list appears in the Sui-dynasty \**Yebao yinyuan jing* (6.4a–b) and in a Song ritual text, the *Huanglu jiuyou jiao wu'ai yezhai cidi yi* 黃籙九幽醮無礙夜齋次第儀 (Sequential Liturgies for the Yellow Register Offerings to the Nine Shades and the Unimpeded Nightly Retreats; CT 514, 26a). A second list, which later became the standard version, contains more typically Taoist names. It appears first in the \**Fengdao kejie* (6.1a–b), showing a development of the cult in early Tang Taoism. A third list, found only after the Tang, includes the same names as the second list but links the Ten Worthies with the Ten Kings (*shiwang* 十王) of hell (Teiser 1994). Here the Ten Worthies are designated saviors who save specifically from the tortures of hell. They are worshipped in memorial services for the salvation of the dead, outlined in the *Difu shiwang badu yi* 地府十王拔度儀 (Liturgies for Salvation from the Ten Kings of the Earth Administration; CT 215), and can be described as a salvific counterpart to the Ten Kings of hell, on whose development as a group of deities they also had some influence.

Livia KOHN

▣ Yūsa Noboru 1989

※ HELL; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

*jiutian*

九天

Nine Heavens

In the *Löshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Springs and Autumns of Mr. Lü; 239 BCE; Knoblock and Riegel 2000, 279) and the *\*Huainan zi* (Book of the Master of Huainan; 139 BCE; Major 1993, 69–70), the Nine Heavens, or Nine Fields (*jiuye* 九野), are nine horizontal sectors of space, corresponding to the center and eight directions, and complementing the Nine Continents (*jiuzhou* 九洲) on earth. The *Huainan zi* gives their names as Balanced Heaven (*juntian* 鈞天, center), Azure Heaven (*cangtian* 蒼天, east), Transforming Heaven (*biantian* 變天, northeast), Mysterious Heaven (*xuantian* 玄天, north), Obscure Heaven (*youtian* 幽天, northwest), Luminous Heaven (*haotian* 顥天, west), Vermilion Heaven (*zhutian* 朱天, southwest), Fiery Heaven (*yantian* 炎天, south), and Yang Heaven (*yangtian* 陽天, southeast).

Some Taoist texts inherit this view of the Nine Heavens, understanding them as subdivisions of a horizontal plan. More often, though, the Nine Heavens are represented in Taoism in a vertical (i.e., hierarchical) arrangement, and are said to constitute a stage in the progressive differentiation of the one Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*) as it gives birth to the cosmos. According to the *\*Shengshen jing* (Scripture of the Life-Giving Spirits; CT 318, 1a–2a), for instance, the Nine Heavens are generated by the breaths (*\*qi*) of the deities of the Three Caverns (*\*SANDONG*). First the three deities produce the Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), Original (*yuan* 元), and Inaugural (*shi* 始) pneumas; then each pneuma divides itself into three, resulting in nine pneumas that constitute the Nine Heavens. According to this view, therefore, the Nine Heavens constitute a finer subdivision of the heavens of the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*). Relevant descriptions are found in the *Shengshen jing* and several *\*Shangqing* works, including the *\*Taixiao langshu* (Precious Writ of the Great Empyrean; CT 55, 5a–10a) and the *Waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen* 外國放品青童內文 (Inner Script of the Azure Lad on the

Distribution of the Outer Realms; CT 1373, 2.5a–16b). The account found in the latter text is also quoted in the \**Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials, 16.1a–6a; Lagerwey 1981b, 90–91).

In parallel to this cosmogenesis, the human embryo is sometimes said to receive the pneumas of the Nine Heavens (*jiutian zhi qi* 九天之氣) during the nine months of gestation, and Shangqing texts describe meditation practices that aim to receive these pneumas again in order to untie the “knots of death” (Robinet 1993, 139–43; KatōChie 2000, 106–12).

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Lagerwey 1981b, 34–38 and passim

※ *sanshi'er tian*; *sanshiliu tian*

### *Jiuzhen zhongjing*

九真中經

#### Central Scripture of the Nine Real Men

The *Jiuzhen zhongjing* is one of the \*Shangqing revealed scriptures. The Taoist Canon contains two versions of this text, entitled *Dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 帝君九真中經 (Central Scripture of the Nine Real Men of the Imperial Lord; CT 1376) and *Jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 九真中經降生神丹訣 (Instructions on the Crimson Life-Giving Divine Elixir from the Central Scripture of the Nine Real Men of the Imperial Lord; CT 1377). The latter takes its name from the recipe for an elixir that is probably apocryphal but was added to the text at an early date (Strickmann 1979, 171–72). Apparently none of the extant versions, including the one found in the \*Dunhuang ms. P. 2751, is the same as the original text.

The scripture describes several methods. The first, which gives the text its title, aims to generate a spiritual embryo through meditation on the Nine Real Men (*jiuzhen* 九真), the souls of the Imperial Lord (Dijun 帝君) that animate the body. The adept meditates on the Imperial Lord, the Great One (\*Taiyi), the Original Father (Yuanfu 元父) and the Mysterious Mother (Xuanmu 玄母), and the Five Gods (*wushen* 五神) of the registers of life (*shengji* 生籍;

see \*[Taidan yinshu](#)). These divinities merge with each other nine times, transmuting themselves into a single “great spirit” (*dashen* 大神) that enters various organs of the body and then rises to the \**niwan*, the upper Cinnabar Field in the brain. A similar method, called *jiudan shanghua* 九丹上化 (Upper Transformation of the Ninefold Elixir), is described in the *Taijing zhongji jing* 胎精中記經 (Scripture of the Central Record of the Essence of the Embryo; CT 1382; Robinet 1984, 2: 171–74).

The method of the *Dijun jiuyin* 帝君九陰 (Nine Yin of the Imperial Lord) focuses on the Nine Yin, the secret spouses of Great Yin (Taiyin 太陰). They live in the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*) and in the Hall of Light (\**mingtang*, within the head), and are charged with the salvation of human beings. The adept visualizes them in different parts of his body with the Imperial Lord, the Great One, the Five Gods of the registers, and the gods of the Dipper. All these divinities transform themselves into a radiant cosmic infant whose light fires everything.

The *Yuyi Jielin* 鬱儀結璘 method, so called after the esoteric names of the Sun and the Moon (Esposito 2004b), became renowned and was adopted in several later rituals. It consists of visualizing the Emperors of the Sun and the Moon, who descend to take the adept up to heaven.

Other practices described in the *Jiuzhen zhongjing* involve the five corporeal spirits (those of the hands, the feet, and the lungs or head), the twenty-four spirits (see \*[bajing](#)), and the divinities of the planets. These practices are also outlined in the *Dongfang shangjing* 洞房上經 (Superior Scripture of the Cavern Chamber; CT 405). The original *Jiuzhen zhongjing* also contained an alchemical method for revitalizing the five viscera (\**wuzang*), which is now preserved in the \**Wushang biyao* (87.6b–13a; Lagerwey 1981b, 186–87).

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Robinet 1979a; Robinet 1984, 2: 66–83; Yamada Toshiaki 1989a

※ Shangqing

*kaiguang*  
開光

Opening the Light

The rite of Opening the Light is performed when a statue of a deity or a Buddha is venerated for the first time. It is also celebrated during *\*zhai* (Retreat) and *\*jiao* (Offering) rituals to call down divine spirits or the spirit of the dead into an image of a deity or an effigy of the deceased made of paper or bamboo.

The priest (*\*daoshi*) cuts the cockscomb from a white cock (believed to have the power to call spirits) with a Seven-star Sword (*qixing jian* 七星劍, a sword with a pattern of the Northern Dipper; see under *\*faqì*), dips his writing-brush into the blood (symbolizing the life-force), and makes the person who sponsors the ritual breathe onto the brush (signifying taking the *\*qì*). The priest holds the brush in his right hand and a small round mirror in his left hand, turning it in the direction of the sun. He stands facing the sun and mimes taking its *qì*. He inscribes a circle with the brush in the air and dots its center; then he dots the mirror. When this is done, he writes a talisman in the mirror with the brush, comprising a pattern representing the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*), the Chinese characters *ling* 靈 (numinous) and *gang* 罡 (Dipper), the name of the spirit of the deceased, and those of the gods of the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*). Next the priest turns the mirror toward the image and with a brush makes dots on its eyes, ears, nose, mouth, torso, arms, legs, and the crown of its head. The image is then shaken and purified by burning before it yellow rectangular sheets of paper rolled into a cylinder. As a result of this rite, both divine spirits and the spirit of the dead come to lodge in the image.

*ASANO Haruji*

▣ Liu Zhiwan 1983–84, 2: 183–200; Naoe Hiroji 1983, 1075–83; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 368–9

※ *gongde; jiao; zhai*



*Kaitian jing*

開天經

Scripture of the Opening of Heaven

This work, probably dating from the Tang period, is found twice in the Taoist Canon, once in the *\*Yunji qiqian* (2.9a–14b) and once, with minor variants, as an independent text (CT 1437). It describes one of the many Taoist versions of the genesis of the world, and integrates this theme with two others: that of the god *\*Laojun* as the master of the world and its rulers, which places him before the generation of the world as the instructor who presides over its organized form and order; and that of the sacred scriptures that preside over the creation of order before and after the cosmos is generated (see *\*revelations and sacred texts*).

The text, which shows slight and purely formal traces of Buddhist influence, begins with a description of *Laojun* standing alone in dark emptiness, using several sets of negations and terms that commonly refer to the Dao (e.g., “not visible,” “not audible”). This is followed by a narrative description of the gradual formation of the world over long cosmic eras, with various precosmic geneses succeeding each other according to the pattern of the so-called Five Greats (*wutai* 五太; see *\*cosmogony*). At each of these geneses, *Laojun* descends to give teachings and issues a sacred scripture. Then Heaven and Earth progressively begin to separate and space becomes organized; then there appear the sun, the moon, and human beings, who at first are without conscience, names, and funerary rites. After them comes Chaos (*\*hundun*), which generates two sons, the gods of the mountains and rivers. Then come the Nine Palaces (*\*jiugong*), which allude to the ninefold organization of Heaven and Earth. Thereafter *Laojun* continues to descend to earth in order to assist the first mythical emperors who reign at the beginning of humanity, still producing scriptures and teaching the first artifacts, the basic elements of cosmic knowledge, and the rules of civilized order.

The text ends at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty and concludes with a passage on the structure of the world based on numbers, cyclic signs, and trigrams in the tradition of the Han cosmologists. *Laojun* speaks of himself as a cosmic being, whose individual bodily parts are endowed with numbers following the so-called *Luoshu* (Writ of the Luo [River]) magic square (see *\*Hetu* and *Luoshu*), arranged in the same pattern also found in the

\**Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Kohn 1993b, 35–43 (part. trans.); Schafer 1997 (trans.)

※ Laozi and Laojun; COSMOGONY

*kaitong minglu*

開通冥路

Opening a Road in the Darkness

Opening a Road in the Darkness is a rite performed to summon the spirit of the deceased from the underworld to the altar. In Taiwan, it forms the opening part of the ritual of Merit (*\*gongde*). The priest “opens the light” (*\*kaiguang*) of the statuette of the deceased and waves the Banner for Summoning the Celestial Soul (*zhaohun fan* 召魂幡) to call his soul. The deceased is purified, and a pardon is sought for him after his repentance (*\*chanhui*). This is followed by obeisances paid to each of the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*).

An important part of this process is the lighting of lamps to illuminate the underworld. The statuette of the deceased is placed in front of the Three Clarities on the altar. The priest stands facing the statuette and sets fire to a mandate he holds in his hand. Before the fire dies out, he drops the burning paper into a basin of water at his feet. This is repeated three times. The priest then declares that the way to the underworld has been opened, and that the deceased has pledged allegiance to the Teaching of the Way (*\*DAOJIAO*), and leads him to the heavenly realm.

ASANO Haruji

▣ Lagerwey 1987c, 195–201; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 472–76; Schipper 1989b, 128–37

※ *gongde*

*Kaixin fayao*

開心法要

Essentials of the Method to Open the Heart

*Kaixin fayao* is the title of an annotated edition of the *Wubu liuce* 五部六冊 (Five Books in Six Fascicles; 1509), the canonical text of the Luo jiao 羅教 or Luo Teaching. This sect, also known as Wuwei jiao 無為教 or Teaching of Non-action, was established by Luo Qing 羅清 (1443–1527) and was mainly transmitted in Shandong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Fujian, as well as in stretches of land to the north and south along the Grand Canal. Luo Qing wandered in all directions, searching out teachers and visiting friends; after more than ten years of painstaking cultivation, “he handed down *dharma*-treasures to redeem men and heaven,” and wrote the canonical text of the sect in five sections. As each section is bound in one fascicle, with the exception of the third which consists of two fascicles, Luo Qing's work is entitled *Wubu liuce*, lit., “The Five Sections in Six Fascicles.” The titles of each section are:

1. *Kugong wudao juan* 苦功悟道卷 (Scroll on Awakening to the Dao after Bitter Practices)
2. *Tanshi wuwei juan* 嘆世無為卷 (Scroll on Lamenting the Age and Practicing Non-Action)
3. *Poxie xianzheng yaoshi juan* 破邪顯證鑰匙卷 (Scroll on Smashing the Heterodox and Making Manifest the Key)
4. *Zhengxin chuyi wu xiuzheng zizai baojuan* 正信除疑無修證自在寶卷 (Precious Scroll on Rectifying Faith and Removing Doubts, Unvarnished and Self-Contained)
5. *Weiwei budong Taishan shengen jieguo baojuan* 巍巍不動泰山深根結果寶卷 (Precious Scroll on the Fruits of the Profound Foundation of Lofty Immovable Mount Tai)

The collection draws on Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. It laments the hardships of human existence and advocates the Chan Buddhist method of subitaneous awakening (*dunwu* 頓悟), along with a vegetarian diet, virtuous conduct, clarity and quiescence (*\*qingjing*), and non-action (*\*wuwei*).

Luo Qing's disciple, the Chan Buddhist monk Lan Feng 蘭風, wrote

annotations on the *Wubu liuce*. In 1596, Lan's disciple Wang Yuanjing 王源靜 supplemented and revised the notes that his master had left uncompleted and published the whole work under the title *Kaixin fayao*. Later, Wang Yuanjing's disciples, the Xin'an 新安 (Zhejiang) tradesmen Cheng Pubang 程普榜, Cheng Puxiang 程普鄉, and Cheng Pushen 程普伸, revised and rearranged it again. Their new edition was published in 1652.

The *Kaixin fayao* is based on a rearrangement of Luo Qing's original work. For example, the *Kugong wudao juan* was arranged into eighteen sections (*pin* 品) after it had been broken up and made to conform more closely to the eighteen steps (*can* 參) through which Luo Qing himself had awakened to the Dao. The *Poxie xianzheng yaoshi juan* was arranged into fourteen sections, and the *Zhengxin chuyi wu xiuzheng zizai baojuan* into twenty-five sections. By explaining the text, dividing it into sections, adding collations and comments, selecting the important aspects and clarifying the essential points, the *Kaixin fayao* facilitated the spread of the Luojiao. The text draws on several Chan Buddhist sayings and on passages from the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (*Avatamsakasūtra*), and also manifests the influence of ideas from the “learning of the heart” (*xinxue* 心學) widespread among the broader public in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties.

CHEN Yaoting

■ Han Bingfang 1986

※ *baojuan*; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION; TAOISM AND POPULAR SECTS

*keyi*

科儀

“rules and observances”

The term *keyi* indicates the various behavioral and ritual guidelines that define the proper behavior of priests and monastics. *Ke* 科 is the most general term among various Chinese words indicating rules, regulations, precepts, and so forth. It means “rules” in the broadest sense and can refer to anything from a moral injunction to a specific behavioral guideline. The term is combined with several other characters to form compounds, such as *kemu* 科

目, “standardized rules,” “code”; *zunke* 遵科, “rules and regulations”; and *kejie* 科戒, “codes and precepts.”

*Yi* 儀, “observances,” “protocols,” or “liturgies,” in contrast refers to the concrete activities to be undertaken in a ritual or formal monastic context, and often appears in the compound *weiyi* 威儀, “dignified liturgies” or “ceremonial protocols.” Numerous texts have this term in their titles when their content includes prescriptions for practical daily behavior.

▣ Matsumoto Kōichi 1983, 202–5; Schipper 1993, 72

## Kou Qianzhi

寇謙之

365?–448; *zi*: Fuzhen 輔真

Kou Qianzhi, the founder of the so-called Taoist theocracy of the Toba's Northern Wei dynasty, came from a Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) family in the Chang'an area and was the younger brother of the provincial governor Kou Zanzhi 寇讚之. In his early years, he studied mathematics, medicine, and the basics of Buddhism under the monk Shi Tanying 釋曇影 (?–405/418), a disciple of the translator Kumārajīva (ca. 344–ca. 409). Guided not only by the Toba's search for the ideal form of government but also by the dream of a reborn Taoist community that was widespread in the south, he withdrew to find solitary inspiration on Mount Song (\*Songshan, Henan). There, as described in *j.* 114 of the *Weishu* (History of the Wei; trans. Ware 1933, 228–35), he was blessed twice with a divine manifestation by Lord Lao (\*Laojun), the deified Laozi. First, in 415, the deity revealed to him the so-called “New Code” (*xinke* 新科; see \*[Laojun yinsong jiejing](#)). Then, in 423, the god's messenger Li Puwen 李譜文 bestowed upon Kou the *Lutu zhenjing* 籙圖真經 (Authentic Scripture of Registers and Charts; lost) together with a divine appointment as new Celestial Master (\**tianshi*).

In 424, Kou took these works to court, where he was welcomed by Emperor Taiwu (r. 424–52) and found the support of the prime minister Cui Hao 崔浩 (381–450), a Confucian fond of mathematics, astrology, and magic who, like Kou, envisioned a renewed and purified society. Together they convinced the ruler to put the “New Code” into practice and thus established the Taoist theocracy of the Northern Wei. Kou himself became the official leader with the title of Celestial Master, while his disciples were invited to the capital to perform regular rites. In 431, Taoist institutions and priests were also established in the provinces, extending the reach of Taoist and thus state control farther into the countryside. Cui Hao in the meantime masterminded

various military successes and worked on the compilation of a national history, rising ever higher in rank and honor. The theocracy reached its pinnacle in 440, when the emperor underwent Taoist investiture rites and changed the reign title to Perfected Lord of Great Peace (Taiping zhenjun 太平真君).

Thereafter Cui began to exploit his power by railing against the Buddhist clergy and, in 446, organized a large-scale persecution of all sorts of popular practitioners and especially Buddhists, who were believed to be cooperating with various rebellious forces (Eberhard 1949, 229). After Kou's death in 448, Cui became even more megalomaniac and turned to actively insulting the Toba rulers. Not standing for any more of this, they had him executed in 450, and the Taoist theocracy thus came to a swift and unceremonious end.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Mather 1979; Mather 1987; Ozaki Masaharu 1979; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 401–15; Robinet 1997b, 74–76; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 69–92; Tang Yongtong and Tang Yijie 1961; Yamada Toshiaki 1995b

※ *Laojun yinsong jiejing*; Tianshi dao

## Kunlun

崑崙

Kunlun (also called Kunling 崑陵, Kunqiu 崑丘, Kunlun xu 崑崙墟, etc.), an *axis mundi* in traditional Chinese cosmology, is a mythical mountain located in the distant West, the abode of the goddess \*Xiwang mu (Queen Mother of the West), and a counterpart to the three isles of the transcendents in the eastern seas (see \*Penglai). In Eastern Zhou textual sources, such as *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Mu, Son of Heaven; ca. 350 BCE; trans. Mathieu 1978) and the earlier chapters of *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; fourth/third century BCE?; trans. Mathieu 1983), Kunlun appears as just one among many fabulous mountains in the West. Only the “ancient text” version of the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (Bamboo Annals; originally ca. 300 BCE), makes an explicit link between Xiwang mu and Mount Kunlun. The idea that Xiwang mu resided on Kunlun become

prevalent during the second century CE (Wu Hung 1987, 119), by which time the mountain's status had increased accordingly.

The *Shanhai jing*'s descriptions center on the mountain's fabulous flora and fauna, with a growing emphasis on their immortality-bestowing properties in the later chapters. Besides describing Xiwang mu and her attendants, the text mentions a Xuanyuan tai 軒轅臺 (Terrace of Xuanyuan, i.e., \*Huangdi), surrounding mountains and streams, and a nearby country called Wo 沃 (Fertile). Although the *Mu tianzi zhuan* does not definitely link Xiwang mu with Kunlun, Yaochi 瑤池 or Turquoise Pond (frequently mistranslated “Jasper Pond”), where King Mu of Zhou (Muwang, r. 956–918 BCE) and the goddess exchange songs, becomes an essential part of Kunlun in later writings. In the \**Liezi*'s brief retelling of the tale, King Mu climbs to the summit of Kunlun, where he gazes at Huangdi's palace and raises a memorial mound, then he visits Xiwang mu, who gives a banquet for him by the Turquoise Pond (Graham 1960, 64).

The most extensive description of Kunlun in Han literature is found in \**Huainan zi* 4 (Major 1993, 150–61), in which the mythical emperor Yu 禹 is said to have raised Kunlun (somewhat more than 1,100 *li* high) while controlling the floods. On the mountain are various wondrous trees and plants, a city with a nine-layered wall, and 440 gates. Besides several outlying peaks, there is an immortality-bestowing Cinnabar Stream (*danshui* 丹水) that circles Kunlun three times before returning to its source; and four rivers—the Yellow River (Heshui 河水), Red River (Chishui 赤水), Weak River (Ruoshui 弱水), and Yang River (Yangshui 洋水)—flow out of Kunlun's foothills to the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest. Kunlun itself has three tiers, each narrower than the one below. From bottom to top, they are Cool Wind (Liangfeng 涼風), Hanging Garden (Xuanpu 懸圃), and Ascending Heaven (Shangtian 上天). Moreover, those who ascend the three tiers attain deathlessness, become “numinous” (*ling* 靈) with the power to control wind and rain, and become divine (*shen* 神), in that order. Shangtian is called the abode of the Great Emperor (Taidi 太帝). Although the *Huainan zi* does not mention Xiwang mu in connection with Kunlun, she is usually described in later literature as living on Hanging Garden. Other sources provide different names for the three tiers.

As the \*Shangqing school elevated the status of Xiwang mu within Taoism, so too it elevated her abode, making it a repository of the original texts of scriptures. The extensive description of Kunlun in the \**Shizhou ji*



(Record of the Ten Continents), a text that incorporates many ideas from the Shangqing doctrines, was also very influential. In that text, Kunlun is located in the seas to the distant northwest and towers 36,000 *li* over the surrounding countryside. It is wide at the top, narrow at the bottom, and instead of three tiers it has three corners pointing north, west, and east: Langfeng Peak (Langfeng dian 閩風巔), Hanging Garden Hall (Xuanpu tang 懸圃堂), and Kunlun Palace (Kunlun gong 崑崙宮). It also has four supporting foothills to the southeast, northwest, northeast, and southwest named Garden of Piled Stones (Jishi pu 積石圃), House of North-Facing Doors (Beihu zhi shi 北戶之室), Well of Great Life (Dahuo zhi jing 大活之井), and Maelstrom Valley (Chengyuan zhi gu 承淵之谷). On Kunlun Palace is situated the Walled City (Yongcheng 墉城), from which five golden terraces and twelve jade towers rise, but similar cities are also found on House of North-Facing Doors and Maelstrom Valley. The role of Kunlun is described in the loftiest language:

Above it communes with the Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*) of Jade-cog and Armil (*xuanji* 璿璣, two stars of the Northern Dipper), and it spreads [its power] through the Five Constants (*wuchang* 五常) [i.e., the \**wuxing*] and the Jade Balance (*yuheng* 玉衡). It puts to order the Nine Heavens (\**jiutian*) and adjusts Yin and Yang. All rare and outstanding articles and creatures are found here; the celestial ones crowd in and cannot all be counted. This mountain is the root and axle of heaven and earth, the mainstay and handle of ten thousand measures. . . . (*Shizhou ji*, 11a–b)

A parallel passage is found in the *Waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen* 外國放品青童內文 (Inner Script of the Azure Lad on the Distribution of the Outer Realms; CT 1373). Another extensive description of Kunlun in Six Dynasties literature is found in the *Shiyi ji* 拾遺記 (Uncollected Records; Foster 1974; Campany 1996, 64–67, 306–18), but this centers on Kunlun's unusual flora and fauna.

The terms used to describe Kunlun and its features in these earlier passages are repeated and embellished in later Chinese texts, whether religious or literary.

*Thomas E. SMITH*

☐ Cahill 1993, passim; Kominami Ichirō 1991, 143–86; Smith Th. E. 1992, 54–69 and 555–59; Stein R. A. 1990, 223–46; Wu Hung 1989, 117–32

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

*langgan*

琅玕

*Langgan* is the name of a gemstone, sometimes identified as blue or green coral or as malachite, and also the name of a tree that grows on Mount \*Kunlun, the Chinese *axis mundi*. It is best known, however, as the name of an alchemical preparation, the Elixir Efflorescence of Langgan (*langgan huadan* 琅玕華丹). The method to compound it is found in the *Taiwei lingshu ziwen langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing* 太微靈書紫文琅玕華丹神真上經 (Divine, Authentic, and Superior Scripture of the Elixir Efflorescence of Langgan, from the Numinous Writings in Purple Script of the Great Tenuity; CT 255; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 331–39), a text that was originally part of the \**Lingshu ziwen* (Numinous Writings in Purple Script), one of the main \*Shangqing revealed scriptures.

The method is divided into four stages. In the first stage, after performing the purification practices (*zhai* 齋), the adept places the elixir's fourteen ingredients in a crucible, adding mercury on top of them. He lutes the crucible with several layers of mud (here called Divine Mud, *shenni* 神泥) and heats it for one hundred days. Ingesting the elixir makes one's complexion similar to gold and jade and enables one to summon divine beings. The next three stages of compounding take place in meditation: the Efflorescence of Langgan undergoes further refinement and is finally buried under the earth. After three years, it generates a tree whose fruits confer immortality, as do those of the tree on Mount Kunlun.

Combining \**waidan* and meditation, this method provides an example of how Shangqing incorporated and modified earlier alchemical practices. While the first section of the text is comparable in content, language, and style to the \**Taiqing* scriptures, the language of the three latter parts reflects Shangqing imagery. This suggests that an earlier text was expanded upon assimilation into the Shangqing corpus, with the addition of sections

describing processes that can only take place as part of inner practices, and not in a laboratory.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 289–95 and 331–39; Pregadio 2006b, 58–59, 119–20; Robinet 1984, 2: 101–10; Schafer 1978b; Strickmann 1979, 134–36

※ *Lingshu ziwēn; waidan*

Laojun

老君

Lord Lao

See \*Laozi and Laojun 老子·老君.

*Laojun bashiyi hua tu*

老君八十一化圖

Eighty-One Transformations of Lord Lao, Illustrated

The *Laojun bashiyi hua tu* is an illustrated hagiography of Laozi which, as its title indicates, shows his supposed eighty-one interventions in human form in the life of the world. The text gained fame in the disputations between Buddhists and Taoists during the Yuan dynasty and was one of those that were destroyed after the proscription of all Taoist books with the exception of the *Daode jing*. As a result, no version of this text exists in the Taoist Canon. The particular notoriety of the *Eighty-One Transformations* was due largely to its explicit claim that the Buddha was but one of the transformations of Laozi. This theory—“the conversion of the barbarians”—had a long history probably extending back to the Later Han period and arguments between Buddhists and Taoists on the topic had raged from the Six Dynasties (see the entry \**Huahu jing*).

The precise origins of the *Eighty-One Transformations* are murky, and the

validity of the claim of surviving texts to authenticity remains open to question. The most detailed version of the events surrounding the composition of the text—and its subsequent use in debates between Buddhists and Taoists—comes in the form of a Buddhist polemic, the *Bianwei lu* 辯偽錄 (Accounts of Disputation of [Taoist] Falsehood; T. 2116), by Xiangmai 祥邁, which was complete by 1291. Bearing in mind that this text has been examined and found severely wanting in historical reliability by Kubo Noritada (1968), it nevertheless provides the information that the two main figures in the authorship of the *Eighty-One Transformations* were Linghu Zhang 令狐璋 and Shi Zhijing 史志經, a follower of \*Qiu Chuji (1148–1227). A version of the text under the title *Jinque xuanyuan Taishang Laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* 金闕玄元太上老君 八十一化圖說 (Eighty-One Transformations of the Most High Lord Lao of Mysterious Origin of the Golden Portal, Illustrated and Explained) dating to 1598 is held in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. It was first reported by Herbert Mueller in 1911 (Mueller 1911, 408–11) and examined by 1913 by either Paul Pelliot or Édouard Chavannes or both (Chavannes and Pelliot 1911–13, part 2: 116–32), and as Kenneth Ch'en (1945–47) noted, has the two names of Linghu Zhang and Shi Zhijing at its head. Pelliot and Chavannes concluded that Linghu and Shi were its likely compilers. The text was certainly extant by 1250 and if Shi Zhijing was partly responsible for its composition, it cannot have been composed more than a few decades earlier than that.

Apart from the Berlin manuscript referred to above, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (1959b) describes two editions—a “Taiqing gong 太清宮 edition” and a “Hang-zhou edition”—in the collection of the Japanese scholar, Fukui Kōjun. More recently Lu Gong (1982) has reported a 1532 Liaoning edition. However, by far the easiest way to consult this text is through a reprint of it appended to Florian Reiter's translation (Reiter 1990b). The text he reproduces is credited to the Manao 瑪瑙 publishing house with no date or place of publication. It is held in the library of the Australian National University.

The *Eighty-One Transformations* is a series of beautiful annotated illustrations. It begins with three images of Laozi and a picture of an inscribed stele reading “Long live the emperor.” This is followed by sixteen pages depicting thirty-one Taoist patriarchs, many from the centuries immediately preceding the book's composition. Then follow the depictions of the eighty-one transformations themselves, each accompanied by a short text.

The first few show his existence in purely cosmic time, beginning with him arising in the “non-beginning” (*wushi* 無始) and proceeding through the phases of the creation of the cosmos. By number 11, he is in the time of Fu Xi 伏羲 appearing as Yuhua zi 鬱華子, by number 19 he is in the time of King Wen of the Zhou (Wenwang 文王, r. 1099–1050 BCE) as Bianyi zi 變邑子. Famously, in number 34, he transforms \*Yin Xi into a Buddha and sends him to explain the *Sūtra in Forty-Two Sections* (*Sishi'er zhang jing* 四十二章經) to the Hu 胡 barbarians. Number 58 concerns the appearance to \*Zhang Daoling in the Later Han. The final illustrated transformation is dated to 1098.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 67–68 and 279; Ch'en Kenneth K. S. 1945–47; Kohn 1998b, 56–57 and passim; Kubo Noritada 1968; Lu Gong 1982; Reiter 1986; Reiter 1990b; Reiter 2001; Schmidt 1985; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1959b

※ Laozi and Laojun; HAGIOGRAPHY

*Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie*

老君說一百八十戒

The Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao

*The Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao* dating, in all likelihood, from the fourth century is probably the earliest set of behavioral rules for Taoist priests. The text divides into two parts: the hundred and eighty precepts themselves and a later preface that describes how the precepts came to be transmitted. There are four sources that give partial or full versions of the *Hundred and Eighty Precepts*:

1. *Taishang Laojun jinglü* 太上老君經律 (Scriptural Regulations of the Most High Lord Lao; CT 786), 2a–12b
2. \**Yunji qiqian* (CT 1032) 39.1a–14b
3. *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Excerpts from the Essential Liturgies and Observances; CT 463), 5.14a–19b
4. The original \*Dunhuang manuscript from which the two

manuscripts in the Pelliot collection P. 4562 and P. 4731 were taken (these manuscripts are reproduced in Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 2: 685)

The preface concerns \*Gan Ji to whom the Dao was transmitted by Laozi during the reign of King Nan of Zhou (Nanwang 赧王 r. 314–256 BCE). Gan Ji passed it on to Bo He 帛和 and both propagated the doctrine. On Laozi's return from his western sojourn converting the barbarians, he is shocked to see the corrupt state of the community who bicker and disagree, make profits from offerings, and are jealous and boastful. The precepts are granted to bring the community back to right behavior.

The hundred and eighty precepts themselves are not divided into formal groups, as are some sets of Taoist and Buddhist precepts. However, there is an implicit division after number 140 between those that prohibit certain conduct and those that are exhortatory. Some of the rules prohibit actions that are banned in most cultures (for example, 3: You should not steal other people's property; 50: You should not deceive others). Some give perhaps unintended insights into the lives of the Taoist clergy of the time (13: You should not use herbal medicines to perform abortions; 15: You should not eat off gold or silverware; 72: You should not poke your tongue out at other people; 99: You should not bore holes in the walls of other people's houses to spy on the women and girls inside). A few are specifically Taoist (147: You should exert yourself to seek long life, day and night do not slacken; 149: You should exert yourself to ingest \**qi* and eliminate cereals from your diet practicing the Dao of No Death). Finally, some important ones show the direct influence of Buddhism (66: You should not urinate while standing; 116: You should not urinate on living plants or in water that is to be drunk).

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Hendrischke and Penny 1996 (trans.); Lai Chi-tim 1998b; Maeda Shigeki 1985b; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 2: 685 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Penny 1996a; Schmidt 1985; Schipper 1999a (part. trans.); Schipper 2001

※ *jie* [precepts]

*Laojun yinsong jiejing*

老君音誦誠經

Scripture on Precepts of Lord Lao, Recited  
[to the Melody in the Clouds]

The *Laojun yinsong jiejing* (CT 785), also known as “New Code” (*xinke* 新科), was revealed in 415 to \*Kou Qianzhi. The text was originally in twenty scrolls, most of which are now lost. The expression *yinsong* 音誦 in the title is short for *yunzhong yinsong* 雲中音誦, which may mean “to be recited after [the melody] ‘In the Clouds’” or “recited in the cloudy heavens.” The text contains thirty-six precepts (\**jie*), each of which is introduced with “The Lord Lao said” and ends with the admonition: “Honor and follow this rule with awareness and care, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances,” a variation of the formula: “Promptly, promptly, in accordance with the statutes and ordinances!” (\**jiji ru liling*).

The first six introductory rules describe the text's revelation in terms similar to those used in the “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA). Thereafter the precepts seem to be arranged in no particular order, consisting of general guidelines, specific behavioral rules, and detailed ritual instructions. General guidelines include an outline of the various offices and duties of Taoist followers and a survey of banquet meetings and communal rites (e.g., nos. 7–9). Specific behavioral rules describe the role of Taoists in relation to the civil administration, patterns of public conduct, and measures to be taken in case of sickness (e.g., no. 21). Detailed ritual instructions, finally, deal with the performance of communal banquets, the proper format of prayers and petitions to the Dao, ancestral offerings, funerary services, and immortality practices (e.g., no. 12).

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Mather 1979; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 122–23; Yang Liansheng 1956

※ Kou Qianzhi; *jie* [precepts]

Laoshan

嶗山 (*or*: 勞山, 牢山)

## Mount Lao (Shandong)

Mount Lao, also known as Mount Laosheng (Laosheng shan 勞盛山), is the tallest peak in the eastern coastal region of Shandong, east of present-day Qingdao 青島. An ancient site for hermits and *\*fangshi* (practitioners of esoteric arts), the mountain was visited by emperors who ascended it to gaze at *\*Penglai*, the mythical island of the immortals, in their quest for immortality.

Qin Shi huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE), in particular, climbed the mountain after performing the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 ceremonies to Heaven and Earth on Mount Tai (*\*Taishan*) and Mount Liangfu (Liangfu shan 梁父山), both in Shandong. Remaining there for three months, he was visited by numerous *fangshi*, among them *\*Xu Fu* who requested permission to seek the islands of the immortals. The expedition is said to have set out from here. Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) and Han Guangwu di (r. 25–57 CE) also climbed the mountain in ritual circumstances.

Many of the methods in the *\*Lingbao wufu xu* are said to have originated on Mount Laosheng, reflecting the association of the coastal tradition with the early Taoism of the south. In particular, this was the purported site of revelation of the Five Lingbao talismans (see under *\*Lingbao wufu xu*). Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) dispatched the Taoists Wang Min 王旻 and Li Xiazhou 李遐周 to compound elixirs on the mountain which he renamed Supporter of the Tang (Fu Tang shan 輔唐山).

The most famous temple on the mountain is the Taiqing gong 太清宮 (Palace of Great Clarity). The initial construction took place during the Han when a certain Zhang Lianfu 張廉夫 of Ruizhou 瑞州 (Jiangxi) abandoned his official post and retired to Mount Lao to cultivate the Dao. He built a reed structure, named Sanguan miao 三官廟 (Shrine of the Three Offices), where he revered the Great Emperor of the Three Offices (Sanguan dadi 三官大帝). Li Zhexuan 李哲玄 refurbished the temple in 904, renaming it Sanhuang miao 三皇廟 (Shrine of the Three Sovereigns) and centering its practice on reverence to the Three Sovereigns (*\*sanhuang*). It was later renamed Taiqing gong.

The mountain grew in importance from the Jin-Yuan period when it became one of the centers of *\*Quanzhen* Taoism. It was then that the majority of the current temples and monasteries were built. *\*Qiu Chuji*



(1148–1227) and \*Liu Chuxuan (1147–1203) resided here during the Jin period. It was, however, only in the Ming period that the mountain gained prominence as a major Quanzhen center, which it retains today. A number of Quanzhen sub-lineages are associated with Mount Lao, including the Suishan branch (Suishan pai 隨山派) 隨山派 revering Liu Chuxuan, which viewed Taiqing gong as its ancestral temple, and the Gold Mountain branch (Jinshan pai 金山派) which reveres Sun Xuanqing 孫玄清 (1517–69).

Quanzhen masters in Shandong still perform the “Mount Lao Tunes” (“Laoshan yin” 嶗山韻) supposedly composed by Qiu Chuji. A set of twelve poems by Qiu Chuji on Mount Lao (which he designates Mount Ao or Aoshan 鰲山) are preserved in the *Panxi ji* 磻溪集 (Anthology of the Master from Panxi; CT 1159, 2.9b–12a). Other poems and writings by Qiu and other Quanzhen masters are still preserved in numerous inscriptions.

Gil RAZ

■ Chen Zhentao 1991; Goossaert 2004; Wang Jiqin 1999; Zhan Renzhong 1998; Zhou Zhiyuan 1993

※ TAOIST SACRED SITES

## Laozi and Laojun

老子·老君

The Old Master (also known as Lao Dan 老聃, Li Er 李耳,  
Li Boyang 李伯陽) and Lord Lao (*or*: Old Lord)

Laozi, the alleged author of the *Daode jing* and ancient Taoist philosopher, became a key deity in the Taoist religion. His first appearance, in the \**Zhuangzi* under the name of Lao Dan, is as an archivist of the Zhou court who was also the teacher of Confucius. After that he is mentioned in various philosophical texts and has a full biography in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 63.2139–43; trans. Lau 1982, x-xi). Traditional recipients of the *Daode jing* believed the sources and accepted Laozi as a contemporary of Confucius. Ever since Herbert A. Giles (1906), however, text and author have been treated separately and Laozi has come to be thought of as a largely fictional figure. Only Homer Dubs (1941) tried to find him in history, making

him an impoverished aristocrat of the third century BCE whose ideas served to recover some of his lost status and power.



Fig. 51. Laozi as the author of the *Daode jing*. Zhang Lu 張路 (ca. 1490–ca. 1563). National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China. See Little 2000b, 117.

*Formation of the myth.* The most up-to-date evaluation of the early history of Laozi is by A. C. Graham (1986b). Beginning from the appearance of Laozi as Confucius's teacher in the *Zhuangzi*, he shows that this tale probably originated with a Confucian story on the master's humility and eagerness to

learn. In the fourth century BCE, according to Graham, when the *Daode jing* was first compiled and the growing Taoist school needed a hoary founder, Lao Dan was adopted to serve as archetypal Taoist. When the Qin gained supremacy in the second century BCE, Lao Dan was presented to them as a powerful political thinker and was moreover linked with Grand Scribe Dan (Taishi Dan 太史儋), who in 374 BCE had predicted the rise of this state. This necessitated an unusual longevity for the philosopher, who was then said to have lived 160 or 200 years.

After the Qin had come to power, however, this longevity became a liability because Laozi was no longer around to advise the emperor in person. As a result, so Graham speculates, the story of Laozi's western emigration was invented, a convenient way not only of “disposing the body” but also of accounting for the compilation of the *Daode jing*, allegedly transmitted under duress to the border guard \*Yin Xi on the Hangu Pass (Hangu guan 函谷關). Finally, under the Han, when his close connection to the Qin turned problematic, Laozi's birthplace was relocated to Bozhou 亳州 (present-day Luyi 鹿邑, Henan) near the Han rulers' homeland of Pei 沛, and he was linked with the Li 李 clan, a family of faithful retainers of the Han house. At this time Laozi was known for two key episodes: his service as an archivist and reclusive thinker under the Zhou, and his western emigration and transmission of the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi. Also, he had acquired a birthplace in Bozhou, the family name Li, his personal name Dan, and a lifetime in the sixth century BCE. This analysis by Graham fits the facts of the multifaceted presentation of Laozi in the early sources and accounts for the oddities of the *Shiji* biography. It also tallies with a recent manuscript find, the \*Guodian *Laozi*, which contains parts of the *Daode jing* datable to between 350 and 300 BCE.

*Han developments.* Legends about Laozi grew massively over time. In the Han dynasty, he was adopted by three separate groups: 1. the magical practitioners (\*fangshi) or individual seekers of immortality, who adopted Laozi as their patriarch and idealized him as an immortal (see his biographies in the \**Liexian zhuan*, trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 60–61, and in the \**Shenxian zhuan*, trans. Kohn 1996a, and Campany 2002, 194–204); 2. the political elite, the imperial family and court officials, who saw in Laozi the personification of the Dao and worshipped him as a representative of their ideal of cosmic and political unity alongside the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi)

and the Buddha (see [\\*Laozi ming](#)); 3. popular millenarian cults, who identified Laozi as the god who manifested himself through the ages and would save the world yet again and bring about the age of Great Peace (*\*taiping*). Called Lord Lao (Laojun) or Yellow Old Lord (Huanglao jun 黃老君), this deified Laozi was like the personification of cosmic harmony worshipped by the court but equipped with tremendous revolutionary power. As a messiah (see *\*Li Hong*), he could overturn the present and reorganize the world, leading the faithful to a new state of heavenly bliss in this very life on earth (see [\\*Laozi bianhua jing](#)).

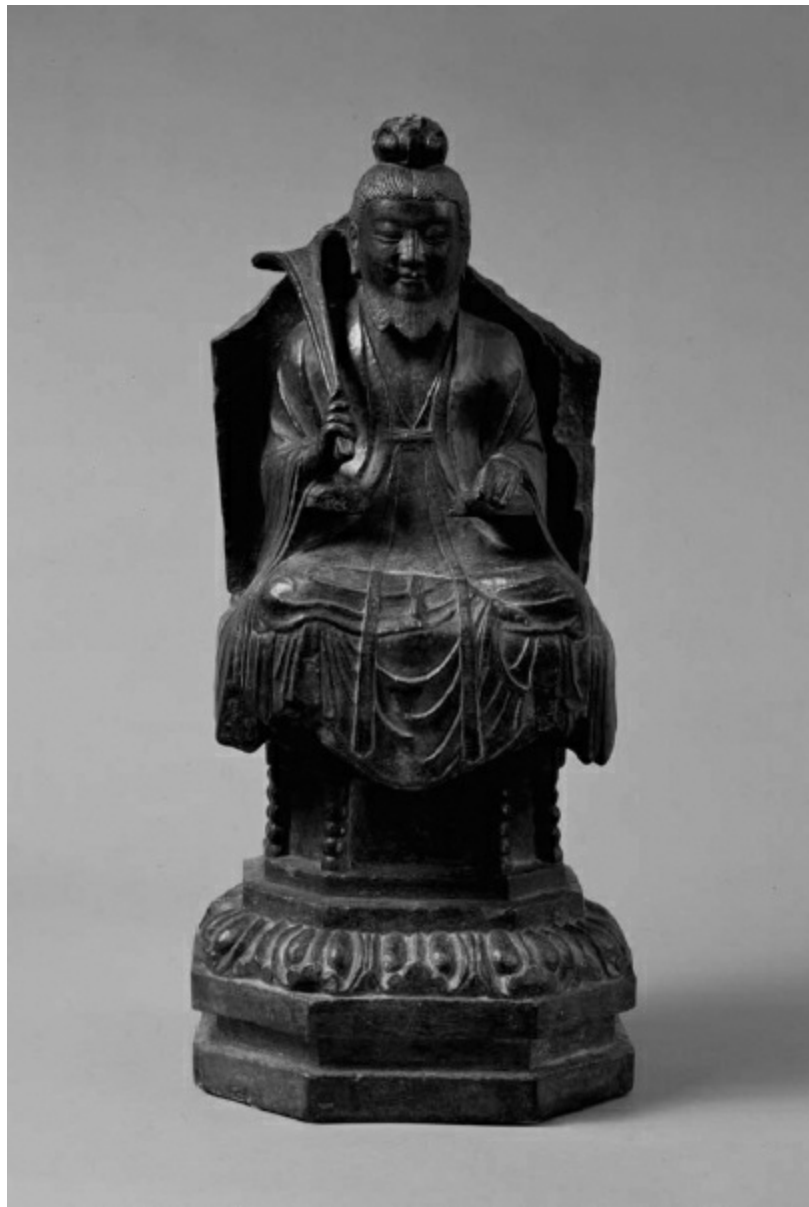


Fig. 52. Laozi as a deity. Tang dynasty, late seventh

to early eighth century.  
Photograph: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne.  
Museum für Ostasiatische  
Kunst, Cologne. See Little 2000b, 183.

These various texts all add new information to the two key episodes of the Laozi legend as known in the early Han, expanding the beginning of his life to include his identity with the Dao, creation of the world, and periodic descent as “teacher of dynasties,” embellishing his birth by increasing his time in the womb and giving him the physiognomy of a sage, and extending his life after the emigration by either having him wander west and convert the barbarians to his teaching, then known as “Buddhism,” or by ascending back to heaven and returning to reveal various Taoist teachings in China.

As a result, the complex Laozi myth, which first evolves at this time, can be described as consisting of six distinct parts:

1. Laozi as the Dao creates the universe (creation)
2. Laozi descends as the teacher of dynasties (transformations)
3. Laozi is born on earth and serves as an archivist under the Zhou (birth)
4. Laozi emigrates and transmits the *Daode jing* to Yin Xi (transmission)
5. Laozi and Yin Xi go west and convert the barbarians to Buddhism (conversion)
6. Laozi ascends to heaven and comes back again to give revelations to Chinese seekers, founding Taoist schools (revelations)

*Medieval and later traditions.* This basic structure of the myth is further expanded and deepened in the following centuries. The fifth-century \**Santian neijie jing* (Scripture of the Inner Explication of the Three Heavens) of the southern Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) adds more details on the cosmology of creation and applies motifs from the birth of the Buddha. In the sixth century, the \**Kaitian jing* (Scripture of the Opening of Heaven), the *Wenshi neizhuan* 文始內傳 (Inner Biography of Master Wenshi; Kohn 1997b, 109–13), and the \**Huahu jing* (Scripture of the Conversion of Barbarians), all of the northern Celestial Masters at \*Louguan (Tiered Abbey), provide additional details on the transformations and a stylized version of the transmission and conversion, and add a second meeting of Laozi with Yin Xi in Sichuan at a “black ram shop,” today the \*Qingyang

gong (Palace of the Black Ram) in Chengdu. The seventh-century *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji* 玄元皇帝聖紀 (Chronicle of the Holy August Emperor of Mysterious Origin) by the Louguan master \*Yin Wencao, which survives in citations and in a longer fragment known as the *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 太上混元真錄 (Real Account of the Most High Chaotic Origin; CT 954), expands further on the transmission of the *Daode jing* and the relation to Yin Xi. Three major later hagiographies, including *j.* 2 of \*Du Guangting's (850–933) *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義 (Extended Interpretation of the Emperor's Exegesis of the *Daode jing*; 901; CT 725), the \**Youlong zhuan* (Like unto a Dragon), and the \**Hunyuan shengji* (Saintly Chronicle of Chaotic Origin), add further details to the structure outlined above, expanding especially the time Laozi spends among the pure heavens and scriptures before creation, and his visitations and miracles under the Tang and Song.

In addition to these extensive works, there are numerous shorter hagiographies of Laozi, he is mentioned in countless passages in Taoist texts, and large numbers of scriptures claim to go back to his revelations. More concretely, there are inscriptions on him from throughout the ages (see Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1993), such as the *Sanzun bei* 三尊碑 (Stele to the Three Worthies) of 508, the *Laoshi bei* 老氏碑 (Stele to Sir Lao; Chen Yuan 1988, 42) of 591, the *Xichuan Qingyang gong beiming* 西川青羊宮碑銘 (Stele Inscription at the Palace of the Black Ram in Sichuan; CT 964) of 884, and the *Laojun zan* 老君讚 (Eulogium for Lord Lao; in *Hunyuan shengji*, 9.35b) of 1014.

From Song times onward, the veneration of Laozi declined in favor of Xuanwu 玄武, the Dark Warrior (see \*Zhenwu), yet there was also a new edition of the *Huahu jing*, the *Laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* 老君八十一化圖說 (Eighty-One Transformations of Lord Lao, Illustrated and Explained; see \*[Laojun bashiyi hua tu](#)) and the deity appeared in popular novels, such as the *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 (Investiture of the Gods; IC 384–86) and the *Dongyou ji* 東游記 (Journey to the East) in the Ming. To the present day, he is worshipped as a key deity of the Celestial Masters and credited with a number of \**qigong* exercises.

Livia KOHN

📖 Bokenkamp 2004; Boltz J. M. 1987b; Company 2002, 194–211; Chen

Guofu 1963, 269–71; Graham 1986b; Huang Paolos 1996; Kaltenmark 1953, 60–65; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1993; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1998; Kohn 1997b; Kohn 1998b; Kohn 1998g; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 271–472; Little 2000b, 164–71, 174–75, 182–84; Pontynen 1980; Schipper 1993, 113–29; Seidel 1969; Seidel 1969–70; Sunayama Minoru 1983

※ *Daode jing*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

### *Laozi bianhua jing*

#### 老子變化經

#### Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi

The *Laozi bianhua jing* is a manuscript that was discovered at \*Dunhuang (S. 2295). Containing a text dated to the late second century on the basis of the last appearance of Laozi that it mentions (in 155 CE), the manuscript was copied by a monk of the \*Xuandu guan (Abbey of the Mysterious Metropolis) in Chang'an in 612. The manuscript is fragmentary, lacking a proper beginning, and occasionally illegible. It consists of 101 lines of about seventeen characters each. Giving expression to the beliefs of a popular messianic cult located in southwest China, the text focuses on the divine Laozi as the incarnate power of the Dao that appears in every generation to support and direct the government of humanity.

The *Bianhua jing* can be divided into three major parts. The first consists of a eulogy on Laozi as the body of the Dao and the savior of humanity. This includes a description of his celestial stature, his supernatural birth to Mother Li 李母 after seventy-two years of pregnancy, his unusual divine appearance, his nature of non-action (\**wuwei*) and freedom from desires, and his ascent back to Mount \*Kunlun with the help of a white deer. The section ends with the repeated emphasis that Laozi is of heavenly origin and has him give instructions to humanity:

“Know,” he says, “my nine human forms  
to gain wonderful immortality  
and find the Dao of life.  
So easy, yet so difficult!  
Study my Dao of life—  
and unlike people limited to the world,

you will live as long as the sun and the moon.”

(Lines 27–29)

He then teaches people his nine names, each representing a different aspect of the universe one must know to attain immortality.

The second part contains an account of Laozi as a heavenly deity called Huncheng 混成 (“Confused And Yet Complete”; see *Daode jing* 25). Again a long section details the celestial powers and role of the god; then the text moves on to describe him as the teacher of dynasties, giving his various names from the first mythical ruler Fu Xi 伏羲 down to the Zhou dynasty. At this time, his birth to Mother Li and life as an archivist are integrated into the transformations, just as are his emigration and transmission of the *Daode jing* to \*Yin Xi. However, Laozi here does not vanish but continues to reappear in China under the Qin, Han, and barbarians (as the Buddha), including also various manifestations in the Sichuan region toward the late second century. For example:

In the second year of Vigorous Harmony (Jianhe, 148 CE)  
following a serious landslide,  
he appeared in Chengdu  
near the Gate of the Left Quarter,  
manifesting as a Perfected.

(66–67)

The third and final part is cast as a speech delivered by Laozi during one of his later appearances. In it he describes himself as the Dao, a resident of Clarity (Qing 清), a ruler of the world, a master over life and death, a counselor to all emperors, and a continuous presence in the world:

My body is clad in the Formless (*wuxing* 無形).  
Ignorant I am and unknowing—  
yet with every death, I am born anew  
and take on a new body.

(Lines 73–74)

Next he bestows instructions to his followers, encouraging them to think of him day and night and give up all lascivious and ecstatic cults. To approach Laozi, adepts must visualize different colors in the body, then learn to “concentrate on the One, and [they] soon will see a yellow glow within.” Also, they should venerate his Text in Five Thousand Words (*Wuqian wen* 五千文; i.e., the *Daode jing*) and recite it vigorously. Then the deity will assist them with all troubles. The text ends on a slightly apocalyptic note,



admonishing followers to “hurry and follow” the god “when Venus (Taibai 太白) fails in its course five or six times,” thus to be saved from danger.

The *Bianhua jing* is a key document of the active Laozi cult practiced in the Later Han, including both its devotional and apocalyptic elements. It is also an important forerunner of the Laozi hagiographies of later times, which in turn reflect the continuously growing veneration of the deity.

Livia KOHN

▣ Kohn 1998g, 47–49; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 325–32; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 324–25 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang ms.) and 2: 686–88 (reprod. of the Dunhuang ms.); Robinet 1997b, 51–52; Seidel 1969, 59–75 (trans.), 131–36 (reprod. of the Dunhuang ms.); Seidel 1978b; Su Jinren 1998

※ Laozi and Laojun; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

### *Laozi Heshang gong zhangju*

老子河上公章句

The *Laozi* Divided into Sections and Sentences by Heshang gong

The version of the *Daode jing* of Laozi ascribed to Heshang gong, “The Gentleman of the River Bank,” covers both the text of the classic, as divided into sections and sentences, *zhangju*, and a commentary (CT 682). Their supposed originator is said to have been a recluse who instructed Han Wendi (r. 180–157 BCE) from a position of levitation. More than one early Han transmitter of the meaning of Laozi with a similar name is mentioned from the time of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145?–86? BCE) onward, but the fully developed legend of Heshang gong is not attested until the Six Dynasties period; it is not possible to make any identification between Heshang gong and any specific Han figure. Nor is it possible to date the editing of the Heshang gong text of the *Daode jing*, though it has certainly had a very wide influence, supplanting even the slightly different version of the classic that once circulated with the commentary of \*Wang Bi (226–49), so that the latter work no longer exactly fits with the text which accompanies it.

The commentary, too, has been extremely influential, for example

monopolizing the interpretation of Laozi in Japan for many centuries. Its sequential explanation of the text phrase by phrase marks it out as a work of an earlier type than that of Wang Bi, which attempts to keep the overall meaning of the text in mind, but this by no means suggests that Heshang gong's remarks were actually composed earlier. Its dual approach, summarized by some scholars as stressing both “controlling the state” (*zhiguo* 治國) and “controlling one's self” (*zhishen* 治身), is not entirely alien to Wang Bi, either; the one feature which has been seen as distinctive is the suggestion in some passages that the latter aim could be achieved in part through techniques visualizing the interior of the body after the manner of some \*Shangqing texts. The main proponent of a late date of final composition on that basis is Kusuyama Haruki (1979), though his case for the addition of this meditational element to an earlier version of the commentary is from the start complicated by the fact that Shangqing texts themselves were recapitulating techniques for which traces may already be found in epigraphic materials of the second century CE.

In fact all the concepts present in the Heshang gong commentary may be seen as part of a Han legacy of ideas, though unfortunately a legacy that remained a matter for concern and hence for restatement for many centuries after the fall of the dynasty. The urge to see a (late) Han date as the most reasonable one for Heshang gong has therefore appealed to a number of scholars, though others have found definitive evidence for this lacking. Possible references to the text in the third century CE unfortunately cannot be taken as reliable; there is, however, one quotation apparently from the late fourth century which may prove trustworthy, and which includes a portion of the commentary deemed a later addition by Kusuyama. This is to be found on p. 1.1b–2a of the \**Yangxing yanming lu* (On Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life), a work none of whose other quotations falsify the statement in the preface that it was excerpted from the \**Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life) of Zhang Zhan 張湛 (early fourth century). Zhang came from a family of bibliophiles who claimed to have preserved many works of Han times and earlier, but this still does not prove that the Heshang gong commentary is any earlier than the century in which it is first cited. Other early commentaries, too, which are said to betray its influence remain for their part controversial with regard to their origins.

Whatever its date, the *Laozi Heshang gong zhangju* remained a firm favorite among professional Taoists from the time of its emergence onward,

and for example is listed in Tang times as basic to an initiation into Taoist disciple-ship, even if a controversy over its merits versus those of Wang Bi resulted in the production of imperial commentary to resolve the dispute. Indeed when Eduard Erkes contemplated producing the first English translation of the text in the 1930s he was able to take the unusual step of going to Beijing to seek instruction from Taoist priests in their understanding of its meaning. Unfortunately, his work, first published in serial form, is not widely available: a plan to republish it in the 1990s, though widely advertised by the company concerned, was eventually cancelled on the grounds that it did not read smoothly enough in English; a *Daode jing* translation of no historical value was substituted instead.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Campany 2002, 305–7; Chan A. K. L. 1991a; Chan A. K. L. 1991b; Chan A. K. L. 1998; Erkes 1950 (trans.); Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 241–68; Kohn 1992a, 62–69; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 3–269; Masuo Shin'ichirō 1991; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 209–35 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 434–56 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 75–84; Wang Ka 1993a (crit. ed.); Zheng Chenghai 1971 (crit. ed.)

※ *Daode jing*

### *Laozi ming*

老子銘

### Inscription for Laozi

The *Laozi ming*, by the court official Bian Shao 邊韶, dates from 24 September, 165, and contains a record of the imperial sacrifices to Laozi undertaken by Han Huandi (r. 146–168) at the sage's birthplace in Bozhou 亳州 (present-day Luyi 鹿邑, Henan) and at the imperial palace in Luoyang. The inscription begins with a summary of the facts known about the historical Laozi, repeating the account of the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 63.2139–43; trans. Lau 1982, xxi), then gives a concrete description of Laozi's birthplace and cites the *Daode jing* as the major expression of his ideas. In addition, the text praises Laozi as the central deity of the cosmos,

who was born from primordial energy, came down to earth, and eventually ascended back to the heavenly realm as an immortal.

Next, the inscription recounts the concrete circumstances that led Huandi to make the sacrifice, mentioning a dream he had of the deity and listing the credentials of the author for the compilation of the text. All this is still by way of introduction to the actual praise offered to the deity, which combines the immortality seekers' vision of Laozi with the understanding of Laozi as a personification of the Dao. It begins:

Focusing only on the virtue of the mystery,  
he embraced emptiness and guarded purity.  
Happy even in a lowly position,  
he never strove for emolument or authority.  
Like a rope, he was always straight, uncoiling  
naturally when twisted.

and concludes,

He joins the radiance of the Sun and the Moon,  
is at one with the Five Planets.  
He freely comes and goes from the Cinnabar Hut (*danlu* 丹廬),  
easily travels up and down the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭).  
He rejects ordinary customs,  
conceals his light, and hides himself.  
Embracing the Origin (*yuan* 元), he transforms like a spirit  
and breathes the essence of perfection.

None in the world can approach his depth;  
we can only look up to his eternal life.  
Thus our divine emperor offers a sacrifice to Laozi to document his holy spirituality.  
I, this humble servant, in my turn strive to ensure his continued fame and thus engrave this  
stone to his greater glory.

The *Laozi ming* is the first official and best dated early document on the divinization of Laozi, and an important text for our understanding of Han religion and of the myth of the god.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Chen Yuan 1988, 5–6; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 303–16; Maspero 1981, 394–95; Seidel 1969, 36–50, 121–30 (trans.).

※ Laozi and Laojun

*Laozi Xiang'er zhu*

老子想爾注

*Xiang'er* Commentary to the *Laozi*

The *Xiang'er* commentary to the *Laozi* is important as a text of the *Laozi* (*Daode jing*), as a commentary on the *Laozi*, and as one of the few surviving documents from the early years of the Celestial Master movement (\*Tianshi dao). Long thought lost, a partial copy of the first of two chapters (chapters 3–37 of the received edition) of the *Laozi* text with this commentary appended to each chapter was found at \*Dunhuang (S. 6825). Rao Zongyi (1956) combined this with quotations in other sources to assemble roughly half the original work, which he studied and commented on and which has been translated into English by Stephen R. Bokenkamp (1997, 29–148). Taoist scriptures from the late Six Dynasties attribute the work to \*Zhang Lu, as does the early Tang commentator Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627). \*Du Guangting, writing in the tenth century, attributed the work to \*Zhang Daoling. References to the work in the mid-third-century “Dadao jia lingjie” 大道家令戒 (Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 148–85) are somewhat garbled but clearly seem to refer to this text and to associate it with Zhang Lu. Attempts to date the text to as late as the fifth century on the basis of a dubious history of ideas seem unfounded.

The text accompanying the commentary is an important witness to the early history of the *Laozi* text. William G. Boltz (1984) has argued, based on a detailed comparison with the \*Mawangdui manuscripts of the *Laozi*, that the text interleaved with this commentary is the earliest transmitted text version and the closest in filiation to the Mawangdui manuscripts. This also links it with the “5,000 character” versions of the text.

The commentary presents a distinctive interpretation of the *Laozi* that sheds much light on early Celestial Master thought and the way that they appropriated this classical text for their own purposes. Among the more distinctive features of this work, the conception of the Dao as a conscious, anthropomorphic deity, identified with a divinized Laozi (\*Laojun), who speaks directly to humans (in the first person) is striking. The reader is encouraged to devote him/herself to the Dao and the title, if Bokenkamp is correct, refers to how the Dao is constantly “thinking of you.” The text

advocates a physiological process based on “clarity and quiescence” (\**qingjing*) that seeks to absorb and circulate the breaths (\**qi*) of the Dao so as to attain longevity and the status of Transcendent Lord. This practice must be founded upon moral excellence, and to this end a set of nine precepts derived from the text of the *Laozi* and a set of twenty-seven derived from the *Xiang'er* commentary were published separately and seem to have been more influential in later periods than the commentary itself (see under \**Xiang'er jie*).

Also prominent are warnings concerning “deviant” teachings and “false arts abroad in the world” that point to a variety of competing movements that differed with the Celestial Masters on issues of doctrine and practice. For example, specific acts of sexual self-cultivation based on semen retention are condemned despite the Celestial Master practice of communal sex rites called “union of breaths” (\**heqi*).

The *Xiang'er* commentary also provides information on the earliest Taoist eschatology, a way for followers to pass through the world of the dead or the Great Yin (Taiyin 太陰): “If a person of the Dao is perfect in their conduct, the Taoist gods (*daoshen* 道神) will return to them; they will hide from the world by feigning death, then passing through the Great Yin, they go to be reborn (*fusheng* 復生), and thus do not perish (*buwang* 不亡). That is why they are long-lived. The profane have no moral merit. Their dead belong to the Earth Office. That is to perish” (see also trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 135). Here we see that it is the moral excellence of the Taoists that assures their longevity and ultimate survival of death.

Terry KLEEMAN

■ Bokenkamp 1993; Bokenkamp 1997, 29–148 (trans.); Boltz W. G. 1984; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 239–69; Mugitani Kunio 1985 (concordance); Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 181–92; Rao Zongyi 1956 (crit. ed.); Seidel 1969, 75–80; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 208–9 (critical notes on Dunhuang ms.) and 2: 421–34 (reproduction of Dunhuang ms.); Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 247–308

※ Laozi and Laojun; Tianshi dao

*Laozi zhongjing*

## 老子中經

### Central Scripture of Laozi

The *Laozi zhongjing* appears twice in the Taoist Canon (CT 1168, entitled *Laojun zhongjing* 老君中經; YJQQ 18–19) and once in a \*Dunhuang manuscript (P. 3784). It consists of fifty-five sections in two *juan* that describe methods of visualizing and activating the gods in the body. The text is related in general subject matter to the \**Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court) and can be considered a precursor of the \*Shangqing scriptures. Cited in the \**Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure), it probably originated during the third century. Its instructions cover not only visualization, but also breathing exercises and other methods, so that the text can be considered one of the earliest technical manuals of Taoist meditation and longevity techniques.

One of several references to Laozi in the text is the name Yellow Old Lord of the Central Pole (Huanglao zhongji jun 黃老中極君). He is identified as the central god of the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*) among the stars and the resident of the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭) in the abdomen. He is always activated together with a female aspect or “empress” (*huanghou* 皇后), described as a celestial Jade Woman (\**yunü*) called Mysterious Radiance of Great Yin (Taiyin xuanguang 太陰玄光). Wearing robes of yellow cloudy energy, they join to give birth to the immortal embryo.

To activate the pair, adepts visualize a sun and moon in their chests underneath their nipples, from which a yellow essence and a red energy radiate. These vapors then rise up to enter the Crimson Palace (*jianggong* 絳宮) in the heart and sink down to the Yellow Court in the abdomen. Filling its internal halls, the energies mingle and coagulate to form the immortal embryo, which grows gradually and becomes visible as an infant facing south, in the position of the ruler. As he is nurtured by the yellow essence and red energy still flowing from the adept's internal sun and moon, all illnesses are driven out and myriad disasters dissolve. The practice leads to close communication with the gods, enhances physical energy, and increases long life and vitality.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Katō Chie 1996; Lagerwey 2004a; Maeda Shigeki 1988; Pregadio 2006a;

Schipper 1979a; Schipper 1993, 105–12; Schipper 1995c

※ INNER DEITIES; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

Lei Shizhong

雷時中

1221–95; *zi*: Kequan 可權; *hao*: Mo'an 默庵 (Silent Hermitage),  
Shuangqiao laoren 雙橋老人 (Old Man of the Double Bridge)

This important thirteenth-century ritual master and advocate of the basic harmony of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) was a native of Wuchang 武昌 (Hubei), although his ancestors came from Yuzhang 豫章 (Jiangxi). Reputedly a talented writer, he also came to study philosophy and the recondite aspects of the universe in his youth. He later encountered, through dreams and while awake, divine beings who taught him the fine points of the Thunderclap Rites (*leiting* 雷霆; see \**leifa*), and the fundamental parallels between Buddhist and classical forms and aims of self-cultivation with those available among the Taoist traditions he had mastered. Of the many disciples who had reportedly studied with him before he passed away in 1295, some returned to Sichuan and others to the southeast coastal areas.

Lei's substantial annotations to the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation) were part of the edition (*Duren shangpin miaoqing tongyi* 度人上品妙經通義; CT 89) assembled by the forty-third Celestial Master, \*Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), which also includes the explanations of a clerk of the Thunderclap Lord Xin (Xin tianjun 辛天君), another strong proponent of both the Thunder Rites (\**leifa*) and the fundamental unity of the Three Teachings. One of Lei's disciples named Chen Yuanheng 陳元亨 recorded some of Lord Xin's revelations to his master. Lei is also credited with a two-chapter Chaotic Origin (Hunyuan 混元) ritual tradition that is part of the \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual, *j.* 154–55)

Lei's passing in 1295 did not prevent him from presenting \*Xue Jizhao (fl. 1304–16) with a copy of his *Xuxuan pian* 虛玄篇 (Folios on the Mystery of the Void) in 1308. The texts and diagrams associated with Lei bear comparison with those of \*Xiao Yingsou (fl. 1226) and texts associated with



him, as well as with the traditions central to \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) and his disciples.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 209–10; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 343–44

※ *leifa*

Lei Siqi

雷思齊

1231–1301?; *zi*: Qixian 齊賢; *hao*: Kongshan xiansheng 空山先生  
(Elder of the Empty Mountain)

This thirteenth-century specialist in the \**Yijing* and its diagram (*tu* 圖) and numerological (*shu* 數) traditions was a native of the prosperous scholarly area of Linchuan 臨川 (Jiangxi). In his youth he studied at the Niaoshi guan 烏石觀 (Abbey of the Bird Stone). After Khubilai khan (r. 1260–94) established Mongol rule in south China in 1276 and named the thirty-sixth Celestial Master, \*Zhang Zongyan (1244–91), head of Taoist affairs for the Mongol regime, Zhang asked Lei Siqi to become lecturer in the Mysterious Teaching (\*Xuanjiao) in Beijing.

Lei later returned to the Guangxin 廣信 (Jiangxi) mountains, where he lectured and taught until he passed away at Niaoshi guan. Among his renowned disciples were \*Wu Quanjie (1269–1346), Fu Xingzhen 傅性真, and Zhou Weihe 周維和. His main extant works, both completed around 1300, are the titles found in CT 1011 to CT 1014 (Kalinowski 1989–90, 88). The longest text, *Yitu tongbian* 易圖通變 (Miscellany on Divination with the Book of Changes; CT 1014; see Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 113–14) is preceded by a set of four prefaces (CT 1012) by Zhang Zongyan in 1286, Jie Xisi 揭係斯 (1274–1344) and Wu Quanjie (both dated 1332), and the last by Lei himself, dated 1300, which states that the *Yishi tongbian* 易筮通變 (Miscellany of Diagrams on the Book of Changes; CT 1011) is the successor to the *Yitu tongbian*. The titles of these texts both derive from studies grounded in the diagrams of the *Yijing*. The two annotated pages of *Hetu* 河圖 (Chart of the [Yellow] River; CT 1013) belong to the *Yitu tongbian* (CT 1014). Lei also

wrote the *Laozi benyi* 老子本義 (Fundamental Meaning of the *Laozi*) and *Zhuangzi zhiyi* 莊子旨義 (Core Meaning of the *Zhuangzi*), which appear to be no longer extant. The Yuan scholar Yuan Jue 袁桷 praised Lei for his profound understanding of cosmic processes as seen in his writings on both the *Yijing* and on the *Daode jing*.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 248; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 347–48; Zhan Shichuang 1989, 96–115; Zhang Guangbao 1997

※ Xuanjiao

*leifa*

雷法

Thunder Rites; Thunder Rituals

This influential class of exorcistic ritual became part of many of the new Taoist ritual systems from the twelfth century onward. At its core is a repertoire of administrative, judicial, and meditative methods that it makes available to adepts interested in harnessing the vitalizing and punitive powers of thunder on a more regular and consistent basis in their ritual practice. Incorporating local gods and practices into a grand scheme laid out in liturgies and scriptures, and often including compounding the “inner elixir” (\**neidan*), the Thunder Rites were part of the transformation of Taoism that took place between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. Most of the extant textual material in the Ming Taoist Canon that deals with absorbing and deploying the powers of thunder derives from various twelfth- to fifteenth-century traditions in south China. Priests who became part of these traditions acted their parts in this bureaucracy, assuming the bearing of a mandarin when dealing with higher deities and their fellows in the heavenly bureaus, and becoming a fierce judge when dealing with uncooperative demons.

The sources and forms of this class of ritual remain obscure. Studies to date suggest multiple origins with roots in cults to local thunder deities (\**Leishen*). By the tenth century they seem to have begun coalescing into traditions centering on various revealed methods meant to help practitioners

deal with groups of thunder deities. One of the earliest and most enduring varieties of Thunder Rites dealt with the Five Thunder gods (*wulei* 五雷) who were linked to the Jiangxi \*Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) order (see \*[Daofa huiyuan](#), j. 56–64, 101–3, and 188–97). Liu Yongguang 留用光 (1134–1206) also relied on the rites of the Five Thunder deities. Another later variety was known as the Thunderclap (*leiting* 雷霆) legacy. The \*Shenxiao (Divine Emyrean) master \*Wang Wenqing (1093–1153) played a major role in establishing and propagating this class of ritual within the new Taoist liturgies. His efforts made it popular among many Shenxiao traditions in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi. Those who venerated \*Chen Nan, \*Bai Yuchan, and their disciples, meanwhile, also made Thunder Ritual central to their practice. Thunder Ritual was not only formative in the rise of the \*Qingwei (Pure Tenuity) legacy and its own variety of thunder rituals, but also appears in the \*Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way) of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Later varieties of the \*Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) tradition also used it. While basically exorcistic, it could also be employed to break open the gates of hell and liberate the dead. Many notable scriptures and important deities centered their activity in a new sacred bureaucratic department known as the Thunder Ministry (*leibu* 雷部).

*Scriptural origins.* The Thunder Rites may have roots in the \**Dongyuan shen Zhou jing* (Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss). This original nucleus is augmented by Tantric elements and placed within a more comprehensive cosmic setting. Thus the Sanskritized version of the incantatory *Tiantong yinfan xianjing* 天童經 (Immortal Scripture of the Celestial Lad in Hidden Brahmanic Language; CT 633) is later called the *Thunder Scripture* (*Leijing* 雷經) in some ritual texts. Shenxiao works also provided textual foundations, including the *Leiting yujing* 雷霆玉經 (Jade Scripture of the Thunderclap; CT 15), printed editions of which circulated in the early 1200s; the \**Yushu jing* (Scripture of the Jade Pivot); and the related *Chaotian xielei zhenjing* 朝天謝雷真經 (Authentic Scripture for Giving Thanks to Thunder in Homage to Heaven; CT 17). The main deity in the *Yushu jing*, the Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation (\*Puhua tianzun), oversaw a full Thunder Ministry that included divine civilian clerks and bureaucrats as well as spirit-generals and sacred warriors. The main thunder deity was integrated into Taoist ritual, and in the Ming period some

sects celebrated his birthday on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month.

*Sources.* The largest variety of Thunder Ritual material is found in the \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual; CT 1220). Chapters 1–55 and 56–101 of this work are respectively concerned with the Qingwei and Shenxiao rites. Other ritual traditions are represented in the *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠 (Uncollected Pearls from the Ocean of Rituals; CT 1166), specifically those of the Purple Throne (*zichen* 紫宸; j. 45–46) from Jiangxi. Several separate texts also appear in the Taoist Canon, including the following:

1. *Jingyu xuanwen* 靜餘玄問 (Tranquil Remnants and Queries on the Mystery; CT 1252), compiled by Bai Yuchan's disciples
2. *Leifa yixuan pian* 雷法議玄篇 (Folios Discussing the Mysteries of the Thunder Rituals; CT 1254), compiled by Wan Zongshi 萬宗師 in 1248
3. *Daofa xinchuan* 道法心傳 (Heart-to-Heart Transmission of Taoist Rites; CT 1253), a theoretical treatise by \*Wang Weiyi (fl. 1264–1304), a disciple of the Jiangxi master \*Mo Qiyan (1226–94)
4. *Mingdao pian* 明道篇 (Folios on Elucidating the Way; CT 273), also by Wang Weiyi, revealing the close identity of the Thunder Rituals with *neidan*
5. *Yuyang qihou qinji* 雨暘氣候親機 (The Intimate Mechanisms of Rain, Clear Weather, and Periods of Pneumas; CT 1275), a meteorological treatise on the Thunder rites (Kalinowski 1989–90, 106–7)
6. *Daofa zongzhi tu yanyi* 道法宗旨圖衍義 (Explanations and Illustrations of the Ultimate Purport of Taoist Rituals; CT 1277), in the Thunderclap tradition, compiled by Deng Nan 鄧楠 and Zhang Xixian 章希賢

The Thunderclap Retreat (*leiting zhai* 雷霆齋) was also incorporated into Taoist ritual, as shown by Lin Weifu's 林偉夫 (1239–1302) \**Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* (Golden Writings for Deliverance by the Sect Leader of the Numinous Treasure Tradition; CT 465 and 466).

Lowell SKAR

☐ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 47–49, 178–79, 186–88, 210–11; Boltz J. M. 1993a;

Chen Bing 1985, 46–47; Davis E. 2001, 24–30, 80–82; Despeux 1994, 138–42, 173–91; Li Yuanguo 2002; Skar 1996–97; Strickmann 1975

※ Leishen

Leishen

雷神

Thunder Deity *or* Thunder Deities

Early descriptions of Leishen, a thunder god, in old Chinese texts like the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; fourth/third century BCE?; trans. Mathieu 1983, 503) suggest a generic beastlike divinity vaguely linked to other figures such as the Thunder Officer (Leishi 雷師) and the Thunder Sire (Leigong 雷公). While many sources describe and depict him as a figure with a beak and belly for drumming whose sound can be heard for long distances—like thunder—others relate the figure to dragons or pigs and say he resides in the West.

During medieval times, Leishen often designated local spirits who receive sacrifices and ritual recognition in exchange for their help in ensuring that the sacrificer avoids punishments from Heaven and receives a regular flow of precipitation. Between the eighth and twelfth centuries, these divinities, frequently appearing in groups, began acting as tutelary deities in charge of both local weather conditions and lesser, often malevolent, spirits who may have represented some of the older cults spread throughout southern China.

Like the Song officials who had to deal with a shifting mix of Han and southern peoples around them, religious practitioners began using revealed written texts, magic, and rules to identify and administer the Thunder Deities. Besides granting them bureaucratic titles in exchange for their assistance, ritualists also resorted to punishments according to sacred penal law and threatened them with force. Among the most potent methods of dealing with these (and other) local deities were those associated with the new Taoist revelatory movements emerging and consolidating in lands south of the Yangzi River. Although these spirits became increasingly subject to the emerging protocols of a divine administrative hierarchy, especially in south China, they also retained their local specificity and religious loyalties among

the general populations. Often grouped into groups of five or thirty-six, these deities issued special talismanic missives written in strange characters known as “thunder script,” and were thoroughly integrated into several Song ritual movements. They were especially prominent in the \*Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) and \*Qingwei (Pure Tenuity) movements, and were central to the ritual activities of figures such as \*Lin Lingsu (1076–1120), \*Wang Wenqing (1093–1153), \*Sa Shoujian (fl. 1141–78?), \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?), and \*Huang Shunshen (1224–after 1286).

By the early thirteenth century, the Thunder Ministry (Leibu 雷部) was understood to be headed by the Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation Whose Sound of Thunder Responds to the Primordials in the Nine Heavens (Jiutian yingyuan leisheng Puhua tianzun 九天應元雷聲普化天尊; see \*Puhua tianzun), at once an incarnation of the Great Saint of the Nine Heavens Who is Upright and Luminous (Jiutian zhenming dasheng 九天貞明大聖) and the Perfect King of Jade Clarity (Yuqing zhenwang 玉清真王). Later those who revered this exalted and bureaucratized form of the Thunder Deity performed special rites of reciting the deity's special scripture, the \*Yushu jing (Scripture of the Jade Pivot), on his birthday, the twenty-fourth day of the sixth lunar month.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Barrett 1980b, 167–69; Eberhard 1968, 253–56; Liu Zhiwan 1986; Maspero 1981, 97–98; Matsumoto Kōichi 1979; Skar 1996–97

※ *leifa*; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS

Leng Qian

冷謙

ca. 1310–ca. 1371; *zi*: Qijing 起敬 (*or*: 啟敬); *hao*: Longyang zi 龍陽子 (Master of Draconic Yang)

Leng Qian, whose birthplace is indicated in various sources as Jiaying 嘉興 (Zhejiang) or Wuling 武陵 (Hubei), was a painter and noted musician in the early years of the Hongwu reign period (1368–98). His biographical profile is blurred by legends. He is said to have painted the picture “The Immortals’

Beauty on Penglai” (*Penglai xianyi tu* 蓬萊仙奕圖) for \*Zhang Sanfeng in 1340. The colophon on this scroll, which is ascribed to Zhang himself, says that Leng first studied Buddhism but later devoted himself to Confucianism and Taoism. A stranger reportedly taught him \**neidan* and the \**Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection). Leng spent part of his life as a hermit on Mount Wu (Wushan 吳山, near Hangzhou). In 1367, Ming Taizu appointed him as a court musician. There are several explanations of why he lost the emperor's favor and under what circumstances he disappeared.

Three books are ascribed to Leng: the *Qinsheng shiliu fa* 琴聲十六法 (Sixteen Methods of Lute Playing; trans. van Gulik 1940), the *Taigu zhengyin* 太古正音 (Correct Tunes of Great Antiquity), and the *Xiuling yaozhi* 修齡要旨 (Essential Purport of the Cultivation of Longevity). The *Xuehai leibian* 學海類編 (Classified Anthology from the Ocean of Learning), compiled by Cao Rong 漕榮 (1613–85; ECCP 740), contains the first and third works (in *j.* 221 and 243, respectively), while the second is lost.

*Martina DARGA*

▣ van Gulik 1940; Little 2000b, 372–73; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 376–77; Seidel 1970, 491–2; Weng T. H. 1976; Wong Shiu Hon 1979, 15–16

Li Ao

李翱

ca. 772-ca. 836; *zi*: Xizhi 習之

Li Ao was a younger associate of the Confucian polemicist Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824; IC 397–40), and is chiefly known as a thinker for his *Fuxing shu* 復性書 (Book of Returning to One's True Nature), a work on self-cultivation completed in about 800. Despite an apparently consistent record of opposition to Buddhism in his other writings, in later ages this work was suspected of betraying Buddhist influence, a notion encouraged by Chan Buddhist stories suggesting that several encounters with Chan masters had converted him to their views. These stories may be shown to have no historical basis, and the fact that they were preceded by tales in which a Taoist plays a like role confirms the impression made by his writings that he

had some significance as an opponent of Taoism also.

That Li was not unaware of polemics between Taoism and Buddhism is made probable by his self-confessed studies of the works of Liang Su 梁肅 (753–93; IC 562–63), a prominent Buddhist layman who had exchanged a now lost correspondence with the famous Taoist writer \*Wu Yun. Such elements in his thought as the deliberate choice of the term *fixing* may reflect a deliberate challenge to Taoism. The use of the term as applied to self-cultivation is late, apparently deriving from \*Guo Xiang commentary on the \*Zhuangzi (*Sibu congkan* ed., 6.4a) on the impossibility of using common learning to “return to the basis of the nature and destiny” (*fu xingming zhi ben* 復性命之本). Similar terms are then deployed by \*Cheng Xuanying writing on the *Zhuangzi* and elsewhere, whence perhaps they were borrowed for polemical purposes by Buddhist laymen of Liang's generation. That Li was actually using a common stock of self-cultivation language (much of which could be found in Confucian texts like the \**Yijing*) in order to make points against both Buddhism and Taoism is further supported by a close reading of the *Fuxing shu*, which betrays a not entirely explicit concern with transcending mortality. No suggestion may be found, however, that Taoist solutions are acceptable: the “fasting of the mind” (\**xinzhai*), for instance, a term from *Zhuangzi*, is accorded only a strictly relative importance.

The notion that Li's opposition to Taoism may have diminished in his later career has sometimes been argued on the basis of texts such as the “biography” *He Shouwu zhuan* 何首烏傳 (Biography of He “Black Hair”). But there is no more in this tale of the discovery of a plant conferring long life on those who ingest it to suggest that its author had changed his ideas (and his practical opposition to Taoism in his role as a civil servant) than in any of Li's occasional purely literary references to stories of immortals. What the *Fuxing shu* does demonstrate, however, is that the efforts of writers like Wu Yun in making Taoist self-cultivation techniques as widely available as Buddhist ones did succeed in presenting those who wished to argue for a purely Confucian approach in this area with the double task of delimiting a system neither Buddhist nor Taoist. This task, moreover, was certainly not completed by Li Ao, but remained a problem even under the Song dynasty.

T. H. BARRETT



Li Chunfeng

李淳風

ca. 602-ca. 670; *hao*: Huangguan zi 黃冠子  
(Master of the Yellow Headgear)

Li Chunfeng's affiliation with Taoism probably sprang from the influence of his father who, in frustration because he could not satisfy his ambition for advancing to a higher office in the bureaucracy, resigned from his official post as District Defender (*wei* 尉) and became a Taoist priest during the Sui dynasty. Whatever the case, Chunfeng was widely read in all kinds of books, but was particularly learned in astronomy, calendrical calculations, and YinYang lore. In 627 or shortly thereafter he submitted a critique of the current imperial calendar that was so well reasoned he received a post in the Office of the Grand Astrologer (*taishi ju* 太史局), the central government's bureau of astronomy and allied sciences. He then made a suggestion for construction of a new armillary sphere that Tang Taizong (r. 626–49) accepted. The device, manufacture of which was completed in 633, was a radical innovation because it had three nests of concentric rings instead of the usual two. Afterward he participated in the compilation of the chapters on astronomy, calendars, and portents for the *Jinshu* (History of the Jin) and *Suishu* (History of the Sui). In 648 he became Director (*ling* 令) of the Office of the Grand Astrologer. In that capacity Taizong asked him to interpret a portent that predicted a female ruler, Empress Wu (r. 690–705), would assume the throne. Li confirmed the prognostication and added his own prophecy: the lady, who was already in the emperor's harem, would usurp the throne in no more than thirty years and would decimate the Tang royal clan. In 656, Tang Gaozong (r. 649–83) commissioned him to participate in the annotation of two mathematical works that became textbooks at capital schools. In 662 he began a revision of the Tang calendar, promulgated by the emperor in 664. He died around 670 at the age of sixty-eight.

Li wrote an annotation to the *Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu* 太上赤文洞神三籙 (Highest Three Registers in Red Script of the Cavern of Spirit; CT 589), a work attributed to \*Tao Hongjing. Li's preface is dated the third lunar

month of 632. The first of the registers (3a–8a) is based on the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*) of the *\*Yijing* for each of which the text supplies a talisman. Adepts could wield it to sojourn in various spiritual realms during dreams. The second (8b–16b) is an instrument for communicating with the spirits and contains instructions on forming mudrās. It possesses the powers to hide one's shadow, open locks, levitate the body one-hundred feet, make one invisible, and cause trees to blossom in the winter among other things. The last register (16b–24b) has eleven talismans. It possesses powers to call down spirits to perform various tasks. One of them with a white face, one eye and no nose knows where runaway slaves can be found. Another—a woman clad in black, carrying pears and riding a jackass—can cure suppurating sores and blindness. The *\*Jinsuo liuzhu yin* (Guide to the Golden Lock and the Flowing Pearls) has also been attributed to Li Chunfeng, but current research indicates that the text was compiled after his death.

*Charles D. BENN*

▣ Barrett 1990; Needham 1959, *passim*; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 306–10; Strick-mann 1996, 232–36

※ *Jinsuo liuzhu yin*

Li Daochun

李道純

fl. 1288–92; *zi*: Yuansu 元素; *hao*: Qing'an 清庵 (Clear Hermitage),  
Yingchan zi 瑩蟾子 (Master of the Shining Toad)

Li Daochun, who came from Duliang 都梁 (Hunan), was the abbot of the Changsheng guan 長生館 (Abbey of Long Life) in Yizhen 儀真 (Jiangsu) and a *\*daoshi* in Xuyi 盱眙 (Jiangsu). Not much is known of his life. He was a disciple of Wang Jinchan 王金蟾, who in turn had studied under *\*Bai Yuchan*. According to a work compiled by Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤 (fl. 1288–1306) and other disciples, the *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 清庵瑩蟾子語錄 (Recorded Sayings of [Li] Qing'an, Master of the Shining Toad; CT 1060), he also lived on Mount Mao (*\*Maoshan*, Jiangsu) and in Yangzhou 揚州 (Jiangsu).

Li wrote three independent works and five commentaries to earlier texts:

1. *\*Zhonghe ji* (Anthology of Central Harmony; CT 249)
2. *Santian yisui* 三天易髓 (The Mutable Marrow of the Three Heavens; CT 250), containing brief notes on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* (Heart Sūtra) and the *\*Yinfu jing*
3. *Quanzhen jixuan biyao* 全真集玄祕要 (Collected Mysteries and Secret Essentials of Quanzhen; CT 251)
4. *Daode huiyuan* 道德會元 (Returning to the Origin of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 699; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 107–9)
5. *Qingjing jingzhu* 清靜經注 (Commentary to the Scripture of Clarity and Quiescence; CT 755)
6. *Datong jingzhu* 大通經注 (Commentary to the Scripture of Great Pervasiveness; CT 105)
7. *Donggu zhenjing zhu* 洞古真經注 (Commentary to the Authentic Scripture of Cavernous Antiquity; CT 107)
8. *Xiaozai huming miaojing zhu* 消災護命妙經注 (Commentary to the Wondrous Scripture on Dispelling Disasters and Protecting Life; CT 101)

As a master of the Southern Lineage (*\*Nanzong*) of *\*neidan*, Li Daochun acknowledges the legacy of *\*Zhang Boduan* and refers to him as *zushi* 祖師 (Ancestral Master). He also emphasizes the importance of the *Daode jing*, whose notions of Dao and Virtue (*\*de*) are, in his view, identical with those of the *\*Yijing*. Li is a syncretist, however, and often equates Taoism with Confucianism (especially the Neo-Confucian doctrines of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, 1017–73; SB 277–81) and with Buddhism (the *Prajñāpāramitā* or Perfection of Wisdom textual tradition, the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*, and Chan).

Li's teaching shows a tendency to subitism (*dun* 頓) and what we would call idealism. He often stresses the necessity of reintegrating the precosmic particle of light that abides in everyone and gives sense to all kinds and levels of practice (see *\*dianhua*). He gives the term *quanzhen* 全真 (“complete reality”) the meaning of conciliation of opposites, or union of the “two halves.” In his view, spiritual and *neidan* cultivation should be pursued on two levels, which he calls “fire” and “water” and relates to mind (*\*xin*) and physiology (*shen* 身). On the mental level, one should decrease one's thoughts in order to attain clarity and quiescence (*\*qingjing*); on the

physiological level, one should forget the emotions in the midst of action in order to attain harmony. Li also repeatedly emphasizes the necessity of “crushing” or “pulverizing” emptiness, i.e., of forgetting it and dismissing so-called “vain emptiness” (*wankong* 頑空).

Besides Cai Zhiyi, we know the name of five disciples who compiled or completed Li Daochun's works and engaged in dialogues with him: \*Miao Shanshi, Zhao Daoke 趙道可, Zhang Yingtan 張應坦, Chai Yuangao 柴元皋, and Deng Decheng 鄧德成.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 179–84, 217–18, 225–26; Li Yuanguo 1988, 478–95; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 354; Robinet 1995a, 22–24, 45–46, 75–77, 148–56, and 158–63; Yokote Yutaka 1996b, 24–64; Zhan Shichuang 1989, 127–38; Zhan Shichuang 1997b

※ *Zhonghe ji*; *neidan*; Nanzong

Li Daoqian

李道謙

1219–96; *zi*: Hefu 和甫; *hao*: Tianle 天樂 (Heavenly Bliss)

Li Daoqian is the foremost historiographer of the early \*Quanzhen order. Although Quanzhen has produced many hagiographic works paying attention to the reliability of their accounts, Li Daoqian's work stands apart in terms of both quality and quantity. Educated in the Confucian tradition in a prominent family from Kaifeng (Henan), Li converted to Taoism after the demise of the Jin state. In 1242, he became the disciple of Yu Zhidao 于志道 (1166–1250), the most eminent Quanzhen master in the Shaanxi area at that time. His talents helped him climb quickly through the Quanzhen hierarchy: he held various posts in Shaanxi and eventually became abbot of the Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Double Yang) in 1277. In those same years, he compiled a chronology of the lives of Quanzhen patriarchs, the \**Qizhen nianpu* (CT 175); a collection of biographies of thirty-seven Quanzhen masters who lived at the Chongyang gong, the *Zhongnan shan Zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 終南山祖庭仙真內傳 (Inner Biographies of the

Immortals and Real Men of the Ancestral Court in the Zhongnan Mountains; 1284; CT 955); and an anthology of inscriptions related to the history of Quanzhen, the \**Ganshui xianyuan lu* (Accounts of the Immortals Who Appeared [After the Revelation] at Ganshui; CT 973).

Li seems to have spent most of his religious life working for the glorification of the Quanzhen order, at a time when Quanzhen was facing harsh criticism for the instant and widespread success of its proselytism. His works appeared around the time when, after the Buddhist accusations of impropriety that led to condemnations without much effect in 1255 and 1258, Emperor Khubilai (Shizu, r. 1260–1294) reopened the trial and, in 1281, ordered the Taoist Canon compiled four decades earlier by the Quanzhen order to be burned (see \**Xuandu baozang*). One can read in Li's writings an apology of the benign intentions of Quanzhen; his works are devoid of any direct attack on the Buddhists, in sharp contrast to the vilification of Taoism in the notorious Buddhist work, the *Bianwei lu* 辯偽錄 (Accounts of Disputation of [Taoist] Falsehood; T. 2116) by the monk Xiangmai 祥邁 (fl. 1286–91). Li's important responsibilities and his friendship with many famous literati of the time, whose contributions to Quanzhen eulogy appear in the *Ganshui xianyuan lu*, surely influenced his balanced approach to such delicate aspects of recent and contemporary religious history.

Besides his three extant works, Li also wrote an extensive treatise on the Quanzhen holy land, where he spent most of his religious career, entitled *Zhongnan shan ji* 終南山記 (Records of the Zhongnan Mountains), as well as two personal anthologies, all lost.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 68; Chen Guofu 1963, 243–44; Miura Shūichi 1992

※ *Ganshui xianyuan lu*; *Qizhen nianpu*; Quanzhen

Li Hanguang

李含光

683–769; hao: Xuanjing xiansheng 玄靜先生  
(Elder of Mysterious Quiescence)

Li Hanguang, the spiritual heir of \*Sima Chengzhen, was recognized as the thirteenth \*Shangqing patriarch or Grand Master (*zongshi* 宗師). He spent most of his career supervising the Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu) establishment and restoring the textual relics of the Shangqing founders. His unusually well-documented life is recorded in two early inscription texts by renowned officials, as well as in numerous local histories and Taoist anthologies, though not in either Tang dynastic history. The inscription texts present Li as a filial son, skilled calligrapher, and accomplished scholar, whose counsel was sought by emperors and officers of state. As Sima's successor, he was assiduously courted by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56), and their extensive correspondence has been preserved.

A biography dated 777 by the eminent scholar Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–85), like a 772 inscription by Liu Shi 柳識, relates that Li's forebears had held government positions for centuries, but his grandfather chose a life of seclusion, and his father “practiced the Dao of old Dan,” (i.e., Laozi). Yan adds that Li's mother was a person of character and intelligence from the eminent Wang clan of Langya 琅琊 (Shandong). After private study with an obscure local master, Li Hanguang took ordination as a \**daoshi* in 705, and devoted himself to studying the Taoist classics. In 729, Sima transmitted his “grand methods” to Li, whereupon Xuanzong summoned him to reside at an abbey on Mount Wangwu (\*Wangwu shan, Henan) where Sima had dwelt. A year later, Li returned to Mount Mao and declined further summonses. In 745/746, he was summoned to court, but when Xuanzong requested a transmission of Taoist methods (such as he had earlier received from Sima), Li refused, citing a foot affliction. With his court nonplussed by such an excuse, Xuanzong desisted, but continued to inundate Li with letters and gifts. He installed Li at Ziyang 紫陽 where the Shangqing founders had lived, and there Li continued to restore the manuscripts of the tradition. In 748, he was apparently obliged to grant Xuanzong a ritual transmission, but thereafter he continued to excuse himself from court on grounds of illness.

Li died at Ziyang on 16 December 769. Liu Shi reports that Li announced his “transformation” in advance, and, amidst numinous clouds, ascended “the stages of *xian*-hood.” In panegyric passages, Yan Zhenqing asserts that Li “concocted comestible potions,” but otherwise gives little reason to envision him as a practitioner of operative alchemy (a legacy of \*Tao Hongjing seldom mentioned in accounts of Li's immediate predecessors).

Yan reports that Li compiled a pharmacological guide; study notes on

*Daode jing*, \**Zhuangzi*, and the \**Yijing*; and notes on “esoteric studies” (*neixue* 內學). None of those texts, or others mentioned in Liu Shi's inscription, survive. (See also part 2 of the entry \**pudu*.)

Li was apparently the first “Grand Master” since \*Wang Yuanzhi to conduct his activities at Mount Mao full-time, and perhaps the endurance of both that great center and the Shangqing sacred literature owed considerably to Li's efforts. His great fame in courtly circles, meanwhile, doubtless owed to his status as the successor to Sima Chengzhen. The odd fact that the compilers of the *Jiu Tangshu* (Old History of the Tang) chose to ignore a figure of such eminence seems explainable by the fact that Li, unlike other Taoists of his day, could not easily be portrayed as having played any exemplary political role.

Russell KIRKLAND

▣ Barrett 1996, 69–70; Chen Guofu 1963, 59–61; Kirkland 1986a, 72–95, 298–323; Kirkland 1986b; Schafer 1989, 82–84

※ Shangqing

Li Hong

李弘

The first traces of a divinized Laozi go back to the imperial sacrifices of 165 CE (see \*[Laozi ming](#)). It is likely, however, that the ancient sage was already deemed to be a god before his official divinization. He held a central position in the Taoist movements of the second century: identified with the Dao itself, Laozi is the Most High Lord Lao (Taishang Laojun 太上老君; see \*Laozi and Laojun), endowed with the attributes of a primordial deity born before the coagulation of the original energies of the universe. He is an omnipotent deity who controls the universal rhythms and intervenes in worldly history. In times of crisis, he reiterates his teaching, appearing to saints who are worthy of his revelations or to sovereigns who benefit from his political advice. In other instances, he manifests himself to confirm the Heavenly Mandate (*tianming* 天命) of the ruling dynasty.

The copious revealed literature produced by different Taoist currents

during the Six Dynasties is similarly claimed to have a divine origin. The stereotyped introductory formula “Dao yan” 道言 (“The Dao says”), used profusely in these holy scriptures, confers transcendental authority and authenticity upon them. It no doubt echoes the “Fo shuo” 佛說 (“The Buddha says” or “preaches”) of Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) *sūtras*. Thus Lord Lao, personification of the Dao, addresses himself to human creatures in order to transmit methods of longevity or salvation, moral precepts, and liturgical codes.

The birth of this anthropomorphic Dao coincides with the formation of Taoist self-identity in the first centuries CE. Each epiphany of Lord Lao corresponds to a crucial episode of Taoist religious history. According to the *Zhengyi fawen Tianshi jiaojie kejing* 正一法文天師教戒科經 (CT 789, 13a–b; Bokenkamp 1997, 168–70) and the *\*Santian neijie jing* (1.8b–9b; Bokenkamp 1997, 220–23), the first one occurred at the end of the Zhou dynasty (third century BCE), when Laozi revealed the *\*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace). Later he returned to earth to pronounce the *Daode jing*. He then manifested himself again as another “perfected immortal”—the Buddha. His epiphany of 142 CE inaugurated the history of the Taoist religion with the foundation of the *\*Tianshi dao*. This image of Laozi as a sage and compassionate counselor hides a more extreme aspect of the god's personality: his messianic vocation. Under the appellation of Li Hong or Li zhenjun 李真君 (Li the Perfected Lord; Li is the surname of Laozi's mother), Laozi was expected to save the world.

From the Han period onward, Li Hong (whose name is often written as a pun: 木子弓口, 弓口十八子, or 木子三台) emerged as the preeminent Chinese messiah. Expectations focusing on his coming gave birth to a messianic and millenarian tradition that reached its climax during the turbulent period of the Six Dynasties, when the main Taoist movements prophesied Li Hong's Parousia. The apocalyptic scriptures produced by these movements describe the messiah's advent. Li Hong was expected to descend to earth in a *renchen* 壬辰 year (the twenty-ninth of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#)) to usher in a reign of Great Peace (*\*taiping*) in an entirely renewed universe, cleansed of all traces of evil and inhabited only by the initiated and the immortal “seed-people” (*\*zhongmin*).

Lord Li, the savior, is also a prophet. He predicts his own advent as well as the preceding apocalyptic horrors, the pangs of the last days. These prophecies have a more or less revolutionary intensity depending on their



milieu. For sectarian movements such as the one that produced the \**Dongyuan shenzhou jing*, a political message underlies the religious import: the apocalyptic outburst is both the result and the cause of the fall of the ruling Jin dynasty, and Li Hong's advent anticipates the upcoming reestablishment of the Han house by Liu Yu 劉裕 (356–422), founder of the new Liu Song dynasty (420–79). The political program advanced by these devotees, however, does not go beyond a simplistic, conformist utopia. Li Hong would govern a kingdom of absolute equality, peace, and happiness through non-action (\**wuwei*). All the virtuous survivors of the apocalypse—equally tall, good looking and immortal—would be granted high official posts in the theocratic bureaucracy.

Cosmic god for the intellectual elite of orthodox Taoism, and messianic bearer of a new Heavenly Mandate for sectarian Taoists, Li Hong shepherded the hopes of people prey to apocalyptic anxiety. Several prophets in flesh and blood who called themselves Li or Li Hong, mentioned in the official histories since the Han period, were executed for deceiving the masses and causing social disorder. Most of them belonged to the \**Lijia dao*, a long-lasting sect that spread throughout southern China during the Six Dynasties, and was condemned as heterodox by the Taoists themselves.

Nevertheless, Li Hong's destiny was by no means limited to that of a flouted and persecuted heretic. At the opposite end of the social scale, he was also honored as an imperial messiah: official ideology promptly took over Taoist messianic beliefs and used them for dynastic legitimation. Many emperors claimed to be incarnations of the divine Lord to justify their mandates. The tradition of Li as messiah-emperor continued from the Han period down to at least the Tang dynasty, of which Li was considered to be the divine ancestor (Bokenkamp 1994).

The appropriation of Li Hong's myth by the ruling houses did not preclude his appearance, time and again, as a popular savior prophet. His last appearance in Chinese history was in 1112 CE, when he was executed for fomenting a rebellion.

*Christine MOLLIER*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 275–306 passim; Li Fengmao 1986, 282–304; Mollier 1990, 10–13, 159–62; Seidel 1969; Seidel 1969–70; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 69–92

※ Laozi and Laojun; *housheng*; *Housheng daojun lieji*; APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

Li Quan

李筌

fl. 713–60; *hao*: Dagan zi 達觀子 (Master of Penetrating Observation),  
Shaoshi shanren 少室山人 (Man of Mount Shaoshi)

Li Quan served in several official positions during the Kaiyuan reign period (713–41), first as deputy commander of a regional defense force in the south, then as a Vice Censor-in-Chief (*yushi zhongcheng* 御史中丞) at the capital, and finally as a Prefect (*cishi* 刺史) of a prefecture in Hebei. His career in government came to an end when he offended the dictatorial chief minister Li Linfu 李林甫 (?–752) who demoted him. Thereafter, he forsook government service, took up the life of a Taoist recluse and roamed among the holy mountains of China.

On a visit to Mount Song (\*Songshan, Henan) southeast of Luoyang, Li Quan discovered a copy of the \**Yinfu jing* (Scripture of the Hidden Accordance) written in vermilion ink on white silk. It was said to be one of several copies of the text that \*Kou Qianzhi (365?–448) had deposited on various sacred mountains in 441. He copied and recited it, but could not understand its metaphysical subject matter and recondite terminology. Later he encountered an old woman at Mount Li (Lishan 驪山, Shaanxi) just east of Chang'an. The crone was able to explain the text to Li, and presumably it was on the basis of her insight that he composed his commentary to it (CT 110), one of twenty annotations and commentaries that survive in the Taoist Canon.

*Charles D. BENN*

📖 Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 254–63; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 282–83; Rand 1979

※ *Yinfu jing*; TAOISM AND THE MILITARY ARTS

Li Rong

李榮

fl. 658–63; *hao*: Renzhen zi 任真子  
(Master of Following Perfection)

Li Rong was a \*Chongxuan (Twofold Mystery) thinker of the seventh century. He came from Mianxian 綿縣 (northern Sichuan) and became a Taoist monk in his early years, receiving basic training on Mount Fule (Fule shan 富樂山) in his home district. In the 650s, he appeared in the capital, Chang'an, where he was in close contact with high-class literati. In 658, 660, and 663, he served at the court debates as a defender of Taoism, but—at least according to Buddhist sources—shamefully embarrassed himself, being reduced to speechless exasperation on more than one occasion. In addition, the Buddhists accused him of plagiarizing Buddhist *sūtras* and of gleefully enjoying the fire that devastated the Da xingshan si 大興善寺 (Great Monastery of Flourishing Goodness) in the late 650s.

As a philosopher, Li Rong is known for his commentaries to the *Daode jing* and the \**Xisheng jing* (Scripture of Western Ascension). His thought closely follows the patterns of Chongxuan, focusing on the attainment of the Dao through two levels of truth and an increasing forgetfulness (*wang* 忘) and emptiness (*xu* 虛). In addition, he makes a more subtle distinction between worldly knowledge of good and evil, the wisdom of emptiness and Non-being, and insight that reflects the reality of the world with wisdom. He also emphasizes the necessity for enlightened teachers and sages in the world, and outlines their duties toward humanity, rejecting the ideal of the recluse who remains entirely uninvolved. His vision of self-cultivation, finally, is more physical than that commonly associated with Chongxuan, stressing the importance of \**qi* and its cultivation.

In a different vein, Li Rong is mentioned in Xuanyi's 玄嶷 (fl. 684–704) \**Zhenzheng lun* (Essays of Examination and Correction, 52.386c) as the compiler of the *Xiyu jing* 洗浴經 (Scripture of Ritual Cleanliness; S. 3380), a short manuscript set in the Palace of the Seven Treasures (Qibao gong 七寶宮) of the Heaven of the Mysterious Metropolis (Xuandu 玄都). Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see \*[sanqing](#)) here addresses a holy assembly in the ten directions and gives instructions on how to purify oneself properly for interaction with the divine: upon entering the “quiet chamber” (\**jingshi*), one should scatter flowers,

burn incense (see \**jinxiang*), and thoroughly cleanse one's body and mind. Although the text is devotional in flavor, it may yet be in some way related to Li Rong.

Li Rong's commentary to the *Daode jing* is preserved partly in the *Daode zhenjing zhu* 道德真經注 (Commentary to the Authentic Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; eleventh century; CT 722) and partly in the \*Dunhuang manuscripts P. 2577, 2594, 2864, 3237, 3777, and S. 2060; it is available in a critical edition by Fujiwara Takao (1983). His work on the *Xisheng jing*, entitled *Xisheng jing jizhu* 西昇經集注 (Collected Commentaries to the Scripture of Western Ascension; CT 726), has also been edited by Fujiwara (1986–88).

Livia KOHN

▣ Fujiwara Takao 1979; Fujiwara Takao 1983 (crit. ed. of the *Xisheng jing* comm.); Fujiwara Takao 1985; Fujiwara Takao 1986–88 (crit. ed. of the *Daode jing* comm.); Kohn 1991a, 189–211; Kohn 1992a, 141 and 145–46; Meng Wentong 1948a; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 239–41 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 476–87 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 190–205; Robinet 1977, 105–6; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 326–31 and *passim*

※ Chongxuan

Li Shaojun

李少君

fl. ca. 133 BCE

Li Shaojun, a \**fangshi* who lived during the Former Han dynasty, is the earliest known Chinese alchemist. He was active in the years when Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) was deliberating on the correct way to perform the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 rituals in honor of Heaven and Earth. The *fangshi* were one of the parties involved in the debate. According to the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian), Li suggested around 133 BCE that Wudi should perform a ceremony before a furnace asking divine beings (*wu* 物) to favor the compounding of an elixir. In the presence of those beings, cinnabar would

transmute itself into a gold fit to cast vessels for eating and drinking. Taking food and drink from them would extend the emperor's life and enable him to meet the immortals. After seeing them, the emperor could perform the *feng* and *shan* rituals and obtain immortality himself; this is what the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi) did at the beginning of human time. After he heard Li Shaojun's speech, adds the *Shiji*, Wudi devoted himself to alchemical experiments (*Shiji*, 28.1385; trans. Watson 1961, 2: 39).

This episode represents the first instance of imperial patronage of \**waidan* practices, which continued during the Six Dynasties and intensified in the Tang period (Li Guorong 1994). Li Shaojun's method, moreover, shows that rituals were associated with *waidan* since its earliest recorded beginnings. Also of interest is the mention of dishes and cups cast with alchemical gold, which is not isolated in the extant *waidan* literature: the extant version of the \**Jinye jing* is one of the texts that describes a similar method. Despite all this, Li Shaojun's image in the later tradition is not always positive. The commentary to the \**Jiudan jing*, in particular, criticizes him because his method gave more importance to the deity of the furnace than to the gods associated with the \**Taiqing* methods, such as the Great One (\**Taiyi*) and the Yellow Emperor (see *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣; CT 885, 13.1a–2b). The commentary describes Li's practice as \**zuodao* (“left ways,” a term often applied to magic) and claims that the correct *waidan* methods are those of the *Taiqing* tradition.

Fabrizio PREGADIO

▣ Barrett 1987b; Company 2002, 222–28; Needham 1976, 29–33; Pregadio 2006b, 29–32; Robinet 1984, 1: 11–12 and 24–25

※ *fangshi*; *waidan*

Li Xiong

李雄

270–334

Li Xiong, the first emperor of the non-Chinese state of Cheng-Han 成漢 (303–47), was from a hereditary Taoist family and ruled his state by Taoist

precepts. Xiong's great-grandfather, Li Hu 李虎, was a local leader of the Zong 賚 ethnicity in northern Sichuan during the late second and early third centuries. He converted to Taoism and led a group of 500 households to join the Celestial Master (\*Tianshi dao) kingdom of \*Zhang Lu in the Hanzhong 漢中 region (modern Sichuan/Shaanxi). When that state was conquered by Cao Cao 曹操 in 215, Li Hu and many of his coreligionists, Chinese and non-Chinese, were transferred to the Gansu region, where they lived for the next eighty years. Successive years of civil disorder, pestilence, and natural disasters prompted Xiong's father, Li Te 李特, to lead a huge body of migrants back to Sichuan at the beginning of the fourth century. In Sichuan, the migrants came into conflict with the local authorities. After Li Te was captured and executed, Li Xiong succeeded to power and eventually conquered the entire region of modern Sichuan as well as parts of Shaanxi, Guizhou, and Yunnan.

Li Xiong was aided and advised by a local Taoist leader named \*Fan Chang-sheng, who provided economic support and mantic counsel. Li Xiong offered the throne to Fan, who declined, citing prophecies that one surnamed Li was destined to rule. Xiong acceded to the throne as first king, then emperor, proclaiming his state to be Great Perfection (\*Dacheng), after a passage from the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Odes) that had been linked to the establishment of an age of Great Peace (\**taiping*). Fan was made Chancellor and given the title Great Master of the Four Seasons, the Eight Nodes, and Heaven and Earth (Sishi bajie tiandi taishi 四時八節天地太師), an appointment reminiscent of both titles held by Laozi in texts like the \**Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi) and the Celestial Master. Xiong enacted a series of policies, including a simplified legal code, leniency in the administration of justice, reduced taxes, and the establishment of schools, that resemble descriptions of a Taoist utopia. When Fan Changsheng died, he was succeeded in his post of Chancellor by his son. The hereditary connections of the Li family with Celestial Master Taoism, the use of prophecies foretelling a Taoist savior surnamed Li, the exalted position of the Fan family, and the domestic policies pursued by the state all suggest that a vision of a utopian Taoist state played a role in the creation and administration of Great Perfection.

Terry KLEEMAN

※ Fan Changsheng; Dacheng

Li Xiyue

李西月

1806–56; original *ming*: Pingquan 平權; *zi*: Tuanyang 團陽; *hao*: Hanxu zi 涵虛子 (Master Who Encompasses Emptiness), Changyi shan ren 長乙山人 (Man of Mount Changyi), Yuanqiao waishi 圓嶠外史 (The External Secretary of the Rounded Ridge)

Li Xiyue, the alleged founder of the Western Branch (Xipai 西派) of late *\*neidan*, was a native of Leshan 樂山 in Sichuan. He claimed to have received instructions on *neidan* from *\*Zhang Sanfeng*, whose attributed writings he edited in 1844 as the *Zhang Sanfeng quanji* 張三丰全集 (Complete Collection of Zhang Sanfeng). Li states that later he met the immortal *\*Lü Dongbin* in a temple on Mount Emei (*\*Emei shan*, Sichuan) and decided to found a new *neidan* movement that included Laozi, *\*Yin Xi*, *\*Chen Tuan*, and Zhang Sanfeng among its patriarchs. First called Yinxian pai 隱仙派 (Branch of the Concealed Immortal) or Youlong pai 猶龍派 (Branch of the One Resembling a Dragon) in honor of Laozi, the movement later became known as the Western Branch. Although this designation is opposed to *\*Lu Xixing's* Eastern Branch (Dongpai 東派), the terms “eastern” and “western” here simply designate the regions where the two movements had spread, Jiangxi and Jiangsu on the east and Sichuan on the west.

Li's writings are mainly inspired by the works of Lu Xixing and Sun Ruzhong 孫汝忠 (fl. 1615). Besides the *Zhang Sanfeng quanji*, they include the *Daoqiong tan* 道窮談 (Exhaustive Discussion of the Way), the *Sanche bizhi* 三車祕旨 (Secret Directions on the Three Chariots), the *Jiuceng lianxin fa* 九層鍊心法 (Methods for the Purification of the Mind in Nine Stages), the *Taishang shisan jing zhujie* 太上十三經注解 (Commentaries and Explications to Thirteen Scriptures of the Most High), and the *Haishan qiye* 海山奇遇 (Strange Encounter in a Retreat in Beihai; consisting of a chronology of Lü Dongbin's life and miracles divulged to Lu Xixing by the immortal himself in his retreat in Jiangsu). These texts were published during Li's lifetime, except for the *Daoqiong tan* and the *Sanche bizhi* which were

first printed in 1937 by \*Chen Yingning.

Li Xiyue's teachings are close to those of the Eastern Branch and the Southern Lineage (\*Nanzong) of *neidan*. His system consists of two major stages. The first focuses on cleansing the mind and purifying the self through concentration (\**ding*) and individual practice (*qingxiu* 清修 or “pure cultivation”). Instructions on this stage are found in the *Jiuceng lianxin fa*. This is followed by the stage of attaining the Dao through the union of Yin and Yang with the help of a partner. The training, however, is further divided into several levels. For example, the stage of “laying the foundations” (*zhuji* 築基) divides into “laying the minor foundations” and “laying the greater foundations.” Likewise, “nourishing the self” (*yangji* 養己) includes “self-nourishment” (*ziyang* 自養) and “mutual nourishment” (*xiangyang* 相養), and “purification of the self” (*lianji* 鍊己) includes an “inner purification” and an “outer purification.” Through these divisions and categories, the Western School offers one of the most complex systems of *neidan* practice.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 344–60; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 401–2

※ *neidan*

*liandu*

鍊度 (or: 煉度)

Salvation through Refinement

*Liandu* is a compound made of the words *lian* 鍊, here having the sense of bringing rebirth to the “spiritual body” (*hunshen* 魂身) of the deceased by refining it with fire and water, and *du* 度, meaning to have the spirit cross over from the underworld and ascend to the Heavenly Hall (*tiantang* 天堂). While the rite called *liandu* became the final rite of the Yellow Register Retreat (\**huanglu zhai*) only during the Song period, several sources show that the idea of “salvation through refinement” dates from the Six Dynasties. In particular, the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation) contains evidence of the idea that rebirth results from a process of refining when it states that “the \**hun* soul of the deceased (*sihun* 死魂) is refined and, through transcendent



mutation (*xianhua* 仙化), becomes human” (see Bokenkamp 1997, 418). The *Miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* 滅度五鍊生尸妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on Salvation through Extinction and the Fivefold Refinement of the Corpse; CT 369), dating from the Six Dynasties, further reveals that rebirth of the body of the deceased can be brought about through the “living breath” (*shengqi* 生氣) of the five directions, by burying a stone inscribed with the Authentic Scripts (*zhenwen* 真文) of the five directions in the graveyard. According to the Tang-dynasty *\*Chisong zi zhangli* (Master Red-Pine's Almanac of Petitions, 6.16b), the petitions offered to the deities in the Way of the Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*) included a petition for rebirth connected with the idea of “salvation through refinement.”

The Taoist rite of Salvation through Refinement, on the other hand, was developed during the Northern Song period and was incorporated into the *\*Lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) corpus. Evidence that it was a new rite is found in Jin Yunzhong's 金允中 (fl. 1224–25) *\*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1223, 17.19a) which states that when *\*Du Guangting* (850–933) edited ritual texts in the late ninth century, Salvation through Refinement was not yet being performed. Its importance in the Song period may be gauged by the fact that liturgical texts associated with the various forms of Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure devote much space to explanations of the *liandu* rite, to the extent that they surpass in number all other rites in the Walking the Way (*\*xingdao*) section of the ritual. As described in Jin Yunzhong's work (j. 37), the central element in the rite of Salvation through Refinement is the refinement of the “spiritual body” through the power of water and fire. As a result, the “spirit pneuma” (*shenqi* 神氣) is animated in the organs and limbs of the deceased through the power of both the “living breath” of the five directions and the recitation of the *\*Shengshen jing* (Scripture of the Life-Giving Spirits).

*Alchemical techniques for the salvation of the dead.* The Song-dynasty *\*Lingbao yujian* (Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure; CT 547, j. 38) explains the *liandu* rite by saying that externally the priest prepares water and fire, while internally he joins the trigrams *kan* 坎 ☵ and *li* 離 ☲, which represent Real Fire and Real Water. This is related to the idea that the priest can extend the efficacious power of the inner alchemical (*\*neidan*) techniques that he performs within his own body to the soul of the deceased.

More details on these techniques are found in Wang Qizhen's 王契真 (fl. ca. 1250) *\*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1221, 59.11a–13b). Here the priest visualizes his Muddy Pellet (*\*niwan*, the Cinnabar Field or *\*dantian* in the head) as the Three Heavens (*santian*; see *\*santian* and *liutian*), the top of his head as the Nine Heavens and the Thirty-Six Heavens (*\*jiutian* and *\*sanshiliu tian*), his left eye as the Palace of the Sun (*rigong* 日宮), his right eye as the Palace of the Moon (*yuegong* 月宮), the seven orifices of his face as the seven stars of the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*), the area behind the neck as the Murky and Veiled Remote Tower (*yuluo xiaotai* 鬱羅蕭臺), the mouth as the Celestial River (*tianhe* 天河), the trachea as the Twelve-storied Pavilion (*shi'er chong lou* 十二重樓), the heart as the Fire Palace on the Vermilion Mound (Zhuling huofu 朱陵火俯), the backbone as the Celestial Staircase (*tianjie* 天階), the left kidney as the Water Pond (*shuichi* 水池), the right kidney as the Fire Swamp (*huozhao* 火沼), and the Caudal Funnel (*weilü* 尾閭, a point in the area of the coccyx; see *\*sanguan*) as the Yin pass. After the priest refines the soul of the deceased in the Water Pond and the Fire Swamp within his body, divine officers lead the soul to ascend the Celestial Staircase and enter the Fire Palace. By burning talismans the priest is said to be able to ensure that the deceased “crosses the bridge” (see *\*guoqiao*). One of the countless “fire dragons” (*huolong* 火龍) within the Fire Swamp takes the soul—now refined and transformed into an “infant”—on its back and flies with it up to the Remote Tower to receive rebirth according to its spiritual rank.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Boltz J. M. 1983; Lagerwey 1987c, 233–35; Little 2000b, 178–79; Maruyama Hiroshi 1994b; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 554–65; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 233–39

※ *lianxing*; DEATH AND AFTERLIFE; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION; REBIRTH

*lianqi*

鍊氣 (or: 煉氣)

refining breath; refining pneuma

*Lianqi* designates a technique for purifying the breath (or pneuma) throughout the body. In the Tang period, the *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 延陵先生集新舊服氣經 (Scripture on New and Old Methods for the Ingestion of Breath Collected by the Elder of Yanling) describes the method as follows: “Harmonize the breath and swallow it. When you do this, you must practice breath retention (\**biqu*) for as long as possible. ‘Obscure your mind’ (*mingxin* 冥心), stop your thoughts, follow the movement of the breath, release and regulate it. . . . It is not necessary to practice daily, but mainly when the mind is clear and relaxed, for example every five or ten days” (CT 825, 23b–25a).

Besides the *Xinjiu fuqi jing*, other texts containing brief descriptions of the *lianqi* method include the *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing* 嵩山太無先生氣經 (Scripture on Breath by the Elder of Great Non-Being from Mount Song; CT 824, 1.7a–b; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 21) and the *Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue* 幻真先生服內元氣訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of the Inner Original Breath According to the Elder of Illusory Perfection; CT 828, 5a–b, and YJQQ 60.18b–19c; trans. Despeux 1988, 75–76, from the version in the \**Chifeng sui*).

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Maspero 1981, 474–76

※ *yangsheng*

*lianxing*

鍊形 (or: 煉形)

“refining the form”

Early Taoist texts and sources related to classical cosmology represent “form” (\**xing*) as a threshold between the Dao and objects, as an ontologic and cosmogonic stage situated between “images” (\**xiang*) and matter (*zhi* 質), and as a lodging for spirit (\**shen*). The classical statement in this regard is found in the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements) portion of the \**Yijing*: “What is above the form is called the Dao; what is below the form is called an object (*qi* 器)” (see Wilhelm R. 1950, 323). Other works similarly

describe form as an intermediate element in the ontologic shift from the Formless (*wuxing* 無形) to the “ten thousand things.” Among them is a Han-dynasty apocryphal text on the *Yijing* that depicts the shift as happening in four stages: the first is undifferentiated Chaos (*hunlun* 渾淪; see \*[hundun](#)), while the other three see the emergence of pneuma (\**qi*), form, and matter, respectively (Robinet 1997a, 134–35, 139–40; also in \**Liezi* 1, trans. Graham 1960, 18–19). At the end of this process, form continues to play its intermediary role as a dwelling for and counterpart of spirit (*shen*). In this way, as stated in \**Huainan zi* 1, it is one of the three major constituents of life, together with spirit and pneuma (breath).

“Release from the form.” Building on this background, \**neidan* and other traditions maintain that the locus of self-cultivation is not the material body (*ti* 體) but the “form” (\**xing*), which one should transcend in order to attain the Dao. The notion of “release from the form” (*xingjie* 形解) first appears in a \*Mawangdui manuscript, the *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions; trans. Harper 1998, 385–411). Here “flowing into the form” (*liuxing* 流形) is said to produce life, but “when flowing into the form produces a body (*ti*) . . . death occurs.” The *Shiwen* thus distinguishes the rise of the form from the rise of the body, saying that the generation of the form leads to life while the generation of the body leads to death. To invert this sequence, one should cultivate one's breath in order to fill one's form with the “culminant essence of Heaven and Earth (*tiandi zhi zhijing* 天地之至精).” The person who is capable of doing this obtains “release from the form.”

“Release from the form” is also often associated with “release from the corpse” (or “from the mortal body,” \**shijie*) as an instance of undergoing a “metamorphosis” (\**bianhua*). The relation between these two notions is explicit in Taoist sources of the Han and Six Dynasties, where form is the locus of refining after death. In the Way of the Celestial Masters (\**Tianshi dao*), the designated place for this post-mortem purification is the Palace of Taiyin 太陰 or Great Darkness, which the \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing* (ca. 200 CE) describes as “the place where those who have accumulated the Dao refine their form” before they obtain rebirth (*fusheng* 復生; Bokenkamp 1997, 102 and 135).

This type of release from the world, which is said to happen at midnight (\**Zhengao*, 4.17a; \**Wushang biyao*, 87.4b; see Lagerwey 1981b, 185), is contrasted with the superior “ascension to Heaven in broad daylight” (*bairi*

*shengtian* 白日昇天) or more precisely (as shown by several accounts in hagiographic texts) “at midday” (see Yoshikawa Tadao 1992b, 176–85). The adept who ascends to Heaven typically becomes a member of the celestial bureaucracy by rising to one of the heavens distinguished in Daoist cosmography, i.e., to the celestial domain corresponding to the state of realization attained at the time of death. From there, he does not return to the human world; on the contrary, he can continue his progress toward higher states and ascend to higher heavens. By contrast, “release from the corpse” occurs by undertaking a descent to Great Darkness, located in the tenebrous regions of the extreme north, which in traditional Chinese cosmography is situated “below” instead of “above” (except when the north is equivalent to the Center). The direction of the journey undertaken to undergo “release from the corpse,” in other words, is opposite to the one followed to ascend to Heaven. These two ways of deliverance, therefore, are distinguished by opposite but corresponding features: ascent and descent, midday and midnight, light and darkness, Sun (*ri* 日) and Moon (*taiyin* 太陰). Moreover, ascent to Heaven is the way of non-return to the world: one continues one's spiritual journey ascending from one empyrean to the next. On the contrary, descent to Great Darkness is the way of return: the adept obtains a rebirth, or “second birth,” and comes back to the world in a body that preserves itself indefinitely, so that he may continue his search for a higher form of liberation. The final release from the world of form may happen at any time, or at the conclusion of the cosmic cycle in which he lives.

“Refinement of the form” is not attainable only by living adepts. The \*Lingbao corpus describes a rite that enables the dead to refine their forms in Great Darkness and their celestial souls (*\*hun*) in the Southern Palace (Nangong 南宮); after some years, the refined body and the purified celestial souls reunite for rebirth (Bokenkamp 1989). In \*Shangqing Taoism, adepts delivered the same benefit to their ancestors through meditation practices, thus allowing them to bathe in the Water of Smelting Refinement (*yelian zhi shui* 冶鍊之水), refine their forms, and “receive a new embryo” (*gengtai* 更胎; Robinet 1984, 1: 170–73).

Elsewhere, the *Xiang'er* (trl. Bokenkamp 1997, 89 and 92) criticizes those who try to “refine the form” through visualization practices, believing that the inner gods are forms taken by the Dao. Indeed, meditation on one's inner gods is also described as “refining one's form” (*\*Baopu zi* 5.111, 6.128). A passage found in both the Outer and Inner versions of the *\*Huangting jing*

(Scripture of the Yellow Court) says that “hiding” oneself (*fu* 伏) in Great Darkness results in “seeing one's own form” (*jian wu xing* 見吾形) or in “achieving one's own form” (*cheng wu xing* 成吾形), that is, the “real form” (*zhenxing* 真形) beyond one's material body.

Underlying these different trends of thought and religious practice is the view that achieving transcendence requires going beyond one's own body. “Form” provides the necessary mediation in this task. As often occurs, *neidan* in this instance inherits and develops ideas and customs that originated in various contexts—specifically, Taoist thought, early cosmology, Han-Six Dynasties religious traditions, and meditation practices.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Pregadio 2004; Robinet 1979b; Sakade Yoshinobu 1983b

※ *liandu*; *xing*; *neidan*; DEATH AND AFTERLIFE; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

*Lidai chongdao ji*

歷代崇道記

Records of the Veneration of the Dao  
over Successive Generations

The *Lidai chongdao ji* (CT 593), originally entitled *Lidai diwang chongdao ji* 歷代帝王崇道記 (Records of the Veneration of the Dao by Sovereigns over Successive Generations), is a short text compiled by \*Du Guangting (850–933). Du submitted it to the throne on January 4 of 885 just before the Tang court returned to Chang'an after a three-year exile in Chengdu. The text commences with the reign of King Mu of the Zhou (Muwang, r. 956–918 BCE) and concludes in 884 CE. However, eighty-five percent of the work covers the Tang dynasty (618–907) and about one fourth of it only four years, 881–84, in the reign of Tang Xizong (r. 873–88). The portion devoted to the pre-Tang period is largely a fabrication supplying imaginary figures for the number of temples established and priests ordained by various emperors.

This collection of notes is one of the more important sources for the history of Taoism during the Tang dynasty, which favored the religion for

ideological reasons. When he wrote the *Lidai chongdao ji*, Du Guangting was a member of Xizong's court, specifically a drafter of decrees, who clearly had access to official documents that are no longer extant. The message of this text is simple: rulers who patronized Taoism by building temples and ordaining priests would be rewarded with signs such as miracles and epiphanies. It also offered some hope to the Tang, severely weakened by rebellions between 875 and 884, that it would survive with the assistance of the gods.

The *Lidai chongdao ji* is most reliable for the reign of Xizong (pp. 15a–20a), but less so for earlier epochs of the Tang. For the latter one should consult the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature; 1013; j. 53–54) where the remnants of the Tang's “veritable records” survive, the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Assembled Essentials of the Tang; 961; j. 50), and the dynastic histories as well as the *\*Hunyuan shengji* (Saintly Chronicle of Chaotic Origin) and the *\*Youlong zhuan* (Like unto a Dragon).

Charles D. BENN

▣ Barrett 1996, 94–95; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 129–31; Verellen 1989, 97–100

※ Du Guangting

### *Liexian zhuan*

#### 列仙傳

#### Biographies of Exemplary Immortals

The *Liexian zhuan* is the first collection of immortals' biographies to have survived. It is traditionally ascribed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–8 or 6 BCE), the important scholar, librarian, and statesman of the Former Han (IC 583–84). Liu's name is attached to many works from this period in the bibliographical chapter of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han) but the *Liexian zhuan* is not mentioned there. However, the attribution of the *Liexian zhuan* to Liu Xiang is accepted by *\*Ge Hong* (283–343) in his *\*Baopu zi* so if he is not responsible for the work, the attribution to him occurred relatively early. It has been pointed out that sections of the text could not have been written

until the second century CE, so at the very least some later editing took place. In short, the traditional attribution should be regarded as questionable.

Liu is also given credit for two other works which have titles of similar form: *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of Exemplary Women) and *Lieshi zhuan* 列士傳 (Biographies of Exemplary Officials). It should be noted that he was an official reader of the *Guliang* 穀梁 tradition of the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) and later was responsible for the first serious codification of Chinese books. In other words, he was firmly placed within the orthodox scholarly milieu of his period. We might reasonably conclude that when the *Liexian zhuan* was compiled the recording and reading of immortals' lives belonged to the general educated world and was not the province of a bounded religious community. Indeed, the collection later became widely known in general scholarly circles and was a source for literary allusion for most educated Chinese of later periods.

There are generally reckoned to be seventy biographical notices in the *Liexian zhuan* divided into two chapters. Among the lives, the briefest have fewer than two hundred characters, with appended encomia (*zan* 讚). Sets of these encomia were produced later than the biographies, appearing after the 330s, and are in the form of hymns of praise to the immortals recorded. The authorship of the surviving encomia, found in the best edition of the *Liexian zhuan*—in the Taoist Canon (CT 294)—is disputed. Like most other texts from the early period of Chinese history, a close analysis of citations preserved in old encyclopedias, commentaries, and other sources shows that portions of text have been lost from the earliest “complete” versions of the *Liexian zhuan* that have survived. A preface exists in some versions of the text but not the one in the Taoist Canon; this preface also cannot be regarded as reliable.

The biographies of the *Liexian zhuan* are all introduced in the standard manner stating name, sometimes style (*zi* 字), usually native place (or the formula “No one knows where he came from”), and often the period in which the subject of the biography lived. However, although they are full of useful information, not many of them provide anything resembling a rounded narrative of a life. The collection starts with the biography of \*Chisong zi, of “the time of Shennong 神農,” and continues in roughly chronological order. Many famous figures in Taoism have biographies in this collection, including \*Huangdi, \*Pengzu, \*Wangzi Qiao as well as Laozi himself and the Guardian of the Pass, \*Yin Xi. There are other people who are also known



from the *Hanshu* to have been at the Qin and Han courts such as \*Anqi Sheng and \*Dongfang Shuo.

A brief but typical biography concerns Chang Rong 昌容:

Chang Rong was a follower of the Dao from Mount Chang (Changshan 常山, i.e., the \*Hengshan 恆山, Shanxi). She called herself the daughter of the King of Yin (Yinwang nü 殷王女) and ate roots of rubus (*penglei* 蓬蘽). She would come and go, ascending and descending. People saw her for some two hundred years yet she always looked about twenty. When she was able to get purple grass she sold it to dyers and gave the proceeds to widows and orphans. It was like this for generations. Thousands came to make offerings at her shrine. (CT 294, 2.5a–b)

Although the *Liexian zhuan* is found in the Taoist Canon, Max Kaltenmark's translation (1953) also includes an edited text with learned annotations and is more convenient to use.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Kaltenmark 1953, Sawada Mizuho 1988; Smith Th. E. 1998

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

*Liezi*

列子

Book of Master Lie

The *Liezi*, also known as *Chongxu zhide zhenjing* 冲虚至德真经 (Authentic Scripture on the Ultimate Virtue of Unfathomable Emptiness), is a philosophical Taoist text in eight chapters that goes back to the ancient philosopher Liezi, a contemporary of Zhuangzi 莊子. The original text of the fourth century BCE had been lost, however, even by the Han dynasty. The work transmitted under Liezi's name today (available in the Taoist Canon, CT 668 and CT 729 to CT 733, and in many other editions) was reconstituted and expanded in the second century CE, using numerous stories and philosophical discourses from the \**Zhuangzi* as a basis and already showing some Buddhist influence. The eight chapters are as follows:

1. “Heaven's Auspices” (“Tianrui” 天瑞) is a highly speculative discussion of the ongoing accumulation and dispersal of \**qi*, the

world as consisting of complementary opposites, Non-being (\*wu) as humanity's true home, and reconciliation with death.

2. “The Yellow Emperor” (“\*Huangdi” 黃帝), taking much from the *Zhuangzi*, focuses on the Taoist principle of non-action (\*wuwei) through remaining unaware and unknowing, totally absorbed and concentrated on one object.
3. “King Mu of Zhou” (“Zhou Muwang” 周穆王) is named after the Zhou sovereign (r. 956–918 BCE) who mystically traveled to the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu) on Mount \*Kunlun. It shows how the whole world is but an illusion and that there is no substantive difference between perception and dreaming because all are equally part of the Dao. Dreams are just as real as “reality,” and if people woke up only once in every seven weeks, they would think of their waking state as unreal. There is ultimately no fixed reality but only the natural alternation of mental states, fluctuating in an overall cosmic balance.
4. “Confucius” (“Zhongni” 仲尼) tells stories featuring Confucius and shows the futility of the Confucian trust in knowledge, with the help of paradoxes and absurd tales. Worldly knowledge ends up being described as an illness, an unreal form of perception.
5. “Questions of Tang” (“Tangwen” 湯問) continues along the same lines and highlights the limits of ordinary knowledge in the face of the infinity of the universe. All judgments are relative, and even the safest familiarity blanches in the light of new lands beyond far horizons. In addition, the chapter includes several stories that illustrate miraculous abilities in this world, won by overcoming the limiting and opposite-centered consciousness.
6. “Endeavor and Destiny” (“Liming” 力命) contrasts personal effort and fate and finds the former powerless in the face of the latter, presenting a position of fatalism and recommending complete inertia in the expectation of whatever happens naturally. The text here repudiates conscious choice in favor of following one's intuition and inherent capacities without thinking about alternatives.
7. “Yang Zhu” 楊朱 is named after the hedonistic philosopher and focuses on the shortness of life and its pleasures—such as music, women, fine clothes, and good food—which are the only reasons

for living but which one can only enjoy if one is an amoral egoist and a rebel against moral conventions. Rather than worrying about wealth and social standing, one must look at life and death with equanimity and enjoy all it has to offer.

8. “Explaining Correspondences” (“Shuofu” 說符) is the most heterogeneous chapter in the book. It is relatively cosmological in outlook, emphasizing that the cosmic patterns and apparent coincidences of chance govern all events and lives. Because everything is the result of a random combination of factors, there is no sense or purpose to be found—yet every situation contains the power of life and death and therefore can be handled in a right or wrong way. To live life best, one must grasp the proper moment and find the right opportunity for oneself.

As a whole, the *Liezi* shares certain stories and some basic ideas with the classic Taoist tradition but also presents a radical development of its own. It has a strong hedonistic strain and distances itself equally from the stout morality and social self-consciousness of Confucianism and from the reclusive quietism and antisensualism of the *Daode jing*.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Asano Yūichi 1988; Barrett 1993; Graham 1960 (trans.); Graham 1961; Mei 1987

Lijia dao

李家道

Way of the Li Family

The Way of the Li Family developed at the fringe of the main Taoist movements of the first centuries CE. \*Ge Hong, in his \**Baopu zi*, traces its origin to a diviner called Li A 李阿, originally from Shu 蜀 (Sichuan), at the beginning of the third century (see Ware 1966, 158–60). Li A's extraordinary longevity earned him the nickname Babai sui gong 八百歲公 (Sir Eight-Hundred-Years). His biography is in the \**Shenxian zhuan* (trans. Campany 2002, 212–15).

Exploitation of Li A's name was considerable. A century later, he reportedly reappeared in the region of Wu 吳 (Jiangsu and part of Zhejiang) under the guise of a certain Li Kuan 李寬. This new Li Babai 李八百 (Li Eight-Hundred), who also came from Shu and was a diviner, became extremely popular in the southern Yangzi region. Ge Hong knew witnesses who attended his healing rituals performed with talismans (\*FU) and holy water. According to his report, Li's tradition had spread throughout southern China, and other more or less successful prophets named Li had appeared whom Ge denounced as charlatans. Later, the Northern Wei court's Celestial Master, \*Kou Qianzhi (365?–448), also angrily revolted against diviners who called themselves Li and abused the people (\**Laojun yinsong jiejing*, 5b–6a). Prophets named Li or \*Li Hong (Laozi's appellation as the messiah), however, continued to arise in south China during the Six Dynasties, especially in the Wu and Shu regions. Some of them led popular, millenarian-type rebellions and were executed.

*Christine MOLLIER*

▣ Company 2002, 212–18; Hu Fuchen 1989, 54–56; Ōfuchi Ninji 1964, 496–517; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 97–101; Yamada Toshiaki 1977

※ MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

Lin Lingsu

林靈素

1076–1120; original *ming*: Ling'e 靈噩; *zi*: Tongsou 通叟

Lin Lingsu, a \*Shenxiao master from Wenzhou 溫州 (Zhejiang) who gained the support of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125), has for many centuries been one of the most famous (or infamous) figures in the history of Taoism; he has also been among the most misunderstood. One key factor responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs is that Huizong presided over the catastrophic collapse of the Northern Song (960–1127), and for centuries (including up to the present day) Chinese historians have blamed the fall of that once proud dynasty on his lavish lifestyle and Taoist beliefs. As a result, those Taoists Huizong befriended, particularly prominent individuals like Lin Lingsu, have

been repeatedly castigated for their negative influence on the throne (Strickmann 1978b; Zimmerman 1975).

The earliest accounts of Lin's life, including the *Lin Lingsu zhuan* 林靈素傳 (Biography of Lin Lingsu) by Geng Yanxi 耿延禧 (fl. 1127), which served as the basis for Lin's biography in the *Bintui lu* 賓退錄 (Records Noted Down after the Guests Have Departed) by Zhao Yushi 趙與時, (1175–1271), as well as biographies in the *Songshi* (History of the Song; see *j.* 462) have portrayed Lin in a highly unflattering light. In addition, anti-Buddhist policies initiated by Huizong (see below) mean that Buddhist histories like the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (Comprehensive Chronicle of the Buddhas and Patriarchs) present unfavorable portrayals of Lin and Huizong. Even many Taoists, including members of the \*Quanzhen order, attempted to distance themselves from Lin's controversial legacy. In order to balance this picture, one must rely on Taoist hagiographies such as the \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages) by Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307). It is also essential to consult texts written by or attributed to Lin and other members of the Shenxiao movement (Boltz J. M. 1987a, 262 n. 47; Strickmann 1978b, 336 n. 16).

One example of this phenomenon has to do with Lin Lingsu's literary abilities. The Chinese historian Qing Xitai, whose account of Lin is mainly based on the *Bintui lu* and the *Songshi*, describes Lin as “having a rough ability to compose poetry” (*cu neng zuo shi* 粗能作詩; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 607). However, Judith M. Boltz presents a far more positive assessment in her description of one piece attributed to Lin, the “Jinhuo tianding shenxiao sanqi huoling ge” 金火天丁神霄三氣火鈴歌 (Song of the Celestial Stalwart of the Golden Flames and the Fire-Bell of the Three Pneumas of the Divine Empyrean), which she describes as approaching “the caliber of the visionary verse ascribed to his \*Shangqing predecessors” (Boltz J. M. 1987a, 30). Lin was also a prolific author, and composed a commentary to the *Daode jing* (now lost) entitled *Laozi zhu* 老子注 (Commentary to the *Laozi*; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 215–16). He also played an important role in the editing of the Song-dynasty edition of the Taoist Canon (see below).

The “facts” of Lin's life are confusing at best. Even his original name remains a mystery, with some sources giving the Chinese characters as Lin Ling'e 林靈噩 and others as Lin Ling'e 林靈壘. Texts like the *Songshi* and the *Fozu tongji* claim that Lin had originally attempted to become a Buddhist

monk but quit after being beaten by his master. This may be simple calumny however, and at any rate we know almost nothing about the early years of his life. It is clear that he exerted a major influence on Taoism's fortunes at the court of Huizong after being presented to the emperor in 1116. Huizong had long been devoted to Taoism, and as early as 1105 had summoned the thirtieth Celestial Master, \*Zhang Jixian (1092–1126), to the imperial court at Kaifeng, where he bestowed upon Zhang the honorific title Xujing 虛靖 (Empty Quiescence). Lin Lingsu appears to have won favor with Huizong for a number of reasons: his apparent literary prowess, his ritual techniques, and the vision he propagated of the emperor as a Taoist divinity. The emperor seems to have been impressed with Lin's skill at composing couplets (*duilian* 對聯) and songs (*ge* 歌), and also believed in the efficacy of the Offering rites (*\*jiao*) and prayers for rain (*qiyu* 祈雨) that Lin performed. Lin is even said to have summoned the soul of Huizong's deceased empress, which if true would further support arguments that the Shenxiao movement drew extensively from shamanic traditions (Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 608–11; Ren Jiyu 1990, 474–76; Sun Kekuan 1965, 93–122). Perhaps most importantly, Lin persuaded the emperor that he (Huizong) was the incarnation of \*Changsheng dadi (Great Emperor of Long Life), one the Shenxiao movement's most prominent deities. Lin and his allies at court also took advantage of Huizong's desire to compile a comprehensive collection of Taoist liturgy by working to complete publication of the Song edition of the Taoist Canon (*\*Zhenghe Wanshou daoze*)

Huizong also began to initiate anti-Buddhist policies shortly after Lin's arrival at court, perhaps in part due to the support of Buddhism by the Song's rival in north China, the Liao dynasty (916–1125). The emperor had previously given Taoists formal precedence over Buddhists back in 1107, but in 1117 took even more drastic measures by decreeing that Shenxiao temples housing statues of Changsheng dadi be established throughout the empire, including inside a number of Buddhist monasteries. In addition, in a fascinating example of traditional Chinese “rectification of names” (*zhengming* 正名), the emperor decreed that Buddhists be referred to as *deshi* 德士 (lit., “scholars of virtue”), while Taoists should continue to be addressed as *\*daoshi*. However, the extent to which the emperor's will was implemented outside of Kaifeng is unclear, and Buddhism appears to have emerged from the incident relatively unscathed.

Lin Lingsu's influence at court did not last long, and his ritual powers also

apparently began to fail (one story in the *Lin Lingsu zhuan* vividly recounts his failure to prevent a flood; see Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 611–12). In 1119, he disappeared under mysterious circumstances, apparently returning to his home in Wenzhou. Shortly thereafter, both the Northern Song and its northern rival the Liao fell to the Jin dynasty (1115–1234). However, other Shenxiao masters such as Lin's disciple \*Wang Wenqing (1093–1153) continued his efforts. Wang and later Shenxiao leaders also recruited new members and spread the movement's teachings, enabling it to flourish during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1276). Shenxiao masters gained particular renown for the exorcistic rituals they practiced, especially Thunder Rites (\**leifa*). Lin Lingsu is also said to have been (along with Zhang Jixian) one of the masters of the renowned Thunder Rites specialist \*Sa Shoujian.

*Paul R. KATZ*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 26–30; Boltz J. M. 1993a; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1975; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 607–14; Ren Jiyu 1990, 472–82; Strickmann 1978b; Sun Kekuan 1965, 93–122; Zimmerman 1975

※ Shenxiao

Lin Zhao'en

林兆恩

1517–98; *zi*: Maoxun 懋勛; *hao*: Longjiang 龍江 (Dragon River), Xinyin zi 心隱子 (Master Who Hides in His Heart), Zigu zi 子谷子 (Master of the Valley)

A leading Taoist of Ming times, Lin Zhao'en is noted for his creative integration of elements from different streams of the Chinese religious heritage. Though influenced by \*Quanzhen models of self-cultivation, Lin rejected both the monastic focus of that tradition and the sacerdotal emphasis of \*Zhengyi. As had become common in his time, he looked for compatibility among the Three Teachings, and integrated elements of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism based on their usefulness in self-cultivation. Hence, to a Neo-Confucian pursuit of “mind-cultivation,” Lin

added ritual vows to Heaven, and a meditative recitation reminiscent of a Pure Land *nembutsu*, as aids for maintaining spiritual concentration. His “nine stages of mind cultivation” resonate with those of the \**Xingming guizhi*, though Lin eschewed the traditional symbology of \**neidan*. Like earlier Taoists, he found value in both esoteric principles and ritual activity. But Lin basically constructed a program of “mind-cultivation” designed to feel comfortable to men of his own social, political, and economic class. He thus extracted from other traditions elements that seemed efficacious for such practitioners, and rejected features that literati might perceive as alien. In that sense, he both revived the “gentry Taoism” of Tang teachers like \*Sima Chengzhen, and stretched into new social and cultural directions, like the twelfth-century \*Zhen dadao and \*Taiyi movements, and the later \*Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way).

Born into a family of scholar-officials in Putian 莆田 (Fujian), Lin followed the family tradition of scholarship. By eighteen, he seemed destined for a successful official career. After the death of his new wife the same year, he remarried, but the subsequent deaths of his grandfather, father, and uncle evidently reduced his enthusiasm for the official life. In 1546, he visited Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504–64; DMB 980–84), a teacher of Wang Yangming's 王陽明 (1472–1529) Neo-Confucian school, and reportedly “abandoned examination studies and took up the Way of sages and worthies, determined to seek the means to realize it in myself, obtain it in my mind, and manifest it in my actions” (Berling 1980, 64). For ten years, he sought answers in various directions, including Chan Buddhism and the Neo-Confucianism of the Cheng brothers (Cheng Hao 程顥, 1032–85, and Cheng Yi 程頤, 1033–1107; SB 169–79) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; SB 282–90). Most influential may have been a Taoistically inclined eccentric, Zhuo Wanchun 卓晚春 (Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 388–89), who in 1548 visited Lin and recommended the “ninefold refined elixir” (*jiuhuan dan* 九還丹). At some point before 1551, Lin claims to have met an enlightened master who gave him oral instruction, “directly pointing” to secrets of the mind, including healing powers. From that experience, Lin derived a mission to teach and to heal. He soon established a school, patterned after that of Confucius. In the 1560s, when Japanese pirates invaded Putian, Lin became a community leader in relief efforts and began to play a priestly role. For the next twenty-five years, he worked to propagate an accurate understanding of the Three Teachings. Numerous writings, and collections of his sayings, survive



(Berling 1980).

Following his death, Lin became widely honored as a divine being, and his cult survives, not only in Fujian, but also among Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia.

*Russell KIRKLAND*

▣ Berling 1979, 134–39; Berling 1980; Berling 1998, 984–86; Dean 1998; Franke W. 1973; Liu Ts'un-yan 1967; Tu Fang 1976c

※ *neidan*; TAOISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM

*lingbao*

靈寶

Numinous Treasure; Numinous Gem; Spiritual Treasure

The term *bao* denotes a sacred object into which a divinity, or *ling*, descends, thereby granting power to its owner. During the Zhou dynasty, these objects were royal treasures received from Heaven that confirmed the mandate to rule (*tianming* 天命). Rather than being valuable in monetary terms, the *bao* were precious for their mystical value and were typically kept hidden. Also called *fuying* 符應 (coincident responses) or *ruiying* 瑞應 (prodigious responses), they represented celestial resonance with the virtue of the receiver, signaling divine protection and guarantee of rulership. In the chaotic period of the Warring States, this legitimizing power generated an increased interest in their appearance.

The royal *bao* included a variety of objects such as bronzes, jades, and swords. *Bao* later also came to include magical diagrams such as the \**Hetu* and *Luoshu* (Chart of the [Yellow] River; Writ of the Luo [River]) as well as various revealed texts (see \*taoism and the apocrypha). These too were bestowed by Heaven or a deity onto a worthy individual or ruling family. Taoism inherited this idea and applied it to both *jing* 經 (scriptures) and \*FU (talismans). The latter term originally denoted the two tallies of a contract between vassal and sovereign and also defined a contract between Heaven and the virtuous possessor of the talisman.

On a cosmic level, *ling* and *bao* typified Heaven and Earth, respectively, whose union was essential for human life. In some instances, human beings themselves could become a receptacle for the deity. In the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 113), for example, the related term *lingbao* 靈保 was the name of a priestess under divine possession. Sorcerers who worked with court exorcists (*fangxiang* 方相) to banish demons and spirits were similarly referred to as *lingbao*. In funerary rites, the representative of the dead (*shi* 尸) was the *bao* or receptacle into which the spirit (*ling*, *\*hun*, or *\*shen*) of the deceased descended for the ritual.

These complex groupings of representations coalesced in the *\*Lingbao* scriptures, particularly in the *\*Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure). Throughout this scripture, the earliest *Lingbao* text, the terms *ling* and *bao* are used separately to denote the sacredness of written documents (*jing* or scriptures, *fu* or talismans, *shu* 書 or writs), and to refer to Heaven (*ling*) and Earth (*bao*). The *Lingbao wufu xu* is composed of talismans and collections of revealed recipes for transcendence, both of which are *bao*. In essence, the scripture itself is a *lingbao* conferred as a blessing from Heaven and celestial deities.

In Taoism the celestial is also present within the body, recalling the descent of the numinous into a sorcerer, priestess, or representative of the dead. Through dietary regimes, behavioral rules, or meditational practices, the Dao (*ling*) circulates in the body, and one's inner organs are portrayed as receptacles (*bao*) in which deities reside (see *\*wuzang*).

Amy Lynn MILLER

▣ Kaltenmark 1960; Kaltenmark 1982, 1–4; Robinet 1997b, 149–50; Seidel 1981; Seidel 1983a

※ *Lingbao*; TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA

Lingbao

靈寶

Numinous Treasure; Numinous Gem; Spiritual Treasure

The name *lingbao* (Numinous Treasure) was originally a description of a medium or sacred object (*bao* 寶, “treasure”) into which a spirit (*ling* 靈) had descended (see \*[lingbao](#)). Seemingly, the first scripture to use the name, thus indicating its own status as spiritual treasure, was the *Lingbao wufu jing* 靈寶五符經 (Scripture of Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure), the surviving edition of which, the \**Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure), contains passages which were cited by \*Ge Hong in his \**Baopu zi*. At the end of the fourth and into the early fifth century, a unified corpus of new scriptures appeared in Jiangnan, near present-day Nanjing, under the name Lingbao. The success of these scriptures, particularly in the realm of communal ritual, led to imitations and expanded versions. The present entry will focus on the earliest corpus of Lingbao texts, as listed by \*Lu Xiujing (406–77) in his catalogue of 437 (see below).

The Lingbao scriptures drew upon the prevailing religious traditions of the day—\**fangshi* practice, Han-period apocrypha, southern practices known to Ge Hong such as those found in the *Lingbao wufu jing* itself, Celestial Master Taoism (\*Tianshi dao), \*Shangqing Taoism, and Buddhism—sometimes copying entire sections of text and presenting them so as to accord with its central doctrines in order to fashion a new, universal religion for all of China. This goal proved elusive. Scholarly Buddhists, in particular, were not slow to point out the ways in which Lingbao texts adapted and reconfigured Buddhist tenets. In the court-sponsored Buddhho-Taoist debates of the fifth and sixth centuries, the charge of plagiarism was often levelled at the original Lingbao texts. Some Taoists, such as \*Tao Hongjing (456–536), made the same charge with regard to Lingbao incorporation of the earlier Taoist scriptures.

Despite the failure of their central mission, the Lingbao scriptures did foster a new unity of Taoist thought and practice. The Three Caverns (\*SANDONG) division of Taoist scriptures, first outlined in the Lingbao texts as the celestial ordering of scriptures, became the primary organizational rubric for all subsequent Taoist canons. The communal liturgies presented in the texts became the basis for later Taoist ritual and, in modified forms, are still practiced among Taoists today. Lu Xiujing, who was responsible for collecting, editing, and cataloguing the early Lingbao scriptures, was also the first to produce a comprehensive listing of Taoist texts for presentation to the throne, thus ensuring Lingbao texts prominence in subsequent canons. Lingbao codes of morality and practice led to a more formalized temple

Taoism with a professional priesthood to oversee religious activity throughout China. In addition, the success of the Lingbao effort to sinicize elements of Buddhist belief not only shaped the direction of Taoism itself, but also aided the integration of Buddhism into Chinese society.

*History.* Unlike the Shangqing scriptures of \*Yang Xi, whose transcripts of visionary sessions and even correspondence with his patrons was collected and annotated by Tao Hongjing, we have only scattered references that reflect on the actual composition of the early Lingbao scriptures. According to the Lingbao scriptures themselves, the texts were first revealed to \*Ge Xuan (trad. 164–244), an uncle of Ge Hong who had gained some local renown as Transcendent Duke (Xiangong 仙公), a title bestowed upon him by deities. Such attributions were clearly intended to grant the scriptures precedence over earlier Taoist texts copied into them.

In similar fashion, the subsequent transmission history of the texts given in the scriptures, from Ge Xuan to \*Zheng Yin (ca. 215–ca. 302) to Ge Hong (283–343), seems to have been fabricated to account for the inclusion of material from earlier Taoist texts. In fact, one of the scriptures included in the Canon, the *Lingbao wufu xu*, was a text known to Ge Hong and bears no signs of the soteriology or cosmology of the remaining scriptures.

Later Taoist records state that the Lingbao scriptures were “released to the world” ca. 400 CE by \*Ge Chaofu (fl. 402), a grandnephew of Ge Hong. While some attempts have been made to discern multiple stages of composition by different groups of Taoists for portions of the scriptures, none of these theories has gained acceptance. Equally inconclusive have been attempts to use developments within the Buddhist sphere, particularly the translations in northern China of Kumārajīva (ca. 344–ca. 409), to date emphases within the Lingbao scriptures; the only demonstrated borrowings come from the translations of Zhi Qian 支謙 and Kang Senghui 康僧會, both late third-century translators in the south. Modern scholars have thus generally taken the statements concerning the scriptures’ “release to the world” to indicate that the scriptures were largely composed by Ge Chaofu.

None of Lu Xiuqing's surviving works relate how the scriptures came down to him. In his *\*Lingbao jingmu* (see [table 16](#)), Lu divided the canon into two sections: “old” (*jiu* 舊) scriptures of former world-ages and “new” (*xin* 新) scriptures comprised of oral instructions and dialogues between Ge Xuan and his divine instructors and earthly disciples. Only one of the old

scriptures, the *Falun zuifu* 法輪罪福 (Blame and Blessing of the Wheel of the Law; CT 346, 358, 455, and 647) presents Ge Xuan as the first earthly recipient, but his receipt of all the texts in part one of the catalogue is made clear in the “new” section. Among Ge's divine instructors are Laozi himself and \*Zhang Daoling, founder of Celestial Master Taoism.

Table 16

NO.	RECEIVED TEXT	TITLE
<i>Celestial Worthy</i> (Tianzun 天尊) <i>Texts</i>		
1	CT 22	* <i>Wupian zhenwen</i> 五篇真文 (Perfected Script in Five Tabletsd)
2	CT 352	<i>Yujue</i> 玉訣 (Jade Instructions) <i>Yundu daqie jing</i> 運度大劫經 (Scripture of the Revolution of Great Kalpas) <i>Yundu xiaoqie jing</i> 運度小劫經 (Scripture of the Revolution of Lesser Kalpas)
3	P. 2399	<i>Kongdong lingzhang</i> 空洞靈章 (Numinous Stanzas of the Void Caverns)
4	CT 1439	<i>Shengxuan buxu zhang</i> 昇玄步虛章 (Stanzas on Ascending to Mystery and Pacing the Void) [see under * <i>Buxu ci</i> ]
5	CT 318	<i>Jiutian shengshen zhangjing</i> 九天生神章經 (Stanzas of the Life-giving Spirits of the Nine Heavens) [see under * <i>Shengshen jing</i> ]
6	CT 671	<i>Ziran wucheng wen</i> 自然五稱文 (Text of the Self-generating Five [Talis-mans] of Correspondence)
7	CT 97	<i>Zhutian neiyin yuzi</i> 諸天內音玉字 (Inner Sounds and Jade Graphs of the Heavens) [see under * <i>dafan yinyu</i> ]
—	CT 361	<i>Bawei zhaolong jing</i> 八威召龍經 (Scripture of the Eight Awesome Powers for Summoning Dragon [Kings])
8	CT 457	<i>Zuigen shangpin dajie</i> 罪根上品大戒 (Great Precepts of the Upper Chapters on the Roots of Sin)
9	CT 177	<i>Zhihui shangpin dajie</i> 智慧上品大戒 (Great Precepts of Wisdom from the Upper Chapters)
10	[lost]	<i>Shangyuan jinlu jianwen</i> 上元金錄簡文 (Bamboo Slips on the Golden Registers of the Higher Prime)
11	CT 1411	<i>Mingzhen ke</i> 明真科 (Code of the Luminous Perfected)
12	CT 177	<i>Zhihui dingzhi jing</i> 智慧定志經 (Scripture on Wisdom and Fixing the Will)
13	P. 3022	<i>Benye shangpin</i> 本業上品 (Upper Chapters on the Basic Endeavor)

14	CT 346	<i>Falun zuifu</i> 法輪罪福 (Blame and Blessings of the Wheel of the Law)
15	CT 1	<i>Wuliang duren shangpin</i> 無量度人上品 (Upper Chapters on Limitless Salvation) [see * <a href="#">Duren jing</a> ]
16	CT 23	<i>Zhutian lingshu duming</i> 諸天靈書度命 (Salvation as Recorded by the Spirits of the Various Heavens)
17	CT 369	<i>Miedu wulian jing</i> 滅度五練經 (Scripture on Salvation through Extinction and the Fivefold Refinement)
18	CT 456	<i>Sanyuan pinjie</i> 三元品戒 (Precepts of the Chapters of the Three Primes)
—		<i>Suming yinyuan</i> 宿命因緣 (Karmic Causation)
—		<i>Zhongsheng nan</i> 眾聖難 (Hardships of the Sages)
—		<i>Daoyin [...] xing</i> 導引 [...] 星 ([Exercises for] Guiding [qi] [...] Stars)
19	CT 1407	* <i>Ershisi shengtu</i> 二十四生圖 (Charts of the Twenty-four Life[-givers])
—		Feixing sanjie 飛行三界 (Flight through the Three Realms)
<i>Transcendent Duke (Xiangong 仙公) Texts</i>		
20	CT 388	* <i>Lingbao wufu xu</i> 靈寶五符序 (Preface to the Five Talismans of Lingbao)
21	CT 425	<i>Taiji yinzhu baojue</i> 太極隱注寶訣 (Concealed Commentary and Treasured Instructions of the Grand Ultimate)
22	CT 330	<i>Zhenwen yaojue</i> 真文要訣 (Essential Explanations of the Perfected Script)
23	P. 2356	<i>Zhenyi ziran jingjue</i> 真一自然經訣 (Explanations of the Self-generating Scripture of Perfect Unity)
24	CT 532	<i>Fuzhai weiyi jue</i> 敷齋威儀訣 (Instructions on Retreats and the Dignified Liturgies)
25	CT 344	<i>Xiaomo zhihui benyuan dajie shangpin</i> 消魔智慧本願大戒上品 (Upper Chapters on the Original Vows and Great Precepts of Devil-destroying Wisdom)
26	CT 1114, S. 1351	<i>Xiangong qingwen</i> 仙公請問 (The Questions of the Transcendent Duke)
27	CT 1115	<i>Zhusheng nan</i> 眾聖難 (Trials of the Sages)
28	[lost]	<i>Shenxian zhenqi neizhuan</i> 神仙本起內傳 (Esoteric Tradition of the Activities of the Divine Transcendents)
29	[lost]	<i>Xiangong qiju jing</i> 仙公起居經 (Activities of the Transcendent Duke)

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The Lingbao textual corpus. Unnumbered texts were said to be unrevealed in the \**Lingbao jingmu*. Those that exist in the modern Taoist Canon were revealed after the time of \*Lu Xiujing.

*Cosmology.* Much material has been incorporated into the Lingbao scriptures from earlier Buddhist and Taoist texts and the cosmology of the scriptures is correspondingly complex. In response to elaborate Buddhist depictions of innumerable world-systems, the Lingbao scriptures portray a far-flung geography of former times. First, there is a system of thirty-two heavens (\**sanshi'er tian*) to compete with the twenty-seven or twenty-eight heavens ringing the cosmic mountain, Mount Sumeru, of Buddhist scripture. Like the Buddhist heavens, the thirty-two are divided into the three realms of desire (*yu* 欲), form (*se* 色) and formlessness (*wuse* 無色). Unlike the Buddhist realms, though, the Lingbao version circle a mountain that towers above them, the Jade Capitol (Yujing shan 玉京山), which stands in the Great Canopy heaven (\**Daluo tian*), the residence of the Celestial Worthy (Tianzun 天尊) high above all other celestial realms. Further, the thirty-two heavens are divided into four groups of eight, one in each of the four directions. These heavens are each ruled over by a celestial Emperor and populated by the “heavenly Perfected” (*zhutian zhenren* 諸天真人) of earlier *kalpa*-cycles (\**jie*). Elements of the celestial language, \**dafan yinyu* (“secret language of the Great Brahmā”), of these heavens, written in elaborate graphs, serve as talismans and as powerful chants.

As the above shows, the Lingbao scriptures follow the tendency of the Shangqing scriptures to organize the cosmos in terms of three and five (see \*[sanwu](#)). The cardinal directions and center come under the rule of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝) adopted from Han imperial cult and the “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see \*[TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA](#)). In one scripture, the three heavens are further subdivided into nine cosmic heavens, which are given Sanskrit-sounding names and associated particularly with the gods of the human body. The “earth-prisons” or hells of the scriptures, however, are divided according to the “ten directions”—the four cardinal directions, their intermediate points, above and below—more frequently seen in Buddhist texts.

While the narrative structure of the first part of the Lingbao scriptures places all events many *kalpa*-cycles into the past, they foretell the violent end of a *kalpa*-cycle in the *jiashen* 甲申 year (the twenty-first of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#)) of our own world-system. In this, they respond to the eschatological fervor already evident in the Shangqing scriptures, but portray the new age as beginning with the appearance of the Lingbao scriptures themselves to sweep away all other religious doctrine. (See the entry

\*APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY.)

*Gods and spirits.* The Lingbao texts describe an elaborate cosmic bureaucracy and instruct practitioners to approach these celestial powers through ritual and supplication. At the apex of the pantheon is the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊; see \*[sanqing](#)). This deity plays somewhat the same role in the Lingbao scriptures as the cosmicized Buddha in Buddhist scriptures. His emergence in the heart of the primeval Dao is traced through a series of five groups of *kalpa*-cycles that are given reign-names in the manner of human dynasties (for their names, see \*COSMOGONY). Next in importance is the Most High Lord of the Dao (Taishang daojun 太上道君), a deity who serves as the disciple of the Celestial Worthy and interlocutor in many Lingbao scriptures. With the exception of Laozi, whose existence in the prior heavens was as the Emperor of the West, the Five Emperors of the four directions and center do not appear as actors in the scriptures, but are invoked in ritual.

The deities resident in the human body include those already elaborated in the Shangqing scriptures. Particular reference is made to a group of five internal deities who date back to Celestial Master practice:

1. Great Unity (\*Taiyi 太一), essence of the embryo of perfection, who lives in the palace of the head known as the Muddy Pellet (\*[niwan](#))
2. Non-pareil (Wuying 無英), with the byname Lordling (Gongzi 公子), and
3. White Prime (Baiyuan 白元), with the byname Cavernous Yang (Dongyang 洞陽), two spirits who inhabit the Palace of the Cavern Chamber in the head (*dongfang gong* 洞房宮; see \*[niwan](#)) and also descend into the liver and lungs, respectively
4. The Director of Destinies (\*Siming 司命), whose residence is in the heart and the sexual organs
5. Peach Vigor (Taokang 桃康), or Peach Child (Taohai 桃孩), who resides in the lower Cinnabar Field (\*[dantian](#))

In addition, the \**Ershisi sheng tu* (Charts of the Twenty-Four Life[-Givers]) lists the powers and envoys of the three registers of the body who are dispatched in ritual to present petitions and vows to the celestial hierarchy.



*Salvation and practice.* In the Lingbao scriptures, rebirth has been fully integrated with earlier Taoist views of the afterlife. Through adherence to the practices of the scriptures one might hope for a fortunate rebirth “in the family of a Marquis or Prince” or into the heavens themselves. A fortunate few are able to “ascend in broad daylight,” avoiding death altogether. At the highest reaches of the celestial bureaucracy are those who rejoin the Dao at the end of the world to reemerge in the new age.

While the scriptures contain ritual programs for lengthy Retreats (\**zhai*), Offering rites (\**jiao*), burial rites, and penitentials, they also include a number of practices for the individual. Adherents were enjoined to regularly recite the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), keep the ten precepts (Bokenkamp 1989, 18–20), and adhere to the commemorations and vows of the texts. The moral component of the Lingbao scriptures—a mixture of traditional Chinese morality and Buddhist salvational ethics—is much more prominent than that found in earlier texts. There is also a pronounced proselytizing emphasis. One scripture in the corpus, the *Zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing* 智慧定志通微經 (Scripture for Penetrating the Subtle through Wisdom and Fixing the Will; CT 325), specifically presents itself as a text to be granted for a small fee to Taoists, but free to Buddhists and, one suspects, other non-Taoists. The text expounds at some length on the ten precepts, modifying them slightly for special circumstances, and presents its message with lively stories, one a version of a popular Buddhist tale.

Most important doctrinally for the Lingbao scriptures is its Taoist version of the “bodhisattva ideal.” This is the central message of the scriptures. Precepts and rituals regularly contain the wish for the salvation of all beings, from the emperor down to “beasts that wriggle and crawl.” In practice, rites enunciating these wishes were most often conducted for the ancestors of the practitioner. This traditional emphasis on the post-mortem fate of family members is explained in the scriptures as necessary since, though one’s “true” father and mother is the Dao, one still owes debts to the family of one’s earthly origin.

Originally, the scriptures seem to have contained a ten-stage path, parallel to the Buddhist system of ten *bhūmi*, or stages of bodhisattva attainment. This began with the arousal of the thought of the Dao (comparable to Buddhist *bodhicitta*, or Awakening Mind) and ended with the adepts’ attainment of extended life in the heavens with no further rebirths. As with the bodhisattva ideal described in indigenously-composed Buddhist scriptures, those of

wealth and status are seen as having achieved such favorable rebirth through adherence to the scriptures in previous lives. Because of this, the Lingbao scriptures played an important role in the spread of Taoism to the gentry class.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Bokenkamp 1983; Bokenkamp 1990; Bokenkamp 1996–97; Bokenkamp 1997, 373–438; Chen Guofu 1963, 66–71; Ishii Masako 1983b; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 272–97; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 13–185; Ōfuchi Ninji 1974; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 73–218; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 377–98; Ren Jiyu 1990, 127–33 and 143–68; Robinet 1997b, 149–83; Yamada Toshiaki 2000; Zürcher 1980

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.5 (“Lingbao”)

### *Lingbao bifa*

#### 靈寶畢法

#### Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure

The Taoist Canon contains two editions of the *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* 祕傳正陽真人靈寶畢法 (Secret Transmission of the Perfected Zhengyang's Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure). One is an independent text (CT 1191), the other is an abridged version in the mid-twelfth-century *\*Daoshu* (j. 42; trans. Baldrian-Hussein 1984). The work describes *\*neidan* practices and is conceived as a continuation of the *\*Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*. It is ascribed to the semilegendary *\*Zhongli Quan* (also known as Zhengyang zi 正陽子 or Master of Correct Yang) who, in an undated preface, states that he discovered a copy of the *Lingbao jing* 靈寶經 (Scripture of the Numinous Treasure) within a cave in the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi). This thirty-juan text was divided into three sections containing revelations of Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement; see *\*sanqing*), Yuanhuang 元皇 (Original Sovereign), and the Taishang 太上 (Most High), entitled “Jingao shu” 金誥書 (Book of Golden Declarations), “Yulu” 玉錄 (Jade

Records), and “Zhenyuan yi” 真元義 (Meaning of the True Origin), respectively. Zhongli allegedly extracted passages from each of these texts and augmented them with three commentaries: “Biyu” 比喻 (Comparisons [between the microcosm and the macrocosm]), “Zhenjue” 真訣 (Perfect Instructions), and “Daoyao” 道要 (Essentials of the Way). In the version that appears in the Taoist Canon, the last section is followed by additional “Explications” (“Jie” 解). Zhongli transmitted his synopsis to his disciple \*Lü Dongbin for circulation to help human beings in their search for the Dao.

The *Lingbao bifa* ranked among the main \*Zhong-Lü texts during the Southern Song. It is first mentioned in Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 (1104–62) *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Monographs; see van der Loon 1984, 164). \*Miao Shanshi (fl. 1288–1324) believed it to have been written by \*Shi Jianwu, the likely author of the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (*Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀; CT 305, 5.14b).

Unlike other Zhong-Lü sources, the *Lingbao bifa* is not cast in dialogue form, but consists of a manual of longevity techniques clearly expounded in steps and grades. It presents direct comparisons between the development of the immortal self, the elixir (\**huandan*), and the formation of the cosmos, and draws equally upon the \**Yijing* for the functioning of the cosmos and upon medical literature for the workings of the human body. The alchemical oeuvre is divided into three stages (*sansheng* 三乘, or Three Vehicles). The initial stage (*xiaosheng* 小乘, or Small Vehicle) concerns breath control and gymnastics; it comprises four techniques relevant to what later became known as “laying the foundations” (*zhuji* 築基): union of Yin and Yang, breathing technique for accumulating and dispersing pneuma (\**qi*), union of Dragon and Tiger (\**longhu*), and fire phasing (\**huohou*). The second stage (*zhongsheng* 中乘, or Middle Vehicle) deals with methods of circulating pneuma and inner fluids. The final three methods (*dasheng* 大乘, or Great Vehicle) involve complex practices of visualization and inner concentration leading to transfiguration. They include purification of the pneumas of the five viscera (\**wuzang*) according to season and time followed by their union (defined as “the five pneumas have audience at the Origin,” *wuqi chaoyuan* 五氣朝元), inner observation (\**neiguan*), and exteriorization of the immortal self from the mortal body (*chaotuo* 超脫, or “emancipation”).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1984 (trans.); Boltz J. M. 1987a, 140; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 152–54

※ *neidan*; Zhong-Lü

## Lingbao dafa

### 靈寶大法

#### Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure

This synthetic ritual tradition that priests used and criticized in the Southern Song, Yuan, and Ming periods focused on saving the dead. It goes by several names in various twelfth- to fourteenth-century texts that seek to embody or to castigate the tradition. While “Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure Tradition” was commonly used by its promoters and “Rites of Tiantai” (Tiantai fa 天臺法) by its detractors, others called it the “Great Rites for Salvation” (Duren dafa 度人大法) because of the prominence given to the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation). Other sources use the expression “Way of [the Lord of] Eastern Florescence” (Donghua dao 東華道). Widely disseminated in southeast China, the Great Rites combined new exorcistic practices and forms of contemplation with a new way of reading and understanding \*Lingbao scriptures and rituals, especially those based on the *Duren jing*. The popularity of this eclectic ritual tradition was scorned and ridiculed by Song and Yuan era priests who favored a return to the simpler classical protocols of Taoist ritual.

Most later ritualists credited \*Ning Benli (1101–81) with first codifying the tradition by integrating what he had learned from Tian Ziji 田紫極 (1074–?) in Kaifeng (Henan) with teachings he got from the southern master Shi Zixian 什子仙 after the fall of the Northern Song in 1126. Tian Ziji's teachings blended the “canonical teachings of the Three Caverns” (*sandong jingjiao* 三洞經教) ritual traditions with an obscure form of alchemy known as the Mysterious Purport of [the Perfected of] the Cinnabar Origin of Eastern Florescence (*Donghua danyuan xuanzhi* 東華丹元玄旨). Shi Zixian wove the “Forty-Nine Rubrics of the Numinous Treasure Mysterious Standards” (*Lingbao xuanfan sishijiu pin* 靈寶玄範四十九品) together with the \*Tongchu (Youthful Incipience) teachings of Yang Xizhen 楊希真

(1101–24), specifically the “talismans (\*FU), writs, seals, and mudrās of the Five Bureaus’ Jade Fascicles” (see \**Daofa huiyuan*, 171.2b).

The core of the Great Rites comprises incantations, talismans, and rituals stemming from a secret reading of the *Duren jing*, in which each of the four-character phrases of the scripture forms a talisman that heals any illness and protects its bearer (\**Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*, j. 5–7). These methods are described as “the Way to save souls from hell” (id., 53.1a). Before attaining this goal, adepts strive to ascend through a series of purifications that culminate in their initiation in the rites of salvation by the main Lingbao deity, the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊).

Thus ennobled, priests focus on ingesting the energies of the holy scriptures, gaining command over all gods, and communication with the supernatural powers. A mastery of the rites of confession and the spiritual hierarchies of both Heaven and Earth in which they participate permits priests to turn to the ritual rubrics, especially those for exorcism and salvation for the dead, but also for transmitting the whole system to other worthy practitioners.

Although Ning's ritual synthesis was widely practiced and was part of many traditions in Southern Song and Yuan times, later practitioners also borrowed such elements as the Salvation through Refinement (\**liandu*) rituals and \*Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) deities, as well as aspects of \*Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart) exorcistic practices, from which some ritualists sought to distinguish their Lingbao rites of salvation.

Key texts in the tradition include the \**Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* (Great Rites of the Superior Scripture of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation), the two works entitled \**Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity), and the \**Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* (Golden Writings for Deliverance by the Sect Leader of the Numinous Treasure Tradition).

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 41–46; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 149–54; Skar 2000, 437–40, 443–44, and passim

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.7 (“Song,

Jin, and Yuan: Lingbao dafa”)

*Lingbao jingmu*

靈寶經目

Catalogue of Lingbao Scriptures

In 437, the Taoist \*Lu Xiuqing issued to his coreligionists a list of the \*Lingbao scriptures. The preface to this work survives in the \**Yunji qiqian* (4.4a–6a), while the list itself is found in truncated form in the *Tongmen lun* 通門論 (Comprehensive Treatise on the Doctrine) of Song Wenming 宋文明 (fl. 549–51), preserved in \*Dunhuang manuscripts P. 2861.2 and P. 2256.

The catalogue is divided into two parts. The first are thirty-six *juan* of scriptures, in ten sections, that were revealed by the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊) in a previous *kalpa*-cycle. Fifteen *juan* of these still reside in heaven. The second comprises eleven *juan* of texts bestowed by the Transcendent Duke \*Ge Xuan. These are styled “old” and “new” respectively. Some scholars have taken this to refer to the order in which the parts of the canon were actually composed. As the frequent references to “old” texts and manuals of practice found in the first part of the scriptures shows, however, the terms refer instead to the narrative structure of the scriptures, denoting whether or not a text was “newly written” in our own *kalpa*-cycle by Ge Xuan or revealed in previous eons by the Celestial Worthy.

According to Lu's humbly worded preface, his promulgation of the scriptures was timely. Recent textual revelations, culminating in those of \*Zhang Daoling and Ge Xuan, having moved the Most High, the prophesied rise of the Liu Song dynasty (420–79) had now taken place. It was thus appropriate that this unifying revelation be made known to all.

Many of the texts found in Lu's catalogue survive today. In the listing in [table 16](#), those texts marked “unrevealed” are left unnumbered. When a surviving version is given, it was produced after Lu's time.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

❏ Bokenkamp 2001; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 138–85; Ōfuchi Ninji

1974; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 365–68 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 725–26, 726–34 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 75–88, 100–121

※ Lu Xiujing; Lingbao

*Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*

靈寶領教濟度金書

Golden Writings for Deliverance by the Sect Leader of the Numinous  
Treasure Tradition

This compendium (CT 466, with table of contents in CT 465) was edited by Wenzhou 溫州 (Zhejiang) Taoist priests in the fourteenth century, and reworked in early Ming times. It systematically presents the fullest version of the \*Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) tradition that its editors claim was passed down by \*Ning Benli (1101–81) on Mount Tiantai (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang). While claiming to transmit Ning Benli's teachings, the present work was likely that of Lin Tianren 林天任 (fl. 1303), who piously credited his master Lin Weifu 林偉夫 (1239–1302) with its compilation.

The text represents a strong effort to reconstitute the Lingbao dafa approach to saving the dead for southern Chinese living under Mongol rule. Its 320 *juan* fall under nineteen rubrics whose content is sometimes at odds with the preceding table of contents. The opening chapters on altar arrangements (*j.* 1), gifts for various rituals and sketches for Retreat (\**zhai*) and Land of the Way (\**daochang*) rituals (*j.* 2), pantheons (*j.* 3–7), details on the Nocturnal Invocation (\**suqi*) and Audience (*chaoye* 朝謁) rites (*j.* 8–9), and hymn texts (*j.* 10–11) are followed by ritual texts that could be used for both salvation and therapy (*j.* 12–41). The bulk of the compendium details ritual programs for Deliverance and Salvation (*kaidu* 開度, *j.* 42–135) and for Prayer and Exorcism (*qirang* 祈禳, *j.* 136–259).

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 44–46; Davis E. 2001, 231–36; Kalinowski 1989–90, 105–6; Lagerwey 1987c, 169

※ Ning Benli; Lingbao dafa

*Lingbao shoudu yi*

靈寶授度儀靈寶授度儀

Ordination Ritual of the Numinous Treasure

The *Lingbao shoudu yi* (CT 528) was composed by the codifier of the \*Lingbao scriptures, \*Lu Xiujing. While ordination rituals for the transmission of scriptures are attested from the beginnings of the religion, the *Shoudu yi* is particularly important in that it served as the prototype for subsequent ordinations in the scriptures of the Three Caverns (\*SANDONG).

The text is preceded by a memorial, also written by Lu, indicating that the text may have been presented to the throne. This memorial is not dated, but Lu writes that it has been “seventeen years since I presumed to receive (*taoqie* 叨竊) [the scriptures].” Since Lu was born in 407 and was unlikely to have encountered the Lingbao texts before the age of fifteen, the text was probably composed within a few years of 437, the year in which Lu wrote the \**Lingbao jingmu* (Catalogue of Lingbao Scriptures), and certainly no later than 454.

Lu's memorial reveals that he pieced together his ordination ritual from the simpler rites included in several texts in the Lingbao canon, a fact confirmed by the extensive quotations found in the *Shoudu yi*. In that some of his sources no longer survive as independent works, the *Shoudu yi* is valuable testimony to the early Lingbao scriptures.

Lu's reason for composing this work is that Taoists of his day were conducting ordination rituals in texts of all Three Caverns using a single oath and without regard to the established order of precedence. Even when they only performed ordinations in the Lingbao scriptures, they tended to mix in other elements or call spirits indiscriminately. The *Shoudu yi* thus attests to Lu's attempt to unify and regularize the Taoist practice of his day.

The ordination ritual, to be performed over a period of seven days, presumes that the disciple has already received and studied the scriptures and is now ready to “retreat from the entanglements” (*tuilei* 退累) of the mundane world to study the scriptures and perform rituals on behalf of all the living.



This is thus one of the earliest warrants for the establishment of a professional priesthood. The ritual centers on the covenants (*meng* 盟) entered into between master and disciple before the gods. Both parties place their own lives, and those of their ancestors, in forfeit of descent into the hells for “ten thousand *kalpas*” if either of them defame the scriptures or transmit them to the unworthy.

At the climax of this complex ritual, the master calls from his body the twenty-four spirits and their envoys to dispatch to the celestial realms his announcement of scriptural transmission. He then recites the primary incantations, secret language, and other formulas of the scriptures. Having received these primary bits of arcana, the disciples recite their covenant and participate in the singing of the *\*Buxu ci* (Lyrics for Pacing the Void) and other hymns of praise and commitment. Upon completion of the rite, the newly-invested disciples officiate over a *\*zhai* (Retreat) ritual of thanksgiving lasting three days.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Benn 1991, 124–35 and passim; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 331–43

✕ Lu Xiuqing; Lingbao; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

*Lingbao wufu xu*

靈寶五符序

Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure

The *Lingbao wufu xu* is a key text for understanding the formative stage of Taoist religion, from the late Han through the fifth century. The extant version (CT 388) was probably compiled over a period of a century, between the late third and early fifth centuries, though the main redaction was probably complete by the early fourth century. Incorporating much early material, the text is closer to the traditions of the *\*fangshi* and the “weft” texts (*weishu* 緯書; see *\*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA*) than to the developed Taoist scriptures. Though it was in the possession of *\*Ge Hong*, and was transmitted among his family and associates, there is clear indication of different lineages involved in the redaction process.

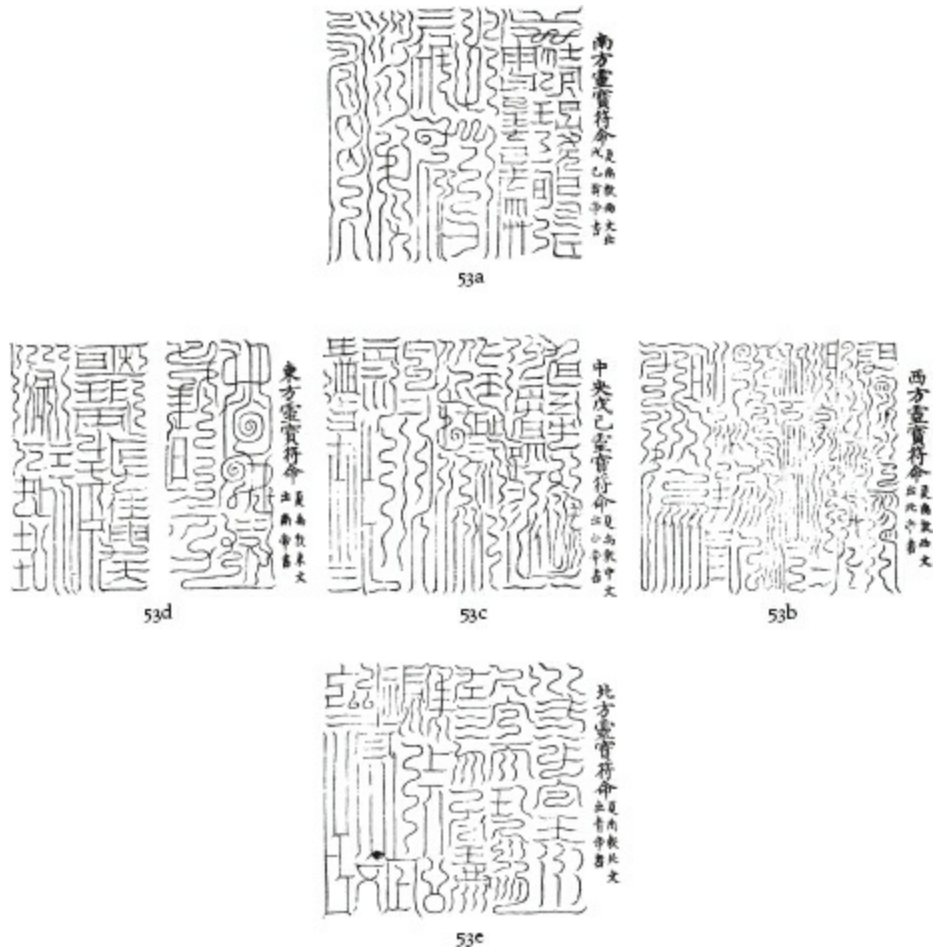


Fig. 53. Talismans of the Five Emperors: (a) South; (b) West; (c) Center; (d) East; (e) North.

\**Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure; CT 388), 3.9a–11b.

The first chapter consists of a long narrative describing the appearance of the text in the human realm. After a cosmogonic description, a narrative based on the opening chapters of the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian) details the receipt of the text by Di Ku 帝嚳 and later by Yu 禹, who is said to have composed the actual scripture to be transmitted in the world. This is followed by the discovery of the scripture in the caves below Lake Dongting 洞庭 and its presentation to the hapless King of Wu, Helü (r. 514–496 BCE). The prefatory narrative is followed by a number of distinct texts which describe: 1. the “five sprouts” (*wuya* 五芽) practice by which the pneuma (*\*qi*) of the five directions may be ingested; 2. the secret names of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝), based on the Han “weft” texts; 3. short instructions and praise for the five \*Lingbao talismans; 4. a meditation practice, based on the “ruler-

minister” (*wangxiang* 王相) hemerological system, for cycling pneuma through the five viscera (*\*wuzang*); and 5. instructions for ingestion of solar and lunar essences. This last section, which includes an important discussion of micro-macrocosmic correlations and corporeal gods, is related to the final part of the scripture, and probably emanated from a lineage distinct from those reflected in the other sections in the text.

The second chapter consists entirely of herbal recipes for longevity, suppression of the Three Corpses (*sanshi*; see *\*sanshi* and *jiuchong*), and healing of disease. The chapter also includes a talisman to be used for “release from the corpse” (see *\*shijie*).

The core of the text is the *\*jiao* (Offering) ritual described in the third chapter, in which the Five Emperors are summoned through contemplation involving the five talismans. The ritual incorporates three originally unrelated practices: 1. Han imperial ritual speculations which perceived the living emperor as an embodiment of five celestial Emperors who themselves are manifestations of the *\*wuxing*; 2. the “five sprouts” method of pneuma ingestion; 3. the five talismans, originally apotropaic talismans to be used by adepts when entering mountains seeking herbs and minerals. This ritual is the earliest example of a Taoist *jiao* and incorporates elements of ritual still performed today. The rite begins by laying out the talismans, followed by summoning the celestial officials. After an offering and reverence to the spirits, a request is made. The spirits are then sent off to return to their abode. In later ritual codifications, beginning with the *\*Wupian zhenwen* 五篇真文 (Perfected Script in Five Tablets) and continued by *\*Lu Xiuqing* (406–77), the basic structure of the rite remained as the basic unit of Taoist ritual, despite the ever more complex instructions and performances.

The final part of the third chapter is an originally independent text, entitled “Scripture of the Authentic One” (“Zhenyi jing” 真一經) and cited under various similar titles. It is probably related to the *\*Sanhuang* (Three Sovereigns) tradition and paralleled by *j.* 18 in *\*Baopu zi*. This section introduces the notion of the Three Ones (*\*sanyi*), which became the focus of meditation practices within *\*Shangqing* Taoism. Here it is merged with the practice of the “five sprouts.” The teaching, presented to the Yellow Emperor (*\*Huangdi*), presages *\*neidan* practice, and also introduces the notion of the three *\*hun* and the seven *\*po*.

The *Wufu xu* thus provides valuable information on the development of

Taoism from Han period practices of various *fangshi* lineages, “weft” texts, and shamanic methods, through competing lineages of southern China, to the systematized Taoist scriptural revelations of the fourth century and beyond. The text further introduces several concepts and practices which were to become central in the emerging Taoist syntheses of later centuries.

Gil RAZ

▣ Bokenkamp 1983; Bokenkamp 1986d; Ishii Masako 1981; Ishii Masako 1984; Kaltenmark 1960; Kaltenmark 1982; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 45–104; Lagerwey 2004a; Raz 2003; Schipper 1991b; Yamada Toshiaki 1984; Yamada Toshiaki 1987a; Yamada Toshiaki 1987b; Yamada Toshiaki 1989b

※ Lingbao

*Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa*

靈寶無量度人上經大法

Great Rites of the Superior Scripture of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation

This anonymous compendium (CT 219) was probably compiled around 1200 by a disciple of \*Ning Benli (1101–81) and enlarged during the early Ming period. It is based on a new interpretation of the main \*Lingbao scripture, the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), involving new incantations, talismans (\*FU), and practices, especially those deriving from a secret way of reading the scripture (*j.* 5–7) that provides expanded powers to heal and protect adepts, but mainly in the service of saving the dead. The important rites for Salvation through Refinement (\**liandu*) central to the \*Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) tradition also figure prominently here. The text states that this interpretation derives from the August One of Heavenly Perfection (Tianzhen huangren 天真皇人), who both made the scripture's sacred characters intelligible to human eyes and ears, and explained the talismans to the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi).

The *Duren shangjing dafa* is closely related to both texts entitled \**Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1221 and CT 1222–23). While giving a full and detailed

description of the \*Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) tradition, which it refers to as “the Way to save souls from hell” (53.1a), a nearer source of its inspiration may have been the Shenxiao tradition. Filled with diagrams that provide clues to the foundations of Taoist ritual, the text also suggest subtle means of turning one's inner body into an ritual arena for saving souls, particularly in the section (57.2b–5b) printed separately as *Lingbao dalian neizhi xingchi jiyao* 靈寶 大鍊內旨行持機要 (Crucial Essentials in the Numinous Treasure Tradition for Practicing and Upholding the Inner Purport for the Great Refinement; CT 407; Boltz J. M. 1983, and Lagerwey 1987c, 233–34).

The text's division into ninety sections was the work of a scholarly disciple familiar with most of the contemporary twelfth-century Taoist traditions, and represents a finely woven synthesis of many of them, even though its major focus is on the saving of deceased ancestors. The text first directs the disciple to master the making and use of talismans (*j.* 4–21), the basic ways of imbibing pure essences, and the sending of petitions to the heavens. Adepts are taught to combine traditional Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), Lingbao, and \*Shangqing methods with new practices derived from Shenxiao and \*Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart) that aim to exorcise impure energies from the body so that pure energies will replace them. Once these preliminaries are mastered, the adept will be able to work toward his final goal—to save all souls from hell by traveling beyond the stars, and ultimately to be initiated by the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊). Once this has been achieved, the adept can order about the deities of heaven and earth and practice Thunder Rites (\*leifa). Besides being now able to thoroughly work through rites of confession (*j.* 27), the adept learns how to attain a place within the ranks of the transcendents (*j.* 28) and to find his way among all the celestial realms with various divine aides (*j.* 29). Once he has completed this program, the adept is qualified to perform public ritual, exorcising demons for the benefit of the living (manifest in *j.* 30–45) and delivering the lost souls of the dead (detailed especially in *j.* 46–71).

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1983; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 28–29; Boltz J. M. 1994, 10

※ Lingbao dafa

*Lingbao yujian*

靈寶玉鑒

Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure

This important thirteenth-century ritual text (CT 546 and 547), although incomplete, may be related to the same title mentioned by \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?; see *Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu* 海瓊白真人語錄, CT 1307, 4.12a–b). The title's “Numinous Treasure” refers to the \*Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) tradition to which this text belongs, while “Jade Mirror” refers to the ancient practice of using mirrors to identify demons (see under \*jing and jian). The text also makes ample use of material from the \*Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart) tradition, which is here explicitly tied to the Celestial Masters’ \*Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) ritual legacy, and from the Yutang 玉堂 (Jade Hall) tradition of \*Lu Shizhong (fl. 1120–30).

The text regards Tian Ziji 田紫極 (1074–?) as the Ancestral Master (*zushi* 祖師) of its tradition, but does not mention \*Ning Benli (1101–81). It is divided into twenty-five rubrics (*men* 門), beginning with general explanations of Taoist ritual (*j.* 1, rubric 1) along the lines of the Lingbao dafa, followed by the twenty-four other rubrics (*j.* 2–43) that deal with a wide array of ritual programs in the \*Lingbao tradition for saving lost souls through Offering (\*jiao) and Retreat (\*zhai) rites that rely on new types of talismans (\*FU), exorcisms, meditation, and presenting memorials.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 43–44; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 169–70

※ Lingbao dafa

*Lingshu ziwen*

靈書紫文

Numinous Writings in Purple Script

The *Lingshu ziwen* is one of the main original \*Shangqing scriptures. The received text is certainly authentic, but is divided into four parts in the Taoist Canon:

1. *Huangtian Shangqing Jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing* 皇天上清金闕帝君靈書紫文上經 (Superior Scripture of the Numinous Writings in Purple Script of the Imperial Lord of the Golden Portal of the August Heaven of Highest Clarity; CT 639)
2. *Taiwei lingshu ziwen langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing* 太微靈書紫文琅玕華丹神真上經 (Divine, Authentic, and Superior Scripture of the Elixir Efflorescence of Langgan, from the Numinous Writings in Purple Script of the Great Tenuity; CT 255)
3. *\*Housheng daojun lieji* 後聖道君列紀 (Chronicle of the Lord of the Dao, Saint of the Latter Age; CT 442)
4. *Taiwei lingshu ziwen xianji zhenji shangjing* 太微靈書紫文仙忌真記上經 (Superior Scripture of the Interdictions for Immortals Recorded by the Real Men, from the Numinous Writings in Purple Script of the Heaven of Great Tenuity; CT 179)

The first text (CT 639; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 307–31) opens with the story of the composition of the *Lingshu ziwen* by the Azure Lad (\*Qingtong), who in Shangqing scriptures plays the role of mediator between divine and human beings. It continues with three methods dealing with subtle physiology and involving visualizations, incantations, and the absorption of talismans (\*FU). The first method teaches how to ingest the pneumas (\*qi) of the sun and the moon; the adept invokes the secret names of the Emperors of the Sun and the Moon, envisioning their pneumas and absorbing them with a talisman. The second method aims at “securing the three *hun*” (*ju sanhun* 拘三魂) and “controlling the seven *po*” (*zhi qipo* 制七魄; see \*[hun](#) and *po*). Since the *hun* are fond of freely flying away, the adept should control them by encircling his body with a red pneuma summoned from his heart. The *po*, however, are malevolent; one should avert their threats by imprisoning them through the visualization of the Jade Women (\**yunü*) and the four directional animals (\**siling*), which in Shangqing texts often form a sacred guard around the practitioner. These techniques are complemented by a third practice, consisting of invocations to the Three Primes (\**sanyuan*) or Three Ones (\**sanyi*) who reside in the three Cinnabar Fields (\**dantian*), and in animating the god of the Mysterious Pass (\**xuanguan*). This method is designed to

replace the sexual practices of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) and is related to embryonic breathing (\**taixi*), as the Mysterious Pass is “the passageway that joined the placenta to your viscera when you were first born” (trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 327).

The second text (CT 255; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 331–39) gives the recipe for the Elixir of Langan, named after a mythical tree that grows on Mount \*Kunlun. This method, lying between operative alchemy and “astro-alchemy,” joins the compounding of an elixir with the absorption of astral efflorescences; the product likely was not meant for actual ingestion. (For more details on this method see under \**langgan*.)

The third text (CT 442; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 339–62; part. trans. Strickmann 1981, 209–24) is devoted to a description of the apocalypse. It deals with \*Li Hong, the Sage Lord of the Latter Age (the present cosmos), who comes at the end of the world to save the “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*), i.e., the adepts who have gained access to the *Lingshu ziwén*, respect moral rules, and bear the physical marks of transcendence enumerated in the text. (For more details on this text, see under \**Housheng daojun lieji*.)

The fourth and last text (CT 179; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 362–66) is one of the few Shangqing sources that list ethical and ritual prohibitions.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 275–372; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 171–210; Robinet 1984, 2: 101–10

※ Shangqing

Linshui furen

臨水夫人

The Lady at the Water's Edge

Lady Linshui has for 1,000 years been one of the most popular deities in south China. Also known as Defending Maiden Chen (Chen Jinggu 陳靖姑) and Fourteenth Damsel Chen (Chen Shisi niangniang 陳十四娘娘), she continues to be worshipped throughout much of the region, especially



Zhejiang, Fujian, and Taiwan. Her hagiography contains complex and striking symbolism about gender roles, their reversal, and their inevitability. Most texts state that when the officials and people of Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian) were unable to raise money to build a bridge, the bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音 transformed herself into a beautiful maiden, embarked on a small boat, and offered to marry any man who could hit her with an ingot of silver thrown from the water's edge. She raised a large sum of money, which landed in the boat, until the Taoist immortal \*Lü Dongbin helped a merchant hit one strand of her hair with a speck of silver powder. The hair fell into the water and floated away. Guanyin then bit her finger, and a drop of blood fell into the water and also floated away, whereupon she vanished. Distraught at having lost his future bride, the merchant committed suicide. The drop of blood floated down the river, and was swallowed by a woman washing clothes in the river, Lady Ge (Ge furen 葛夫人; another “lady at the water's edge”), who had married into the Chen family but failed to produce any children. She became pregnant, and gave birth to Chen Jinggu (Lady Linshui). The hair turned into a female white snake, which ravished handsome males and devoured women she considered to be her rivals. The merchant's soul was sent to be reincarnated as Liu Qi 劉杞, Lady Linshui's future husband.

Chen grew up to be a beautiful and talented young woman, but refused marriage to Liu Qi and fled to Mount Lü (Lüshan 閩山, Jiangxi), where she studied ritual techniques under the tutelage of the renowned Taoist immortal \*Xu Xun, learning everything except the art of protecting pregnancy. She could not escape her destiny, however, eventually marrying Liu Qi and becoming pregnant. When the northern Fujian region began to suffer from a serious drought, the people asked her to perform a ritual to bring rain. In order to do so, she had to temporarily abort her fetus, which was then devoured by the white snake. She died of a hemorrhage (or miscarriage), sacrificing her life-giving blood in order to provide life-giving water for the people, but before her death was able to kill the snake with her sword.

Lady Linshui has long been renowned for her ritual powers, and remains a patron deity of spirit-mediums (*wu* 巫; *jitong* 乩童 or \**tâng-ki* in Southern Min dialect) and ritual masters (\**fashi*) in Fujian and Taiwan. She is also worshipped along with Li Sanniang 李三娘 (Third Damsel Li) and Lin Jiuniang 林九娘 (Ninth Damsel Lin; sometimes considered to be \*Mazu) as one of the Three Matrons (Sannai furen 三奶夫人), the matriarchs of the

Lüshan branch of Taoism. Ritual masters of this movement don skirts when performing their rites. To this day, Chinese and Taiwanese women worship her as a deity who can protect them during pregnancy and childbirth, and she is also invoked during rites to protect children (Baptandier-Berthier 1994).

*Paul R. KATZ*

▣ Baptandier 1996; Berthier 1988; Chen Minhui 1988; Lo Vivienne 1993; Wang Fang and Jin Chongliu 1994; Wu Gangji 1994; Xu Xiaowang 1993, 329–48; Ye Mingsheng and Yuan Hongliang 1996

※ HAGIOGRAPHY; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*

歷世真仙體道通鑑

Comprehensive Mirror of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages

The *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (CT 296) is an enormous compendium of immortals' biographies compiled by Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307) who came from Fuyun shan 浮雲山 (Zhejiang). It is divided into fifty-three chapters with over 900 biographies and inspired two additional collections, *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 續編 (Supplementary Chapters; CT 297) in five chapters and *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji* 後集 (Later Collection; CT 298) in six chapters. The latter two collections are likely not be from Zhao's hand—his name may have been attached to them as a pious act of reverence to the original—as they appear to date from about a century after the original compendium. The compendium includes an undated preface by Zhao in which he notes his use of the *\*Hunyuan shengji* (Saintly Chronicle of Chaotic Origin) by Xie Shouhao 謝守灝 (1134–1212), a kind of history of the operations of the Dao in the human realm. It should also be noted that the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* was compiled in an era that saw other grand attempts at comprehensive history, both sacred and secular, as well as other monumental anthologies.

The biographies are found in the compendium roughly in the order their subjects lived. However, there are places where this rule is violated, such as

the chapter of biographies of the inheritors of the title of Celestial Master which immediately follows the single-chapter biography of \*Zhang Daoling, the first \**tianshi*. One of the difficulties with this work, as far as the reconstruction of lost texts or the tracing of the development of biographies over time is concerned, is that Zhao rarely noted his sources. It is clear that he sometimes copied whole chapters of earlier collections which also upsets the chronological arrangement in some cases. However, Zhao clearly did not copy extant works or chapters of works unthinkingly, as, in some cases, he replaced certain notable biographies from early collections with other, often voluminous, versions written closer to his own time. An example of this is the biography of \*Huangdi which occupies the entire first chapter of the collection. As a consequence, Huangdi's biography does not appear in the third chapter of the compendium which was clearly taken from the \**Liexian zhuan* (the early collection of biographies of immortals) in which he also received a biography. The two chapter-long biographies of Huangdi and Zhang Daoling, among others, indicate both the tendency toward more complex narrative in immortals' lives and also an attempt at comprehensiveness, seen in their incorporation of all the material from previous traditions into one record.

The two supplementary collections appear to derive from \*Quanzhen circles. Judith M. Boltz (1987a, 58) has observed that the *Xubian* begins with biographies of Quanzhen patriarchs while the *Houji*, a collection devoted to women's lives, culminates with the record of \*Sun Bu'er, the Quanzhen matriarch.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 56–59; Chen Guofu 1963, 243; Ozaki Masaharu 1996; Tsuchiya Masaaki 1996

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

Liu Chuxuan

劉處玄

1147–1203; *zi*: Tongmiao 通妙; *hao*: Changsheng 長生

Liu Chuxuan (Liu Changsheng), the son of a family of military officers, converted to \*Wang Zhe at the age of twenty-two, after Wang revealed himself as the author of an anonymous piece of calligraphy that had appeared on a wall predicting Liu's accession to immortality. Liu served as a novice to Wang during the latter's last few months of life; he then mourned his master and led an eremitic life around Luoyang, exhibiting his austere ways to a large public. He returned in 1176 to Shandong where he founded several \*Quanzhen communities. Liu gained the Jin court's attention and was invited to the capital in 1197, thanks to his fame as a ritualist and/or because the Quanzhen order had just made an agreement with the state that ended seven years of protracted conflict. Liu's involvement with Quanzhen institutional development, however, is not apparent from the sources, although he did have very influential disciples, among whom \*Yu Daoxian and \*Song Defang are best known.

Liu's contribution to Quanzhen lies mainly in his scholarship and his theoretical writings that grounded Quanzhen pedagogy in the Taoist speculative tradition. This is attested by four extant works in the Canon. Like all except one of Wang's seven main disciples, Liu left a poetic anthology, the *Xianle ji* 仙樂集 (Anthology of Immortal Bliss; CT 1141). He also wrote two commentaries—a rare genre among early Quanzhen Taoists—on the \**Huangting jing* and the \**Yinfu jing*, entitled *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經注 (Commentary to the Jade Scripture of the Inner Effulgence of the Yellow Court; CT 401) and *Yinfu jing zhu* 陰符經注 (Commentary to the Scripture of the Hidden Accordance; CT 122). Last comes the *Wuwei Qingjing Changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu* 無為清靜長生真人至真語錄 (Recorded Sayings on the Ultimate Reality by the Real Man of Non-Action, Clarity and Quiescence, and Long Life; CT 1058), a short dialectic treatise, which, despite its title, is not a verbatim record of oral teachings but a list of eighty words with definitions and antonyms relevant to Taoist philosophy. His lost works are even more numerous, including seven anthologies and a commentary to the *Daode jing*. It is then not surprising that many Quanzhen adepts of the second generation came to Liu for instruction in the Taoist scriptural legacy.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 64–65, 162–63; Endres 1985; Hachiya Kunio 1992b; Marsone 2001a, 104

※ Quanzhen

Liu Deren

劉德仁

1122–80; *hao*: Wuyou zi 無憂子 (The Troubleless Master)

Liu Deren is the founder of the \*Zhen dadao order, of which he was posthumously considered the first patriarch. He was born in a Shandong family that provided him with a good education. Very early, however, Liu found himself an orphan, and, although his family does not seem to have had any specific religious tradition, he turned to asceticism and made a reputation for himself through his humble and austere mode of life. At the age of twenty, he met an “extraordinary person,” identified by the Zhen dadao tradition as Laozi, who explained him the true meaning of the *Daode jing* and gave him liturgical scriptures. Out of these revelations, Liu drew nine precepts of general moral significance, which Zhen dadao adepts received in their formal initiation. These precepts likely played the same role as the five basic precepts (*wujie* 五戒) in all Buddhist and most Taoist communities (i.e., those against killing, stealing, having illicit sex, lying, and drinking alcohol).

Thanks to his impressive austerity and exorcistic prowess, Liu's predication met with great popular support. In 1176, he was invited to the Jin court and awarded the title Dongyue zhenren 東嶽真人 (Real Man of the Eastern Peak). He chose as his successor another man inclined toward hard work and humble demeanor, Chen Shizheng 陳師正, hitherto a fisherman along the Yellow River.

Liu's life is primarily known through a late account by the famed historiographer Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–81), but his name is also found in most epigraphic accounts of the Zhen dadao, where he is evoked as the main example of the austere virtues preached by this order.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

■ Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 330

※ Zhen dadao

Liu Haichan

劉海蟾

*ming*: Cao 操 *or* Xuanying 玄英; *zi*: Zongcheng 宗成 *or* Zhaoyuan 昭遠; *hao*: Haichan zi 海蟾子 (Master Sea-Toad)

Liu Haichan is one of the most popular of the immortals who appear at the beginning of the Song period and play an important role in the diffusion of \**neidan* techniques and literature. He is first mentioned in several collections of miscellaneous notes (*biji* 筆記) as a disciple of \*Chen Tuan (ca. 920–89). Later hagiography, fashioned by the \*Quanzhen order, makes him a minister of the state of Yan 燕 (911–13). At the height of his glory, Liu is converted by a trick of \*Zhongli Quan, who piles up ten eggs on a coin and asserts that the life of a minister is even more hazardous. Liu then abandons his life of fame and riches to become a wandering Taoist, and finally attains immortality.

As an immortal, Liu seems to have been especially revered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when he was associated with Zhongli Quan and \*Lü Dongbin. The three were famous for roaming the world and persuading people to search for Taoist immortality. These encounters were favorite topics not only of hagiographic works, but also of poems and theatre plays. Although Zhongli and Lü have enjoyed a more durable popularity, Liu plays an eminent role in a numbers of stories, especially the *Ningyang Dong zhenren yuxian ji* 凝陽董真人遇仙記 (Records of the Real Man Dong Ningyang's Encounters with Immortals; CT 308). This semivernacular work tells the tale of a humble Jurchen soldier, Dong Shouzhi 董守志 (1160–1227), who repeatedly receives visits and instructions from Liu, Lü, and Zhongli, and starts a new Taoist school.



Fig. 54. Liu Haichan. Yan Hui 顏輝 (fl. late thirteenth-early fourteenth century). Chion-ji 知恩寺, Kyoto. See Little 2000b, 330.

Liu was also famous for his poetry and the calligraphic traces he left on temple walls—a way of creating new holy places that was also favored by Lü Dongbin. Although Liu's alchemical poems seem to have been well-known, they have not come down to us in any anthology, but are quoted in several Song and Yuan *neidan* works. His autobiographical “Song on Becoming a Taoist” (“Rudao ge” 入道歌, probably a Quanzhen apocryphon) was carved on stone in several locations, and is also included in his standard biography found in the *\*Jinlian zhengzong ji*, which inspired most later accounts of his life.

Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, and Liu Haichan are considered patriarchs by both the Quanzhen and *\*Nanzong* lineages. Liu's importance, however, appears to have waned already by Yuan times, and very few texts are attributed to him in later anthologies. Unlike Lü Dongbin, moreover, Liu was rarely called through spirit writing (see *\*fuji*) by Taoist devotees and

alchemists, and for some reason he is not even included among the Eight Immortals (*\*baxian*) in the late-Yuan final definition of this group.

His modern personality as a god of wealth is quite different from the alchemical initiation master of yore. He is often painted as a child with a toad and a string of coins, two attributes probably borrowed from the immortals Helan Qizhen 賀蘭棲真 and Lan Caihe 藍采和, respectively.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 64 and 173; Jing Anning 1996; Little 2000b, 330

✂ Nanzong; Quanzhen; HAGIOGRAPHY

Liu Huayang

柳華陽

1735–99; *hao*: Chuanlu 傳廬 (Transmitter of the Hut)

Liu Huayang, a native of Nanchang (Jiangxi), was originally a Confucian scholar but became a Chan monk at the Shuanglian si 雙蓮寺 (Temple of the Double Lotus) near Anqing 安慶 (Anhui). Having failed to attain enlightenment, he left the temple in search of a master who could teach him the secrets of Wisdom (*hui* 慧, *prajñā*) and Life (*ming* 命; see *\*xing* and *ming*). This finally happened in the spring of 1780 when, according to Liu, *\*Wu Shouyang*—who had died 136 years earlier—transmitted his teachings to him. Liu successfully put them into practice. After that, the Buddhist monk Huyun 壺雲, whom Liu met in Kuanglu 匡廬 (Jiangxi), gave him instructions on the final stages of his training.

Liu Huayang is the author of two treatises, both edited and annotated by Liu himself in 1799 in a Buddhist temple in Beijing. The first is the *Jinxian zhenglun* 金仙証論 (Essay on the Verification of Golden Immortality), written in Anhui and consisting of twenty sections, the first of which is a preface dated 1790. Two other prefaces by Gao Shuangjing 高雙景 of Nanchang (dated 1790) and by the Buddhist monk Miaowu 妙悟 (dated 1791) introduce the text. The treatise primarily deals with the circulation of *\*qi* known as the Lesser Celestial Circuit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天; see



*\*zhoutian*) through the Control and Function channels (*\*dumai* and *renmai*). Section 17 describes the two channels with the help of a diagram. The final two sections, on the dangers encountered in the course of the practice and the reason for Liu's adding his own annotations, were appended in 1799.

The second treatise is the *\*Huiming jing* 慧命經 (Scripture of Wisdom and Life), also known as *Zuishang yisheng huiming jing* 最上一乘慧命經 (Scripture on Wisdom and Life of the Supreme One Vehicle). A preface by Liu and another by Sun Tingbi 孫廷璧 are both dated 1794. Writing for the benefit of four disciples who had accomplished the Lesser Celestial Circuit, Liu here mainly elucidates the techniques of the Greater Celestial Circuit (*da zhoutian* 大周天; see *\*zhoutian*). The text is essentially an account of the experiences that he and his disciples underwent. The first eight sections contain diagrams on topics ranging from “cessation of outflow” (*loujin* 漏儘, *āsravakṣaya*) to “reverting to Emptiness” (*huanxu* 還虛). This portion of the work circulated independently in esoteric circles and was published in several collections.

The two treatises were first printed together by Liang Jingyang 梁靖陽 in 1846, and again by Deng Huiji 鄧徽績 in 1897 in the collection entitled *Wu-Liu xianzong* 伍柳仙宗 (The Wu-Liu Lineage of Immortality).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a; Chen Zhibin 1974; Sakade Yoshinobu 1987, 2–3

※ *Huiming jing*; *neidan*; Wu-Liu pai

Liu Hunkang

劉混康

1035–1108; *zi*: Zhitong 志通; *hao*: Huayang xiansheng 華陽先生 (Elder of Flourishing Yang)

Liu Hunkang, the twenty-fifth patriarch of the *\*Shangqing* school, was a famous Taoist priest based on Mount Mao (*\*Maoshan*, Jiangsu) during the Northern Song dynasty. A native of Puling 普陵 (Jiangsu), he was ordained as a *\*daoshi* at the age of twenty-four. He visited Mount Mao out of

reverence for the Taoist priest Mao Fengrou 毛奉柔, who was teaching there and conferred on him scriptures and registers (\*LU). Liu cultivated the Dao at Jijin 積金 Peak in the Mount Mao ranges. He taught extensively, so that his reputation spread all over Jiangnan and he received favors from several emperors of the Northern Song.

In 1086, Liu healed the mother of Song Zhezong (r. 1085–1100) from an acute illness of the throat by means of talismans and writings. Zhezong thereupon bestowed upon him the style Elder Who Pervades the Origin and Penetrates the Sublime (Dongyuan tongmiao xiansheng 洞元通妙先生), and changed the name of the hermitage in which he resided at Mount Mao to the Abbey of the Original Tally (Yuanfu guan 元符觀). Mount Mao itself was declared the Ancestral Altar of Scriptures and Registers (*jinglu zongtan* 經籙宗壇), and together with Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi) and Mount Gezao (\*Gezao shan, Jiangxi) became one of the so-called Three Tripod Peaks (*sanshan dingzhi* 三山鼎峙). Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125), who is said to have obtained male progeny thanks to a method taught by Liu, likewise had high respect for him and summoned him many times to the capital. The two men exchanged more than seventy letters and poems and presented each other with hand-written copies of the \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation). In 1108, Liu's body grew increasingly weak due to old age; he left the mountain on imperial invitation but died after his arrival in the capital.

Besides being an expert in rituals and healing methods, Liu Hunkang's main contribution to Taoism was exalting the role of Mount Mao as Ancestral Altar of Scriptures and Registers. At the same time he exerted remarkable influence on the spread of Taoism in Song-dynasty Jiangnan and the development of Taoist rites, particularly on the formation of the \**liandu* (Salvation through Refinement) rituals.

*CHEN Yaoting*

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 312–13

※ Shangqing

Liu Yiming

劉一明

1734–1821; *hao*: Wuyuan zi 悟元子 (Master of the Awakening to the Origin), Supu sanren 素樸散人 (Vagabond in Simplicity)

The *\*neidan* master Liu Yiming, a native of Quwo 曲沃 (Shanxi), was the eleventh-generation patriarch of the *\*Longmen* lineage. Information about him is scattered throughout his works, commentaries, poems, and prefaces, but Liu gives a fairly detailed account of his life in the *Huixin ji* 會心集 (Anthology of Gathering [the Dao] in the Heart; 1811). He studied the Confucian classics in his youth but also developed an interest in Taoism at the age of thirteen. At the age of seventeen, he was seized by a serious illness; while the usual remedies proved ineffective, a Perfected (*\*zhenren*) healed him. Two years later, he began his quest for the Dao, leading the life of an itinerant seeker for thirteen years in Beijing, Henan, and Shanxi.

In 1760, or slightly earlier, Liu encountered a master whom he calls the Old Man of the Kangu Mountains (Kangu laoren 龕谷老人) in Jincheng 金城 (present-day Yuzhong 榆中, Gansu). In 1772 he met his second and most important master, the Great Man Resting in Immortality (Xianliu zhangren 仙留丈人), who initiated him in both alchemy and the *\*Yijing*. Liu's understanding of these subjects and his combination of the two form the core of most of his writings.

In 1780, Liu visited the Qiyun 棲雲 mountains in Jincheng and settled there to practice self-cultivation as a recluse. His residence, the Den of Freedom (Zizai wo 自在窩), was within the precincts of an abbey. A disciple describes a meeting with him in the Jintian guan 金天觀 (Abbey of Golden Heaven), which could be the abbey in question. Liu himself, however, states that he reopened a dilapidated abbey, the Chaoyuan guan 朝元觀 (Abbey of the Audience with the [Three] Primes) on Mount Qiyun. The conversations he held with another disciple on the summit of the mountain in 1782 are recorded in the *Xiuzhen biannan* 修真辨難 (Discussions on the Cultivation of Perfection; 1798).

Liu's commentaries draw on various sources, including the Confucian or Neo-Confucian thought of Mencius (Mengzi 孟子, ca. 370-ca. 290 BCE), Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529), and Yan Yuan 良知 (1635–1704). This influence is evident, for instance, in his frequent use of the terms *liangzhi* 良知 (intuitive knowledge) and *liangneng* 良能 (intuitive ability),

both of which Liu explicates as synonyms of Golden Elixir (*\*jindan*). Chan Buddhism also figures prominently in his thought, as shown by his commentaries to alchemical texts such as the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi*, the *\*Wuzhen pian*, and the *\*Jindan sibaizi*. Moreover, he makes use of the *Yijing* and cosmological diagrams to illustrate his point. Liu also interpreted in alchemical terms the popular late-Ming novel *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West; Yu Anthony 1991; this novel should not be confused with the identically-titled work by Li Zhichang 李志常, on which see the entry *\*Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*).

Liu Yiming's books were published independently during his lifetime by various disciples including Zhang Yangquan 張陽全 and Zhou Jinxi 周金璽, and by friends. They were later reedited in the *\*Daoshu shi'er zhong* (Twelve Books on the Dao; 1819).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Miyakawa Hisayuki 1954; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 156–83; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 396–97

※ *Daoshu shi'er zhong; neidan*; Longmen

Liu Yu

劉玉

1257–1308; *zi*: Yizhen 頤真; *hao*: Yuzhen zi 玉真子 (Master of Jade Perfection)

Liu Yu is not to be confused with a person of the same name, otherwise known as Liu Shi 劉世 (fl. 1258), to whom *\*Shenxiao* ritual codes are ascribed. The son of Lady Wu 鄔氏 and Liu Gang 劉岡 of Nankang 南康 (Jiangxi), Liu lost both parents at the age of twenty. He came out of mourning destitute and wise to the ephemerality of life. Turning to a study of the spirit realm, Liu began to have a series of visions and eventually came to be recognized as the founder of a syncretic school known as the *\*Jingming dao* (Pure and Bright Way) centered on veneration of *\*Xu Xun* (trad. 239–374) at the Western Hills (*\*Xishan*, Jiangxi).

Liu had his first visionary encounter in 1282 at the Western Hills, where he met Hu Huichao 胡惠超 (?–703), a Taoist master who six centuries earlier had revived a movement in the name of Xu Xun called Xiaodao 孝道 (Way of Filiality). Hu reportedly told Liu that he was destined to become the exemplar of eight hundred devotees of Jingming. He also said that Liu could expect the arrival of Xu Xun himself on the \**gengshen* 庚申 day of the last lunar month of the year *bingshen* 丙申 (20 January 1297). Hu reappeared the next year to explain Jingming lore and advised Liu to set up a retreat on Mount Huangtang (Huang-tang shan 黃堂山) in the Western Hills range. Word of Liu's benevolent activities at a newly established abbey in the region drew throngs of followers.

Toward the end of 1294 Liu received instruction in geomancy from an ostensibly earlier devotee of Xu Xun, the renowned literatus Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324). Approximately two years later, on the day designated for his audience with Xu Xun, Liu gathered his disciples together and said that someone else would join them. Late that night, during a heavy snowstorm, Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (1271–1326) arrived and said that Hu had appeared in a dream, telling him to come. Just before midnight, Liu allegedly received from Xu Xun a text on \*Lingbao ritual that bore his name as a disciple. Four days later Guo Pu is said to have given Liu an exegesis on the text. That night Xu arrived again to bestow further ritual commentary that he claimed to have received by order of Taishang 太上 (Most High). He also informed Liu that he was foremost among his eight hundred disciples. Ten months later Hu reappeared at the \*Yulong wanshou gong (Palace of the Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Jade Beneficence) of the Western Hills to convey additional instruction.

From then on Liu led a widespread revival of Jingming teachings and became known for his succinct manner of speech and complete integrity. Just before his demise, he designated Huang Yuanji as his successor. A selection of Liu's teachings, entitled *Yuzhen xiansheng yulu* 玉真先生語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Elder of Jade Perfection), is contained in the \**Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* (Complete Writings of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Loyalty and Filiality; j. 3–5) compiled by Huang. The biography of Liu Yu in this anthology (1.18b–25b), the primary source used here, differs significantly from a longer version in later accounts.

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Akizuki Kan'ei 1978, 142–44; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 75–77, 197–99, and 264–65; Chen Yuan 1988, 967–68; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 360–61

※ Jingming dao

Liu Yuanran

劉淵然

1351–1432; *hao*: Tixuan zi 體玄子 (Master Who Embodies the Mystery)

Liu Yuanran was born to Lady Wang 王氏 and Liu Yuanshou 劉元壽, son of the Route Commander of Ganzhou 贛州 (Jiangxi) Liu Bocheng 劉伯成. One month later, according to an epigraphic account of 1456, the infant Liu was so ill that the Route Commander sought counsel in prayer at the local Xuanmiao guan 玄妙觀 (Abbey of Mysterious Wonder). Liu's survival led to his discipleship under an instructor at the abbey named Chen Fangwai 陳方外, in keeping with the pledge of faith made by his grandfather. At the age of sixteen he was ordained as a Taoist Master by two instructors named Hu 胡 and Zhang 張, apparently affiliated with the Xiangfu gong 祥符宮 (Palace of Auspicious Talismans) in Fuzhou 撫州 (Jiangxi). Liu later became the preeminent disciple of \*Zhao Yizhen (?–1382) at the Ziyang guan 紫陽觀 (Abbey of Purple Yang) in Yudu 雩都 (Jiangxi). Hagiographic texts credit him with mastering a range of teachings, from \*Quanzhen to \*Zhengyi. As Zhao's disciple, Liu came to be known as the sixth-generation patriarch of the \*Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way). He was widely recognized as a skilled rainmaker, exorcist, and physician.

In 1393 the Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368–98) summoned Liu to court and, convinced of his talents, rewarded him with the title of Gaodao 高道 (Exalted Way). He even established a residence for Liu at the Chaotian gong 朝天宮 (Palace in Homage to Heaven) within the imperial compound of Nanjing (Jiangsu). The emperor also sent Liu on pilgrimages to Mount Wudang (\*Wudang shan, Hubei) and other sacred sites. At one point Liu reportedly conveyed instruction to the forty-third Celestial Master \*Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410). A conflict that allegedly arose between the two may have figured in Liu's exile from court early in the Yongle reign period (1403–24). Initially banished to Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), site of the

Zhengyi patriarchy, by the year 1411 Liu had settled in the Longquan guan 龍泉觀 (Abbey of the Dragon Springs) of Kunming 昆明 (Yunnan).

The Hongxi Emperor (r. 1425) summoned Liu back to court and put him in charge of all Taoist affairs of state. In 1426 the Xuande Emperor (r. 1426–35) granted him the authority to establish three prefectural Taoist Registries in Yunnan. Six years later, as he looked forward to living in retirement at the Chaotian gong, Liu named his disciple \*Shao Yizheng (?–1462) as a worthy successor. That autumn he took his last breath and in the spring of 1433 was buried at Jiangning 江寧 (Jiangsu).

The Ming Taoist Canon includes the *Yuanyang zi fayu* 原陽子法語 (Exemplary Sayings of the Master of Primary Yang; CT 1071), compiled by Liu from his teacher Zhao's writings. Liu himself reputedly had over one hundred disciples but none was as highly esteemed as Shao Yizheng.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Akizuki Kan'ei 1978, 159–61; Chen Yuan 1988, 1256–57, 1260–61, and 1305–6; Oyanagi Shigeta 1934, 22

※ Zhao Yizhen; Jingming dao

Liu Zhigu

劉知古

before 663-after 756; *zi*: Guangxuan 光玄

Liu Zhigu, who came from Linqiong 臨邛 (Sichuan), is the author of the *Riyue xuanshu lun* 日月玄樞論 (Essay on the Mysterious Pivot, the Sun and Moon), the earliest extant essay on the \**Zhouyi cantong qi*. His main biography is in the \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (32.2a–3b), which expands the account given in the \**Sandong qunxian lu* (1.10b–11a). According to these works, Liu, whose great-grandfather had been Magistrate of Linqiong during the Sui dynasty, became a \**daoshi* at the local Taiqing guan 太清觀 (Abbey of Great Clarity) in the early 660s. He was summoned by Tang Ruizong (r. 684–90, 710–12) to provide him with Taoist teachings, and by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) during the Kaiyuan period (713–41) to bring an

end to the natural disasters that struck in those years. In the final year of his reign, Xuanzong invited him again to celebrate \**jiao* (Offering) rituals at court.

The *Riyue xuanshu lun* is a short work important in the history of Chinese alchemy for two reasons. First, it contains the earliest \**neidan* reading of the *Cantong qi* that has come down to us. Liu's purpose, in fact, is to criticize the contemporary \**waidan* interpretations of the scripture; he emphatically states that the *Cantong qi* has nothing to do with the manipulation of natural substances but rather describes the generation of the inner elixir. Second, the *Riyue xuanshu lun* is one of the main sources for dating the present version of the *Cantong qi*. In his discussion of this text, Liu quotes or alludes to about a dozen passages from this text, all found in the received version. Incidentally, his work also shows that the *Cantong qi* was already divided into three parts by the middle of the eighth century.

The *Riyue xuanshu lun* is preserved in the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Complete Prose of the Tang; Zhonghua shuju repr. of the 1814 edition, 334.12a–21a) together with an undated memorial submitted to Xuanzong, and in an abridged and inferior version in the \**Daoshu* (26.1a–6b) under the title *Riyue xuanshu pian* 日月玄樞篇 (Folios on the Mysterious Pivot, the Sun and Moon).

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

※ *neidan*

*liujia* and *liuding*

六甲六丁

six *jia* and six *ding*

The ten Celestial Stems and the twelve Earthly Branches (\**gan zhi*; see [tables 8, 9, and 10](#)) have been primarily used to mark sexagesimal cycles of days and years. In addition, they have been connected with mantic functions based on their relation to Yin and Yang and the Five Agents (\**wuxing*). Several possibilities have resulted from this association, such as the methods for divining the auspicious or inauspicious result of activities, averting disasters,



and “hiding oneself” (*yinshen* 隱身); and the method of the Hidden Stem (*dunjia* 遁甲; Schipper and Wang 1986, 198–204).

In particular, it was believed that one's fate was controlled by deities related to the Stem and Branch of one's year of birth. These deities are variously called “star lords of the sixty Stems and Branches” (*liushi jiazi xingjun* 六十甲子星君), “numinous officers of the sixty Stems and Branches” (*liushi jiazi lingguan* 六十甲子靈官), “gods of the sixty Stems and Branches” (*liushi jiazi shen* 六十甲子神), and so forth. It was said, for instance, that the *jiazi* spirit of one's “natal destiny” (*\*benming*) was called Wang Wenqing 王文卿, and had a retinue of eighteen officials.

Although the ten Celestial Stems as a whole are associated with Yang, and the twelve Earthly Branches with Yin, five of the ten Stems (namely *jia* 甲, *bing* 丙, *wu* 戊, *geng* 庚, and *ren* 壬) belong to Yang and the other five (*yi* 乙, *ding* 丁, *ji* 己, *xin* 辛, *gui* 癸) to Yin. The twelve combinations of Stems and Branches that include the characters *jia* 甲 or *ding* 丁 were considered to be especially important as representative of Yang and Yin spirits, respectively. These twelve combinations are collectively referred to as the six *jia* and the six *ding*. The six *jia* are *jiazi* 甲子, *jiayu* 甲戌, *jiashen* 甲申, *jiawu* 甲午, *jiachen* 甲辰, and *jiayin* 甲寅. The six *ding* are *dingmao* 丁卯, *dingchou* 丁丑, *dinghai* 丁亥, *dingyou* 丁酉, *dingwei* 丁未, and *dingsi* 丁巳. Several methods, talismans, and texts allowed the practitioners to obtain control over the spirits and the Jade Women (*\*yunü*) associated with these combinations of Stems and Branches.

The names and cognomens of the spirits associated with the six *jia* are given in the *Shangqing liujia qidao bifa* 上清六甲祈禱祕法 (Secret Methods of the Highest Clarity to Invoke the Six *Jia*; CT 584, 2a–b):

1. *Jiazi*: Yuande 元德, Qinggong 青公
2. *Jiayu*: Xuyi 虛逸, Linzhai 林齋
3. *Jiashen*: Jielüe 節略, Quanheng 權衡
4. *Jiawu*: Chanren 潺仁, Ziqing 子卿
5. *Jiachen*: Tongyuan 通元, Gunchang 袞昌
6. *Jiayin*: Huashi 化石, Zimo 子靡

These spirits take multiple forms; some of them, for instance, have one head while some have three heads, and some wear jewels while others wear long silk robes.

The same text (2b–3a) also gives the cognomens and names (in this order)

of the spirits associated with the six *ding*:

1. *Dingmao*: Rengao 仁高, Wenbo 文伯
2. *Dingchou*: Renxian 仁賢, Wengong 文公
3. *Dinghai*: Renhe 仁和, Rentong 仁通
4. *Dingyou*: Renxiu 仁脩, Wenqing 文卿
5. *Dingwei*: Rengong 仁恭, Shengtong 昇通
6. *Dingsi*: Renjing 仁敬, Mangqing 芒卿

These spirits are also called the Jade Women of the Six *Ding*. Their protective roles are said to be as follows: the Jade Woman of *dingmao* guards one's body; the Jade Woman of *dingsi*, one's destiny; the Jade Woman of *dinghai*, one's fortune; the Jade Woman of *dingyou*, one's \**hun* soul; the Jade Woman of *dingwei*, one's \**po* soul; the Jade Woman of *dingchou*, one's spirit.

It was also said that because the Jade Women of the Six *Ding* descend into the human world on the *zichou* 子丑, *yanmao* 寅卯, *chensi* 辰巳, *wuwei* 午未, *shenyou* 申酉, and *xuhai* 戌亥 days, one may summon them on those days to inquire about one's fortune. For this purpose the Talismans of the Jade Women of the Six *Ding* (*liuding yunü fu* 六丁玉女符) were created. Other Taoist techniques also included summoning the Great Divine Generals of the Six *Jia* (*liujia da shenjiang* 六甲大神將), the Generals of the Six *Ding* (*liuding jiangjun* 六丁將軍), and the Jade Women of the Six *Jia* (*liujia yunü* 六甲玉女).

MUGITANI Kunio

▣ Company 2002, 72–75; Ngo 1976, 190–95; Kalinowski 1989–90, 91–95; Kalinowski 1991, 87–88 and 384–87; Schipper and Wang 1986, 198–204

※ *ganzhi*

*liuyi ni*

六一泥

Mud of the Six-and-One

The Mud of the Six-and-One is a core element of early \**waidan* practices. Several texts belonging or related to the \**Taiqing* corpus describe methods to

prepare this substance, sometimes calling it Divine Mud (*shenni* 神泥). Usually obtained from seven ingredients, the mud is used to hermetically seal the crucible (*\*fu*) and avoid dispersion of pneuma (*\*qi*) during the heating of the elixir. The earliest method to compound it is found in the *\*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs), where the ingredients are alum, Turkestan salt, lake salt, arsenolite, oyster shells, red clay, and talc; these ingredients are pounded, sieved, and placed in an acetic bath (*Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣; CT 885, 1.3b–4a). The *Taiwei lingshu ziwen langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing* 太微靈書紫文琅玕華丹神真上經 (Divine, Authentic, and Superior Scripture of the Elixir Efflorescence of Langan, from the Numinous Writings in Purple Script of the Great Tenuity; CT 255; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 331–39), the *\*Taiqing danjing yaojue* (trans. Sivin 1968, 160–68), and other sources describe similar methods.

About the meaning of the term *liuyi*, the commentary to the *Jiudan jing* merely says that “six and one is seven: the sages keep this secret, and therefore call it Six-and-One,” adding that the compound has this name even if it is obtained from a different number of ingredients (CT 885, 7.5a). Although no *waidan* text gives an explanation clearer than this, at least two interpretations of the expression “Six-and-One” are possible. First, the number 1 and 6 are related to Heaven and Earth, respectively. Second, some early texts, including the *\*Zhuangzi* and *\*Huainan zi*, describe or allude to the generation of the cosmos as a process that takes place in seven stages (see Girardot 1983, 150–52; Le Blanc 1989). One passage of the *Zhuangzi* (chapter 7; see trans. Watson 1968, 97), in particular, represents the shift from chaos (*\*hundun*) to cosmos as seven holes pierced in the gourdlike body of Emperor Hundun 混沌 (Chaos) by the Emperors of the North and South, emblems of duality. While the Emperors of the North and South intend to turn Hundun into a human being, they actually cause his death, which is equivalent to the birth of the cosmos. Transposed to the alchemical process, the seven ingredients of the Mud of Six-and-One symbolically close those seven openings, recreating the original inchoate state within the crucible and allowing the ingredients of the elixir to return to their timeless condition of *materia prima*, and to be a representation of the “essence” (*\*jing*) issued from the Dao to generate the cosmos.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

■ Chen Guofu 1983, 26–34; Pregadio 1991, 595–600; Pregadio 2006b, 75–78, 103–4

※ *fu* [crucible]; *waidan*

*liuzi jue*

六字訣

“instructions on the six sounds”

This breathing technique, also known as “method of the six breaths” (*liuqi fa* 六氣法), consists of inhaling through the nose and exhaling in six ways through the mouth. The corresponding sounds are designated by six

characters (hence the name of the method, literally meaning “instructions on the six characters”). They are *xu* 噓, *he* 呵 (or *xu* 哂, nowadays also pronounced *gou*), *hu* 呼, *si* 呬 (nowadays also pronounced *xi*), *chui* 吹, and *xi* 嘻.

As shown by a mention of the *chui* and *xu* breaths in *Daode jing* 29 and in \**Zhuangzi* 15 (for the latter, see the entry \**tuna*), the origin of this technique predates the Han dynasty. The *chui* and *hu* breaths are also mentioned in the *Quegu shiqi* 卻穀食氣 (Refraining from Cereals and Ingesting Breath) manuscript from \*Mawangdui (Harper 1998, 129–30, 305–9) and in Wang Chong's 王充 (27-ca. 100 CE) *Lunheng* 論衡 (Balanced Discussions; trans. Forke 1907–11, 1: 348–50 and 511). The technique's principles were laid down in the Jin period, and it became widespread during the Six Dynasties and Tang periods. From the Song onward, it is described in texts on Nourishing Life (\**yangsheng*) and in medical texts, and more recently in \**qigong* texts.

The six breaths are related to the five viscera (\**wuzang*) and to a sixth organ which, according to different sources, is either the “triple burner” (*sanjiao* 三焦; see \**wuzang*) or the gallbladder. Essentially they have a therapeutic or prophylactic action upon the viscera and their corresponding symptoms according to the principles of Chinese medicine. *Chui* heals ailments resulting from cold and wind, *hu* ailments resulting from heat, *xi* ailments resulting from wind and heat, *he* relaxes the \**qi*, *xu* clears away stagnations, and *si* dispels heat. \*Sun Simiao's *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand; *j.* 29), however, also mentions an exorcistic action of these sounds.

Three fundamental systems can be distinguished in the *liuzi* technique:

1. The system of the \**Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court) tradition, described in the *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu* 黃庭內景五臟六腑補瀉圖 (Charts of the Strengthening and Weakening of the Five Viscera and the Six Receptacles, According to the Scripture of the Inner Effulgences of the Yellow Court; CT 432).
2. The system based on the lost \**Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life), described in the *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing* 嵩山太無先生氣經 (Scripture on Breath by the Elder of Great Non-Being from Mount Song; CT 824, 9a–b; trans. Huang

Jane 1987–90, 2: 24–25), the *Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue* 幻真先生服內元氣訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of the Inner Original Breath According to the Elder of Illusory Perfection; CT 828, 7a–b, and YJQQ 60.20b–21a; trans. Despeux 1988, 79–80, from the version in the \**Chifeng sui*), the *Tiaoqi jing* 調氣經 (Scripture on the Regulation of Breath; CT 820, 7a; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 75–77), the *Taixi biyao gejie* 胎息祕要歌訣 (Songs and Instructions on the Secret Essentials of Embryonic Breathing; CT 131, 1b; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 50–51), and several other texts.

3. The system attributed to Zhi Dun 支盾 (314–66, also known as Zhi Daolin 支道林), described in the *Daolin shesheng lun* 道林攝生論 ([Zhi] Daolin's Essay on Preserving Life; CT 1427) and the *Qianjin fang* (j. 27).

The number of repetitions of the six breaths was sometimes codified: eighty-one times after midnight, seventy-two times at cockcrow, sixty-three times at dawn, and so forth. A more complex method is described in the mid-twelfth-century \**Daoshu* (Pivot of the Dao; j. 35). Here the six sounds are uttered in different directions according to the time of practice; gymnastic movements and body positions are to be used concurrently.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1988, 32–33, 36–37; Despeux 1995; Maspero 1981, 495–99; Miura Kunio 1989, 355–56

※ *yangsheng*

*longhu*

龍虎

dragon and tiger

The symbolic use of the dragon-tiger couple in China goes back to the Neolithic period. In a burial at Puyang 濮陽 (Henan), dating from ca. 3000 BCE, a corpse was found flanked with the images of a dragon and tiger formed

with river shells, the former on its eastern side and the latter on its western side (Little 2000a, 710; see also Despeux 1994, 119). From the late Zhou period onward, dragon and tiger were used in a cosmological context. On a lacquer box excavated from a Warring States period tomb at Suixian 隨縣 (Hubei), they appear adjoining the Northern Dipper (*\*beidou*) and surrounded by the twenty-eight lunar lodges (*\*xiu*). Moreover, the magical powers of the tiger and dragon related to wind and clouds are depicted in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; see Hawkes 1985, 131).

In the symbolic language of Taoism, and especially in alchemy, dragon and tiger represent two opposite cosmic principles, such as Yin and Yang, in their dynamic evolution. In the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi*, dragon and tiger refers to the essence of the alchemical work, which consists of joining the two cosmic principles and of returning them to the central Oneness (see [fig. 55](#)). Depending on the context, dragon and tiger variously denote pairs such as man and woman, Wood and Metal (i.e., East and West, or the *zhen* 震 ☳ and *dui* 兌 ☱ trigrams), Fire and Water (i.e., South and North, or the *li* 離 ☲ and *kan* 坎 ☵ trigrams), Mercury and Lead, tripod and furnace (*\*dinglu*), the pneumas of the liver and lungs or of the heart and kidneys, spirit and pneuma (*\*shen* and *\*qi*), or pneuma and essence (*\*qi* and *\*jing*).

KIM Daeyeol

▣ Robinet 1989a

※ *neidan*; *waidan*



Fig. 55. Dragon and Tiger joining their essences in the alchemical tripod. \**Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 (Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force).

### *Longhu jing*

### 龍虎經

### Scripture of the Dragon and Tiger

Several alchemical and other sources associate the \**Zhouyi cantong qi* with the *Longhu jing* and two other texts, the *Jinbi jing* 金碧經 (Scripture of Gold and Jasper) and the *Qiantong jue* 潛通訣 (Instructions for Pervading the Unseen). Although these texts claim that Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 was inspired to write the *Cantong qi* after reading the *Longhu jing*, the relation among these and the other two scriptures is not immediately clear. Passages quoted from one text are found in the present version of another, and the use of titles such as *Jinbi longhu jing* 金碧龍虎經 or *Jinbi qiantong jue* 金碧潛通訣 might even raise doubts as to the number of different works to which they refer.

The Taoist Canon contains two editions of the *Longhu jing* that claim to preserve its “ancient text” (*guwen* 古文). One, entitled *Guwen longhu jing zhushu* 古文龍虎經注疏 (Commentary and Subcommentary to the Ancient Text of the Scripture of the Dragon and Tiger; CT 996), was edited with a commentary by Wang Dao 王道, and bears his preface dated 1185. The other, called *Guwen longhu shangjing zhu* 古文龍虎上經注 (Commentary to



the Ancient Text of the Superior Scripture of the Dragon and Tiger; CT 997), contains anonymous and undated annotations. Wang Ming (1984g, 279–83) has shown that the *Guwen longhu jing* corresponds to the text entitled *Jindan jinbi qiantong jue* 金丹金碧潛通訣 (Golden and Jasper Instructions on the Golden Elixir for Pervading the Unseen) in the \**Yunji qiqian* (73.7b–11b). The *Jinbi jing* / *Guwen longhu jing* is a shorter paraphrase of the *Cantong qi*, although less refined from a literary point of view and more replete with typical alchemical language than the *Cantong qi*.

Quotations from the *Longhu jing* in Tang and early Song sources show that *Longhu jing* was until that time an alternative title of the *Cantong qi*. The *Jinbi jing* was originally a distinct but related text, referred to by some authors as *Qiantong jue* (hence its title in the *Yunji qiqian*). In the Song, the *Jinbi jing* came to represent the “authentic” text of the *Longhu jing*, a scripture kept in Heaven, of which the *Cantong qi* is the terrestrial complement.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Wang Ming 1984g, 279–83; Wong Eva 1997 (trans.)

※ *longhu; neidan*

### Longhu shan

龍虎山

Mount Longhu (Jiangxi)

Longhu shan, or Mount of the Dragon and Tiger, is a chain of low hills in the Guixi 貴溪 district of eastern Jiangxi, connected to the \*Wuyi shan range extending into Fujian province. The various temples and residences that make up Longhu shan as an institution are actually spread over a rather large area and located either on the hills or in nearby villages. The site has been included in lists of sacred Taoist spots since the Tang period, but its real significance lies in its being indissolubly linked to the destiny of a Zhang 張 family from the Longhu shan area, which emerged between the eighth and ninth centuries as heirs of \*Zhang Daoling.

Whether this family's claim of direct descent from the Zhangs who founded the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) during the late second century ce is true is neither verifiable nor very likely, but in any case, by the Song period it came to be widely validated by imperial, Taoist, and popular opinion. The family's notion that the title of Celestial Master (\**tianshi*) conferred by Laozi upon Zhang Daoling in 142 CE is hereditary also seems to be its own invention. The first known official title of a Zhang from Longhu shan as Celestial Master was granted in the mid-tenth century. The Zhangs' and Longhu shan's prestige and official patronage reached new heights with the thirtieth Celestial Master, \*Zhang Jixian (1092–1126), arguably the most charismatic ever. The precise title and the level of honors conferred by the court to the Zhangs changed every so often under successive dynasties (the word *tianshi* was not used in official titles after 1368, and replaced by the more modest \**zhenren*), but the principle remained, upheld by the state until 1911, that the Zhang family had inherited Zhang Daoling's role as overseer of Taoism and protector of its orthodoxy.

For more than ten centuries, until 1949, the aristocratic and very well-connected Zhang family held court in Longhu shan, supported by a large retinue of elite Taoist priests serving as the Celestial Master's officials. During the Ming and Qing periods, these priests were known collectively as *faguan* 法官 (lit., “officers of the [exorcistic] ritual”) and held official, but not paid positions in the imperial bureaucracy. The function of Celestial Master has been transmitted, usually from father to son, occasionally to nephews, and the published history of the family (the \**Han tianshi shijia* or *Lineage of the Han Celestial Master*) as well as private genealogies document the fully reliable history from about the twentieth generation to the present contested sixty-fourth successor living in Taiwan, Zhang Yuanxian 張源先. Some members of the family today play leading roles in Taoism in continental China.

Celestial Masters travelled to the imperial court for audiences and to various places (especially in Jiangnan 江南 by the Ming and Qing) when invited to perform rituals. They held ordination, selected new *faguan*, and sent their *faguan* on missions. They spent most of their time on Longhu shan, however, and resisted attempts by the court to fix them under closer control in the capital city. They sometimes managed to defuse such attempts by delegating at court trusted and gifted Longhu shan officials, like \*Zhang Liusun (1248–1322) or \*Lou Jinyuan (1689–1776).

The real basis of the Longhu shan institution is the ordination of priests (and the canonization of gods, which works the same way, i.e., through the conferral of liturgical registers or \*LU, which gives one a rank within the spiritual hierarchy of the universe). These ordinations took place in the mountain's major temple, the \*Shangqing gong (Palace of Highest Clarity). During the Song, Longhu shan shared the privilege of being an official ordination center with \*Maoshan and \*Gezao shan, but by the Ming it had gained an undisputed monopoly. The reason Longhu shan emerged as the ultimate source of authority in premodern Taoism is that its ordinations very early on included registers needed to master the newly revealed Thunder and exorcist rites (\*leifa) along with the classical \*Lingbao liturgy (this synthesis is called in modern times Qingwei Lingbao 清微靈寶; see under \*Qingwei). Ordinations on several levels were conferred at Longhu shan, however, and masters initiated in local, vernacular and exorcistic traditions (such as Lüshan 閩山) were also welcome and ordained, albeit at a lower rank and with a pledge to practice “orthodox Taoism” only.

Longhu shan thus worked, by incentive rather than punitive methods, to maintain the relative purity of Taoist practice while being very inclusive. Ordinations at Longhu shan were actually just a confirmation of a priest's former ordination by his own master, but the prestige bestowed by a trip to Longhu shan was huge; making the journey was like buying charisma.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Barrett 1994b; Cao Benye and Liu Hong 1996; Little 2000b, 380–81; Zhang Jintao 1994; Zhang Jiyu 1990

※ Zhengyi; TAOIST SACRED SITES

Longmen

龍門

Gate of the Dragon

The most common lineage shared by Taoist priests from the Qing until the present, the Longmen school was charged with public ordinations from the early Qing period onward. The Longmen lineage can be seen as the Taoist

counterpart of the Buddhist Linji 臨濟 lineage, adherence to which most Buddhist monks profess even today on the basis of their ordination (Welch 1967, 281 and 396). The mythical foundation of the school goes back to \*Qiu Chuji (1148–1227), one of the Seven Perfected (*qizhen* 七真 see [table 17](#)) of the \*Quanzhen school. In particular, the school's name refers to Mount Longmen (Longmen shan 龍門山, Longzhou district, Western Shaanxi) where Qiu Chuji underwent his ascetic training. However, the institutionalization of the Longmen school with its own monasteries and patriarchal lineage allegedly took place only during the Qing dynasty with Wang Kunyang 王崑陽, better known under his lineage name, Changyue 常月 (?–1680, see \*Wang Changyue).

In 1656, as the abbot of the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing, Wang was officially recognized as the reformer of the Longmen teaching that allegedly had been transmitted in an uninterrupted lineage from Qiu Chuji to him. For that purpose, a fictive line of Longmen patriarchs was cooked up which led, of course, to Wang Changyue. As the ideal representative of the seventh Longmen patriarchal generation, Wang became the symbol of the beginning of a new era in which the Longmen school could supervise the education of the entire Taoist clergy, as had been the case with its mother-school Quanzhen during the Yuan dynasty. Indeed, Longmen was regarded as the Qing “renaissance” of the Quanzhen school which, after its great success during the Yuan dynasty, had been eclipsed during the Ming. Beginning with Wang Changyue, the abbotship of the Baiyun guan, the seat of the Quanzhen patriarchy under the Yuan (and the \*Zhengyi administration under the Ming), returned to the Quanzhen legacy through Longmen masters. In this manner, the Longmen tradition became influential.

*Origins and branches.* The foundation legend of the Longmen school starts with the direct transmission from the patriarch Qiu Chuji to his disciple Zhao Xujing 趙虛靜 (lineage name Daojian 道堅, 1163–1221). Zhao, after having received the three-stage ordination, became the first Longmen patriarch. Since then, the three-stage ordination is said to have been conferred along with a lineage name composed of two characters (the first of which stems from a Longmen twenty-character poem; see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1979, 231). This marked the entry of a Taoist adept into the ancestral line of Longmen masters.

After Zhao, the correct line of Longmen patriarchs was established and

portrayed as continuous from the Yuan dynasty until the present. The list of the first seven generations of Longmen patriarchs until Wang Changyue, however—a line that was officially accepted and promulgated in the Taoist public abbeys during the Qing dynasty (Oyanagi Shigeta 1934, 32–35, and Igarashi Kenryū 1938, 64–65)—was created ex post-facto in order to link the relatively new movement of Longmen to the ancient vestige of the powerful Quanzhen order and to the important figure of Qiu Chuji. The *Jingai xinding* 金蓋心燈 (Transmission of the Heart-Lamp from Mount Jingai; 1821), a fundamental source for the history of the Longmen lineage by \*Min Yide (1748–1836), testifies to this official view. A closer reading, though, reveals many discrepancies that suggest another side of the Longmen history (Esposito 1993; Esposito 2001; Esposito 2004c; Mori Yuria 1994). One can then detect the existence of other previous lines of masters who claimed to belong to the Longmen lineage without having any link with the ideal correct lineage of seven patriarchs culminating with Wang Changyue (Wang Zhizhong 1995). A good example is the Longmen lineage of Wu Chongxu 伍冲虛, better known under his lineage name, Shouyang 守陽 (1574–1644; see Mori Yuria 1994 and Esposito 2004c; see also the entry \*Wu Shouyang).

Originally, the Longmen was a product of hermits who, influenced by ancient Quanzhen ideals and by the fame of its saint, Qiu Chuji, devoted themselves to ascetic training without necessarily being affiliated with the Quanzhen order. During the Ming period, different ascetic movements arose around famous centers, such as those of Mount Hua (\*Huashan, Shaanxi), Mount Lao (\*Laoshan, Shandong), Mount Wudang (\*Wudang shan, Hubei), Mount Qingcheng (\*Qingcheng shan, Sichuan), and so forth, and a Longmen patriarchal tradition began to form under the syncretic impulses of the Zhengyi lineage. The multiplication of Longmen branches was a phenomenon of the late Ming dynasty. Thanks only to the reformer Wang Changyue, however, Longmen became an officially recognized “Quanzhen movement.” In his wake, the various Longmen branches came to be integrated into an ideal lineage of Longmen patriarchs. Many famous branches flourished in southeastern China: for instance the Hangzhou (Zhejiang) branches of the Tianzhu guan 天柱觀 (Abbey of the Pillar of Heaven), the Jingu dong 金鼓洞 (Cavern of the Golden Drum), and the Dade guan 大德觀 (Abbey of Great Virtue). In Zhejiang, one also finds the branch of Tongbo (Tongbo shan 桐柏山), the Yunchao 雲巢 branch of Mount Jingai (Jingai shan 金蓋山) at Huzhou 湖州, and others. Longmen branches were

also present in southwestern China, such as the Longmen Tantric branch of Mount Jizu (Jizu shan 雞足山, Yunnan; see Esposito 1993, 2: 389–440, and Esposito 1997, 67–123). In the northeast, there was for instance the Gansu branch of the eleventh patriarch, \*Liu Yiming (1734–1821).

*Monica ESPOSITO*

▣ Chen Bing 1988; Esposito 1993; Esposito 1997; Esposito 2001; Esposito 2004c; Igarashi Kenryū 1938, 64–65; Mori Yuria 1994; Oyanagi Shigeta 1934, 32–35; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 77–183 and 280–329; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 200–205; Wang Zhizhong 1995; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1979

※ Wang Changyue; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.3 (“Alchemy: Longmen”)

Lou Jinyuan

婁近垣

1689–1776; *zi*: Sanchen 三臣; *hao*: Langzhai 朗齋 (Fast in Brightness),  
Shangqing wairen 上清外人 (Guest of Highest Clarity)

Lou Jinyuan is probably, along with a few abbots of the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), the Taoist of the Qing dynasty who gained the greatest national prestige. His life is reminiscent in many ways of the famous \*Zhang Liusun, chaplain of Khubilai khan (Shizu, r. 1260–1294) of the Yuan dynasty. Like Zhang, Lou was a young Taoist of a hereditary family of priests attached to the prestigious Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi); he was brought to the court in the retinue of the Celestial Master, gained the attention of the emperor, and stayed on to embark on a career that would be even more glorious than that of the Celestial Master of his time.

Lou's career was due to the links he forged with the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723–35) on a personal basis. During the eighteenth century, as before, the Celestial Masters provided liturgical services for the court, either in person or by delegating Taoist officers of their own administration. During the late 1720s, however, the Zhang 張 family was going through a succession crisis, when a young heir was being dispossessed by an uncle. This succession was only settled in the 1740s; in the meantime, it was Lou who accrued to his

person all the charisma of the Longhu institution and tradition. Lou arrived at the capital in 1727 and in 1730 cured the emperor by performing exorcisms. He was then granted considerable honors, and presided over a much expanded Taoist liturgical structure at court, centered on a temple named Da guangming dian 大光明殿 (Great Pavilion of Radiant Light). Yongzheng's successor, Qianlong (r. 1735–95), was less enthusiastic than his father about Taoism, but continued to patronize Lou Jinyuan, who stayed at court until at least 1744. Lou secured a large amount of state funding for restorations at Longhu shan, and also preferential treatment for its institutions during an anticlerical campaign of clergy registration (1736–39). These events are described in a gazetteer compiled by Lou himself, the *Longhu shanzhi* 龍虎山志 (Monograph of Mount Longhu; 1740). Lou also reorganized the lineages of the Longhu Taoists: he wielded the power of a Celestial Master without the title. As befitted a liturgical expert, he wrote authoritative versions of several rituals, notably the \*Lingbao death ritual. He also composed philosophical commentaries, and some of his poetry is preserved in the *Longhu shanzhi*.

Lou brought with him, or invited to court, some forty Taoists, all young members of the great hereditary \*Zhengyi families traditionally linked to the Mount Longhu elite (by appointment to the Taoist administration but also by marriage). Most of these families lived in Jiangnan, some controlling the major temples of these areas such as the \*Xuanmiao guan (Abbey of Mysterious Wonder) in Suzhou. Like Lou, these Taoists usually spent several years at the court, early in their careers as masters, before returning home to assume leading positions in local Taoist institutions. This system established by Lou Jinyuan whereby the elite Zhengyi priests of the Jiangnan area paid a few years of service at court continued until the late nineteenth century, but no other Taoist ever reached a position of personal prestige and influence over the emperor comparable to that enjoyed by Lou.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

📖 Goossaert 2000a; Hosoya Yoshio 1986; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 395

※ Zhengyi

Louguan

## 樓觀

### Tiered Abbey (Zhouzhi, Shaanxi)

The Louguan, or Louguan tai 樓觀臺 (Platform of the Tiered Abbey), is one of the Taoist centers with a long history of continuous activity. The abbey is located in Zhouzhi 周至 at the foot of the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi), some 70 km southwest of Xi'an. Its foundation is shrouded in the mists of holy history. According to the legend, \*Yin Xi, the Guardian of the Pass of the western border, built a tower there to watch for Laozi, who was about to leave the country. When he saw the holy man coming, he welcomed him in and begged him to write the *Daode jing*. The brief early mentions of this fictitious event suggest that it happened elsewhere, at the Hangu Pass (Hangu guan 函谷關), and indeed there is no pass for the westbound traveller at the actual location of the Louguan. Temples commemorating the same event have also been built further east, while the Louguan buildings themselves are supposed to be Yin Xi's private home where he invited Laozi after the meeting at the pass.

According to a Louguan chronicle of the early Six Dynasties, now lost but quoted in the \**Yunji qiqian* (104.9a–10a), King Mu of Zhou (Muwang, r. 956–918 BCE) came to this spot, ordained seven Taoists, and built the first Taoist shrine in history. This tradition, which also found its way into Confucian encyclopedias and Taoist inscriptions, has the virtue of placing the origin of Taoist abbeys (*guan* 觀) well before the advent of Buddhism in China. It requires, however, moving back by five centuries the traditional date of Laozi's departure to the West (fifth century BCE).

The Louguan's claim to be the first Taoist communal institution also has to do with its name. During the Han, *louguan* was a general term for high towers, and with *tai* 臺 (elevated platform) it also designated places to conduct astronomical observations and perform cults to the immortals. Along with the fact that imperial archives—whose patron saint was Laozi—were also named *guan*, this explains the later use of the term for Taoist monasteries.

*The Louguan in Taoist history.* Beyond the legend, a Taoist community may have lived at this site during the Han and early Six Dynasties. The official history of the Louguan begins however with the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–81), which established there an official celibate congregation. This



group of erudite Taoists made itself famous through various scholarly works including the \**Sandong zhunang* (The Pearl Satchel of the Three Caverns). The Tang lavished honors on the Louguan, a sensible policy because the imperial family claimed descent from Laozi and promoted his cult, and because the Louguan was, along with Laozi's birthplace (the \**Taiqing gong* in Bozhou 亳州, present-day Luyi 鹿邑, Henan), the “ancestral temple” of the saint. Since then, the shrine at the foot of the hills was called Zongsheng guan 宗聖觀 (Abbey of the Ancestral Saint) and later Zongsheng gong ※※※宗聖宮 (Palace of the Ancestral Saint). The other major monastery on the site, the Shuojing tai 說經臺 (Platform for Explaining the Scriptures), was built later on the first spurs of the mountain, where Laozi supposedly preached the *Daode jing*. Several other hermitages were raised further up the mountain, and many smaller attractions along the way reminded pilgrims of Laozi's sacred history, such as the *xiniu bo* 系牛柏, the cypress to which Laozi tied his water buffalo.

A remarkable change of fortune for the Louguan happened in 1236, when the \**Quanzhen* order gained control of it. From the lack of contrary evidence it seems that the abbey was not particularly active during the late Jin period. \**Yin Zhiping* (1169–1251), then the *Quanzhen* patriarch, arrived in the area just after it fell to the Mongol armies, and secured the conversion of all its major Taoist sites to *Quanzhen* with the support of the local Chinese nobility and warlords. The Louguan was rebuilt and expanded by Li Zhirou 李志柔 (1189–1266). Yin put great store in the revival of the site's fortune, since *Quanzhen* claimed to represent a return to Laozi's days: \**Qiu Chuji*'s westward journey to convert the “barbarians” (i.e., the Mongols and their emperor, Chinggis khan) was understood as a reenactment of Laozi's voyage, and Yin Zhiping took on the role of a novel Yin Xi. This claim was further bolstered when Yin Xi's treatise, known as *Wenshi zhenjing* 文始真經 (Authentic Scripture of Master Wenshi; CT 667) since the Tang but lost for centuries, was “rediscovered” in 1233 and offered to Yin Zhiping. These felicitous events, which helped to legitimize the reorganization of Taoism by the *Quanzhen* order, were celebrated by Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 (fl. 1279–1308), who wrote the only extant hagiographic works concerning the Louguan. These are the \**Zhenxian beiji* (Epigraphic Records of Real Men and Immortals; CT 956) and the *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集 (Anthology from the Continued Celebration [of the Appearance] of the Purple Clouds at the Tiered Abbey of Antiquity; CT 957; Boltz J. M.

1987a, 126).

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the Louguan continued to be a pilgrimage site for Taoists of all obediences and an active center of Quanzhen education. Today, the Shuojing tai survives in good shape, although the conventual buildings have been destroyed as with almost all Chinese monasteries. The Zongsheng gong was ravaged but has been built anew.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 124–28; Hachiya Kunio 1990, 1: 71–87 and 302–3, 2: 73–90 and 298; Kohn 1997b, 92–109; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 271–73; Wang Shiwei 1993; Wang Zhongxin 1995; Zhang Weiling 1991

※ Yin Xi; *Zhenxian beiji*; Louguan pai; Quanzhen; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

## Louguan pai

樓觀派

Louguan branch [of Tianshi dao]

The so-called Louguan branch is a particular tradition within the northern Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), which arose in the late fifth century and flourished in the Tang, then lost its impact, and was revived under the Yuan dynasty. Historically the tradition can be traced back to two events: the end of the theocracy under \*Kou Qianzhi in 448, which left numerous advanced and dedicated Taoists without a home; and—around the same time—the establishment of a Taoist institution at the foot of the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi) by Yin Tong 尹通, an alleged descendant of \*Yin Xi, the first recipient of the *Daode jing*. Yin Tong claimed that rather than at the Hangu Pass (Hangu guan 函谷關), where Laozi and Yin Xi first met, the *Daode jing* was in fact transmitted at Yin Xi's old homestead—awarded to him by King Kang of Zhou (Kangwang, r. 1005/3–978 BCE)—which happened to be Yin Tong's own estate in the Zhongnan mountains, a place he called “The Observatory” (\*Louguan, also meaning “Tiered Abbey”) after Yin Xi's alleged astrological endeavors.

By the 470s, Louguan first appears on the Taoist devotional map under the

leadership of Wang Daoyi 王道義, who expanded its facilities and sponsored the collection of scriptures and rules. Some texts can be associated with the school at this time, notably the mystical *\*Xisheng jing* (Scripture of Western Ascension), the precepts book *Taishang Laojun jiejing* 太上老君戒經 (Scripture on Precepts of the Most High Lord Lao; CT 784), and the ordination text *Chuanshou jingjie yi zhujue* 傳授經戒儀注訣 (Annotated Instructions on Liturgies for the Transmission of Scriptures and Precepts; CT 1238). In the sixth century, Louguan leaders played a prominent role in the Buddho-Taoist debates at the northern courts, while the institution served as a refuge for Taoists persecuted under Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty in the south. Through this steady influx of southern teachings, Louguan became instrumental in the integration of Taoism and eventually rose to serve as a key facilitator of the Tang bid for power.

In the early Tang, Louguan's patriarch *\*Yin Wencao* (622–88), another alleged relative of Yin Xi, played a prominent role at court. It was yet another such relative, *\*Yin Zhiping* (1169–1251), patriarch of the *\*Quanzhen* school under the Yuan, who again catapulted Louguan to prominence in the thirteenth century. The Louguan traditions survive today as a *pai* 派 (“branch” or “lineage”) within Quanzhen; the abbey is still a flourishing institution in the Zhongnan mountains.

*Sources.* The Louguan branch is first described in the early Tang inscription *Zongsheng guan ji* 宗聖觀記 (Records of the Abbey of the Ancestral Saint; 625 CE), using the honorific name the Tang emperors bestowed on the institution. Shortly after this, the *Louguan benji* 樓觀本記 (Original Records of Louguan) was compiled; it is lost today, but from citations in mid-Tang works it seems to have been a comprehensive history of the institution, first establishing a fictional line of patriarchs all the way back to Yin Xi.

Most explicit descriptions of the patriarchal lineage and the wonders of Louguan are found in Yuan-dynasty sources, notably the *Zhongnan shan Zuting xianzhen neizhuan* 終南山祖庭仙真內傳 (Inner Biographies of the Immortals and Perfected of the Ancestral Court in the Zhongnan Mountains; 1284; CT 955), by *\*Li Daoqian* (1219–96); the *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集 (Anthology from the Continued Celebration [of the Appearance] of the Purple Clouds at the Tiered Abbey of Antiquity; CT 957; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 126), a collection of stele inscriptions by Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 (fl. 1279–1308); and the *\*Zhenxian beiji* (Epigraphic Records of

Perfected and Immortals; CT 956), also by Zhu Xiangxian, based on the older and now-lost *Louguan xianshi zhuan* 樓觀先師傳 (Biographies of Previous Louguan Masters).

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Kohn 1997b; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 425–44 and 2: 141–45; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 113–17; Zhang Weiling 1991

※ Louguan

lu

錄

register

See entry in “Taoism: An Overview,” p. 39.

Lü Dongbin

呂洞賓

*ming*: Yan 嶽 (or: 巖); *hao*: Chunyang zi 純陽子 (Master of Pure Yang), Chunyang zhenjun 純陽真君 (Perfected Lord of Pure Yang), Fuyou dijun 孚佑帝君 (Imperial Lord, Savior of the Needy)

Lü Dongbin is a semilegendary cultic figure of the late Tang or early Song period. With his legendary master, \*Zhongli Quan, he was the acknowledged patriarch of both \*Nanzong and \*Quanzhen, i.e., the Southern and the Northern lineages of Taoism. Several hagiographies of him circulated during the Song and early Yuan periods, excerpts of which are in the \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (j. 45). One of them is an alleged autobiography produced in Yuezhou 嶽州 (Hunan), likely as the result of spirit writing (see \**fuji*), in which Lü introduces himself as a native of Jingzhao 京兆 (Shaanxi).

In another biography of the same region popular in Taoist circles, he is said to be the grandson of a high Tang official and to be from Yongle 永樂 in Shanxi (id., 45.1a). The latter is the site of the \*Yongle gong (Palace of Eternal Joy), a major temple dedicated to Lü.

The two biographies mentioned above represent two different traditions: one northern, the other southern. The former states that Lü was an unsuccessful scholar and a recluse who met both Zhongli Quan and \*Chen Tuan on Mount Hua (\*Huashan) and the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山) in Shaanxi. The second biography instead places Lü's encounter with Zhongli Quan on Mount Lu (\*Lushan) in Jiangxi. Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188–1244), a Quanzhen Taoist, quotes a third biography written on the wall of the Qingyang guan 青羊觀 (Abbey of the Black Ram) in Yuezhou, which claimed that Lü was born in 796 and acquired the *jinshi* degree in 836 (\**Jinlian zhengzong ji*, 5b–9a).

Early Song literary sources portray Lü Dongbin as a poet, calligrapher, soothsayer, healer, alchemist, exorcist, and recluse possessing sword techniques. He was revered both by the lettered classes and by ordinary people, especially merchants. His biographies describe him as selling “ink and paper” in the market-place, mingling incognito with the crowd, giving help to anyone who recognized him. As a performer of miracles, Lü became the object of a cult as attested by sources from the second half of the twelfth century, such as Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Heard and Written by Yijian), which records stories told by illiterate informants. From Hong's anecdotes it emerges that those who were most involved in Lü's cult belonged to underprivileged classes, such as prostitutes, peddlers, itinerant Taoists, healers, medicinal herb dealers, and ink-sellers.



Fig. 56. An episode from the life of Lü Dongbin.  
\*Yongle gong (Palace of Eternal Joy), Pavilion of the  
Three Clarities (Sanqing dian 三清殿).

Veneration by these groups led to Lü's name being used to voice criticism in times of social unrest. Poems with his name, sometimes hidden in anagrams, appeared on temple walls criticizing unjust or corrupt officials. Buddhists used the same tool to convey their feelings when they were denigrated and persecuted during the reign of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125); one of the earliest portraits of Lü, in fact, was placed in a Buddhist temple. Lü was also adopted by subversive groups, sometimes leading to ludicrous imperial orders for his arrest (Ma Xiaohong 1986, 86).

As Isabelle Ang (1993) has shown, there were traces of Lü's cult in the Northern Song capital Kaifeng (Henan), but the main center was along the lower Yangzi River, from the Jiangnan 江南 region down to the southern part of Hunan. The status of the cult was originally rather low, its main forms being worship in homes, through mediums, and in shrines. In 1119, however, Lü was awarded the low-rank official title of Perfected of Wondrous Powers

(Miaotong zhenren 妙通真人) by Huizong and was integrated in official temples such as the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Blessings; abbeys with this name existed in major cities throughout the empire). Later, during the Yuan dynasty, the increased popularity of the Quanzhen order led to Lü's promotion to *zhenjun* 真君 (Perfected Lord). A Yuan text by \*Chen Zhixu describes a ritual performed in his honor on his birthday (\**Jindan dayao*, *Xianpai* 仙派; CT 1070, 2a–8a).

The Northern Song dynasty also saw the appearance of several \**neidan* texts attributed to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin. Some of these so-called \*ZhongLü texts are directly related to the cultic centers in Hunan and Jiangxi. For example, one of them, the \**Qinyuan chun*, was revealed in Yuezhou and another, the *Zhouhou sancheng pian* 肘後三成篇 (Folios on the Three Accomplishments to Keep at Hand; \**Daoshu*, j. 25), was printed and distributed by a governor during the Shunxi reign period (1174–89) in Yueyang 嶽陽 (Hunan).

Lü Dongbin reportedly ascended to heaven from the Huanghe lou 黃鶴樓 (Pavilion of the Yellow Crane) in Jiangxi, which became the site of a stele bearing his biography. From the Southern Song onward, writings of all kinds were attributed to him, including moral texts and sexual manuals. The Ming dynasty saw a spate of activity around Lü that continues to the present day.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Ang 1993; Ang 1997; Baldrian-Hussein 1985; Baldrian-Hussein 1986; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 64, 67–68, and 139–43; Chen Yuan 1988, 358; Despeux 1990, 77–82; Jing Anning 1996; Katz P. R. 1996; Katz P. R. 1999, 52–93; Kohn 1993b, 126–32; Little 2000b, 324–27; Ma Xiaohong 1986; Mori Yuria 1990; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 295–97; see also bibliography for the entry \**baxian*

※ Yongle gong; *Chunyang Lü zhenren wenji*; *Lüzu quanshu*; *Qinyuan chun*; *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*; *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*; *neidan*; Nanzong; Quanzhen; ZhongLü; HAGIOGRAPHY

Lu Shizhong

路時中

fl. 1120–30; *zi*: Dangke 當可; *hao*: Lu zhenguan 路真官  
(Perfected Official Lu)

Lu Shizhong was the founder of the Yutang dafa 玉堂大法 (Great Rites of the Jade Hall) tradition, which is represented in the *Daozang* notably by the *Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 (Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin; CT 220) in thirty *juan*, and by the *Wushang santian Yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu* 無上三天玉堂正宗高奔內景玉書 (The Precious Text of Flying High in the Inner Landscape, of the Correct Tradition of the Jade Hall of the Supreme Three Heavens; CT 221) in two *juan*. The episodes in his adult life, recounted with dates in Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Heard and Written by Yijian), all take place in the period 1125–30 (Zhonghua shuju ed., *Yizhi* 6.4.232, 7.1.237–39, *Bingzhi* 5.5.403–04). He is shown to have been active in widely separated areas of China (from Xuzhou 徐州 in the north to Jinling 金陵 in the south) and to have been called upon by members of the official class to perform large ceremonies on their behalf.

In a colophon in the *Santian Yutang dafa* (CT 220, 1.7a–8a) Lu relates that in the year 1120 he had a vision one night of Zhao Sheng 趙昇 (a disciple of \*Zhang Daoling), who descended into his room and told him about the “secret writing” (*bishu* 祕書) he had left behind, buried in the ground at Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu). When later Lu served as Assistant Prefect (*tongshou* 通守) in Jinling (it should be noted that in fact this title was not, at least officially, in use during the Song dynasty), he visited the mountain and dug up the scroll. He arranged the text in twenty-four sections (corresponding to j. 1–23 of the *Santian Yutang dafa*) and in 1126, while staying in Piling 毗陵 (Jiangsu), transmitted it to the world. Another colophon (26.1b), attached to a later part of the text, states that the “model sayings” (*geyan* 格言, the discursive passages interspersed between the ritual formulas and usually opening with the phrase *shiyue* 師曰, “the master said”) in this section were revealed consecutively during the first half of the year 1107, in the form of oral instructions from the Celestial Lord, the Great Master of the Teaching (Da jiaozhu tianjun 大教主天君). From that time until the year 1119 the actual ritual formulas were transmitted through “spirit writing” (*jiangbi* 降筆; see \**fujī*), and the full collection was copied in 1158.



*Yutang dafa*. The Yutang dafa tradition is defined in the book as the “inner secrets” (*neibi* 內祕) of the \*Tianxin zhengfa (26.1a) and said to represent the essential method of Zhang Daoling (1.7b). The Tianxin tradition is referred to as the “ancestral teaching” (*zujiao* 祖教, 2.6a), and the oral instructions from the Great Master of the Teaching are said to have been obtained as elucidations of the teachings of the Tianxin tradition (1.5b–6a). The Yutang dafa tradition is maintained to be more fundamental and more meditational, and the Tianxin tradition is said to have been discovered—as a result of the above-mentioned oral instructions—to represent the exorcistic (i.e., the outer) practices (*quxie zi shi* 驅邪之事) of the Yutang dafa (1.6a). The link to the “ancestral teaching” is preserved accordingly, as attested by the expositions of the progression of initiation in the *Santian Yutang dafa* (2.6a, 26.1b–2a). It is stated there that the novice may receive a work entitled *Tianxin zhengfa* in ten *juan*, i.e., a special version of \**Taishang zhuguo zongzhen biyao* edited by Lu Shizhong (“in order to support the correct teaching”), and only after having practiced it for three years may ascend to the initial degree of the Yutang dafa.

This connection with the Tianxin tradition is borne out by the contents of the *Santian Yutang dafa*. The two traditions agree in emphasizing the use of the forces of the Three Luminous Ones (*sanguang* 三光, i.e., the Sun, the Moon, and the Northern Dipper, \**beidou*), for instance in the writing of talismans, and indeed the three basic talismans of the Tianxin tradition (*Sanguang fu* 三光符, *Heisha fu* 黑煞符, *Tiangang fu* 天罡符; see \*[Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao](#), 2.10a–17a, and [fig. 73](#)) are included—with certain variations—in the text. A large proportion of the exorcistic rites it describes are closely related to those found in the texts of the Tianxin tradition. The major differences are on the one hand the inclusion of elements of the funerary liturgy, such as the rite of \**liandu* (Salvation through Refinement) within the Yutang dafa, and on the other hand the greater emphasis on individual meditation practice in this tradition.

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Andersen 1991, 97–103; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 36–37; Boltz J. M. 1993a; Davis E. 2001, 56–57; Hymes 1996, 58–60

※ Tianxin zhengfa

## Lu Xiujing

陸修靜

406–77; *zi*: Yuande 元德; *hao*: Jianji 簡寂, (Unadorned Silence)

Lu Xiujing, whose family hailed from Dongqian 簡寂 district (modern Zhejiang), played an important role in the development of Taoism as compiler and editor of the \*Lingbao scriptures, as codifier of the first Taoist Canon, and as author of early ritual. Like other early Taoists, his biography was not included in official histories and so must be reconstructed from the works of later Taoist and Buddhist authors.

Lu was a descendant of Lu Kai 陸凱, a prominent Counselor-in-Chief (*chengxiang* 丞相) of the Wu ruler Sun Hao 孫皓 (Wucheng gong, r. 264–80), but there is no record that any members of his family were involved in administration during Lu's lifetime. According to his earliest biographer, Ma Shu 馬樞 (522–81), at birth Lu was marked with signs of transcendence and, at a young age, abandoned his wife and children to pursue the Dao. These and other details of Lu's early life are the commonplaces of Taoist hagiography. We possess no reliable account of Lu's early training or of the identity of his masters.

Ma also records that Liu Yilong 劉義隆 (Song Wendi, r. 424–52) summoned Lu into his presence and questioned him at length about the Dao. Other sources record that Lu left the capital to avoid the disturbances surrounding the regicide and usurpation of the heir apparent in 453. The introduction to Lu's \**Lingbao jingmu* (Catalogue of Lingbao Scriptures), composed in 437 and addressed to all fellow Taoists, contains lengthy citations from the *Santian zhengfa jing* 三天正法經 (Scripture of the Orthodox Law of the Three Heavens; CT 1203; Ozaki Masaharu 1974) arranged so as to portray the appearance of the Lingbao scriptures as warrant of the Song dynasty's mandate. Such confirmatory writings may well have brought Lu to imperial attention. Lu's \**Lingbao shoudu yi* (Ordination Ritual of the Numinous Treasure) is preceded by a petition presenting the text to the throne. In this petition, Lu writes that it had been seventeen years since his own receipt of the scriptures, an event that likely occurred when he was about twenty. Thus, this text also seems to date to this same period, having been composed ca. 445.

Lu spent the years from 453 to 467 on Mount Lu (\*Lushan, Jiangxi), an active Buddhist center from the time of Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416). Here Lu established a hermitage and trained disciples. In 467, Lu was summoned to the capital by Liu Yu 劉彧 (Song Mingdi, r. 465–72). Along the way, he was entertained by the Prince of Jiangzhou 江州 (possibly Liu Xiufan 劉休範), who inquired of him the relative strengths of Buddhism and Taoism. Following Lu's arrival in Jiankang 建康 (Jiangsu), he received the patronage of eminent men in the capital and participated in several debates with Buddhist prelates and Arcane Learning (\*Xuanxue) masters in the capital, winning each time, as Buddhist records confirm.

The emperor subsequently provided Lu with an abbey, the Chongxu guan 崇虛觀 (Abbey for the Veneration of Emptiness), on the northern outskirts of the capital. In 471, Lu conducted a twenty-day Three Primes Retreat (*sanyuan zhai* 三天正法經) for the emperor, who lay fatally ill. The emperor recovered, but died the next year. Lu himself died in the capital, after having told his disciples he wished to return to Mount Lu. His disciples on the mountain, reports Ma, were thus granted a brief vision of him, clothed in resplendent ritual garments. Modern researchers take this to mean that his body was returned to Mount Lu for burial.

Lu's major contributions to Taoism were his editing of the Lingbao scriptures, his publication of the first “comprehensive” list of Taoist scriptures, the \**Sandong jingshu mulu*, and his contributions to the formation of formal Taoist liturgies and a professional priesthood.

*Editorial contributions.* Lu describes his goals in editing the Lingbao scriptures in his *Lingbao jingmu* and his preface to the *Lingbao shoudu yi*. While some modern scholars suspect Lu himself of having written a good portion of the Lingbao scriptures, in these works he portrays his primary duty as “discrimination” (*zhenbie* 三元齋) of the “true” scriptures from the \*Shangqing and other scriptures with which they were mixed by unscrupulous persons. Even when Lu produces a new text, as with his *Lingbao shoudu yi*, he expresses his uneasiness at tampering with celestial writ even to this extent.

Lu also completed the first complete listing of Taoist scriptures, dividing them into three “caverns” (\*sandong) or comprehensive collections (see *Sandong jingshu mulu*). In addition, Lu wrote a revision of \*Tianshi dao codes, the \**Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community), for

what he envisioned to be a newly-unified Taoist community.

*Ritual innovations.* According to later Taoist writers, Lu's primary work was that of composing liturgical programs. Traces of this work can best be seen in his Lingbao initiation ritual, which combines citations and practices from a number of Lingbao scriptures. His now-lost writings are regularly cited in Tang and Song-period ritual compendia. Surviving works include Lu's *Wugan wen* 五感文 (Text on the Five Commemorations; CT 1278), meant to create in practitioners a correct attitude for the performance of \**zhai*. This text was composed for a Mud and Soot Retreat (\**tutan zhai*) Lu conducted with his disciples in 453 and was intended by Lu for use with rituals of all three divisions of Taoist scripture. It ends with a brief account of eleven *zhai*. Lu's *Lingbao zhai shuo guangzhu jiefa dengzhu yuanyi* 靈寶齋說光燭戒罰燈祝願儀 (Explanation of Candle-Illumination, Precepts and Penalties, Lamps, Invocations, and Vows for Lingbao Retreats; CT 524) and *Lingbao zhongjian wen* 靈寶眾簡文 (Tablets and Texts of Lingbao; CT 410) both provide detail, drawn from the Lingbao scriptures and provided by Lu, on the symbolism and practice of ritual. Buddhist sources mention eight further treatises by Lu, some clearly dealing with Lingbao attempts to appropriate Buddhism, but these have not survived.

Criticism of Lu's attempts at unifying and regularizing Taoist practice began soon after his death. Buddhist polemicists accused him of plagiarizing elements of their scriptures and of incorporating earlier non-Taoist works into his catalogue. They also reported that he had turned traitor on the Qi dynasty, taking his disciples to the north, or that he had been defeated in debate—all said to occur after Lu's death date. Even Taoists, such as \*Tao Hongjing, criticized Lu of misrepresentation or misappropriation. It was only with the Taoist scholasticism of the Tang that his reputation among Taoists was fully restored and not until Song Buddhist accommodations with Taoism that Buddhists looked back upon him favorably and began to construct legends that Lu had studied with Huiyuan on Mount Lu.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Bell 1987a; Bell 1988; Bokenkamp 1997, 377–98; Bokenkamp 2001; Chen Guofu 1963, 38–44, 282–83; Nickerson 1996a; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 57–72; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 465–83; Ren Jiyu 1990, 143–68; Yamada Toshiaki 1995b; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955, 18–44

※ *Daomen kelüe*; *Lingbao jingmu*; *Lingbao shoudu yi*; *Sandong jingshu mulu*; *Lingbao*

Lu Xixing

陸西星

1520–1601 or 1606; *zi*: Changgeng 長更; *hao*: Qianxu zi 潛虛子  
(Master Secluded in Emptiness), Fanghu waishi 方壺外史 (The  
External Secretary of Mount Fanghu)

Lu Xixing is the alleged founder of the Eastern Branch (Dongpai 東派) of late *\*neidan*. A native of Yangzhou 揚州 (Jiangsu), he began his career as an official and then turned to Taoism, but it is unclear whether he took formal ordination. Although he was married and had children, he used to leave them frequently to visit famous mountains. He claimed that, in 1547, *\*Lü Dongbin* descended to his thatched hut in Beihai 北海 (Jiangsu) and stayed with him twenty days to give him teachings. Among other works, Lu received from Lü Dongbin a collection of texts entitled *Zhongnan shan ji* 終南山記 (Records of the Zhongnan Mountains) in ten *juan* and Lü's own autobiography (*ziji* 自記).

Lu was a prolific author, and some of his works were officially inscribed on stone during his lifetime. Among them are an essay on the *\*Zhuangzi* entitled the *Nanhua jing fumo* 南華經副墨 (Ancillary Words on the *Nanhua jing*; 1578) and the *Lengyan jing shuzhi* 楞嚴經述旨 (Explaining the Purport of the *Śūramgaṃa-sūtra*; 1601). The *Nanhua jing fumo* was much appreciated by scholars such as Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541–1620), who quotes it in his *Zhuangzi yi* 莊子翼 (Wings to the *Zhuangzi*; CT 1487). The *Lengyan jing shuzhi* is an explication of a Tantric scripture first translated into Chinese in 705. Written by Lu when he was eighty-two, this work is also included in the *Dai Nihon zoku zōkyō* 大日本續藏經 (Japanese Supplement to the Buddhist Canon; 1905–12).

Lu's works are collected in the *\*Fanghu waishi* (The External Secretary of Mount Fanghu), first published around 1571 by his friend Zhao Song 趙宋.

This collection includes nearly all of Lu's Taoist writings except the *Nanhua jing fumo*. A biography of \*Zhang Sanfeng entitled *Zhang Sanfeng liezhuan* 張三丰列傳 is also attributed to Lu, and some scholars suspect him of being the author of a famous novel, the *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 (Investiture of the Gods; see Liu Ts'un-yan 1965).

Lu Xixing is the main representative of the sexual interpretation of *xingming shuangxiu* 性命雙修 or “joint cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force” (see \**xing* and *ming*, and \**shuangxiu*). His works emphasize the Tantric features of *neidan*, i.e., the union of Yin and Yang through sexual coupling. Lu however carefully distinguishes his teaching from sexual techniques (\**fangzhong shu*), and insists upon the beneficial effects of the practice for both parties. According to Lu, all alchemical theory derives from the \**Yijing* and the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Odes). This is clearly presented in his commentaries to the \**Zhouyi cantong qi*. The attainment of the Golden Elixir depends on the *Cantong qi*'s theory of “categories” (*xianglei* 相類), according to which only by the interaction of Yin and Yang entities of the same category can the elixir come to fruition. His exposition of this theory follows \*Weng Baoguang's and \*Chen Zhixu's commentaries to the \**Wuzhen pian*.

The basic tenets of the Eastern School are simple compared to the more complex system of the Western Branch (Xipai 西派 see \*Li Xiyue). The initial stage of “laying the foundations” (*zhuji* 築基) consists of reestablishing a perfect state of health. A man and a woman should first seek to restore their impaired vitalities mutually, since they conceal Original Yin and Original Yang within themselves, respectively. The next stages of the alchemical process follow the usual sequence: *caiyao* 採藥 (gathering the ingredients for the medicine), *jiedan* 結丹 (coagulation of the elixir), *lianji* 鍊己 (purification of the self), *wenyang* 溫養 (incubation and nourishment of the embryo), *tuotai* 脫胎 (deliverance of the embryo), and *zhengdao* 證道 (verification of the realization of the Dao). In the higher stages of the practice, the union of man and woman is accomplished spiritually (*shenjiao* 神交) in a way reminiscent of the third stage in \*Li Daochun's system.

Although the Eastern School was most popular in Jiangxi and Zhejiang, not much is known about Lu's direct disciples. \*Fu Jinqun, however, may be included among the main proponents of this branch of *neidan*.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Liu Ts'un-yan 1965; Liu Ts'un-yan 1968; Liu Ts'un-yan 1976a; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 22–37; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 387; Yang Ming 1995

※ *Fanghu waishi; neidan*

Luo Gongyuan

羅公遠

fl. 712–13; also known as Luo Siyuan 羅思遠

In his youth Luo Gongyuan was not very smart. After spending several years on a mountain, he suddenly acquired an extraordinary vision that allowed him to predict events without error. As a result the throne summoned him to Chang'an. While in the capital, the heir apparent (later Tang Xuanzong, r. 712–56) convened a vegetarian feast that Luo attended. During the banquet, Luo asked the heir for gold and silver vessels. The heir refused and sealed them in a chamber. When he opened the room and looked in a short time later, he discovered that all the vessels had disappeared. He then opened an eastern chamber that had been previously sealed and found the lost items. On two other occasions Luo made a horse and eating utensils disappear and reappear in other places.

It is clear from this account that Luo was a clairvoyant and illusionist. Eminent Taoists such as \*Ye Fashan were also practitioners of magic. However, this anecdote about Luo does not portray him as a Taoist. He assumes that role first in a tale of the late eighth century in which Luo erects an altar and wields talismans to do battle with the son-in-law of a former official. In the end he vanquished the son-in-law who changes into an old fox. Many legends about Luo emerged in the ninth century. He took Emperor Xuanzong on a voyage to the moon where the emperor memorized the music for the “Melody of the Rainbow Gown and Feathered Robe” (“Nishang yuyi qu” 霓裳羽衣曲), the most renowned piece of music composed in Xuanzong's reign. The same ruler had him decapitated, but he reappeared in Sichuan. Luo captured the dragon protector of the Yangzi River in a pit filled the river's water where the creature appeared as a white fish.

The growth of the myths about Luo Gongyuan's supernatural powers eventually culminated in the emergence of a cult that flourished north and

northwest of Chengdu (Sichuan) during the late ninth and early tenth centuries. The natives thought of him as one of the Perfected and designated a place as the site of his former dwelling. He purportedly cultivated the Dao on a peak south of Mount Qingcheng (\*Qingcheng shan, Sichuan), venerated by Taoists as a holy mountain. Whenever wind and rain did not rise or fall at the appropriate times or when fields lay uncultivated, he would always appear as an old woman or a beggar. During one drought, while the villagers were making their way to a temple to pray for rain, an old woman appeared and told them to address their pleas to Luo the Perfected for he could do what demons and spirits could not. The peasants burned incense at that very spot and rain began falling immediately. Later they built a temple with a statue there. Luo thus became the god of a local rain cult.

*Charles D. BENN*

▣ Giles L. 1948, 114–17; Verellen 1987; Yūsa Noboru 1987

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

### Luofu shan

### 羅浮山

### Luofu Mountains (Guangdong)

The Luofu Mountains are a chain of hills covered with forests, located for the most part in the Boluo 羅浮山 district of Guangdong. The two peaks, Luo 羅 (“Net,” the highest at about 1250 m) and Fu 浮 (“Floating”), which give the chain its name, and around which most temples are located, are about 80 km east of Guangzhou (Canton), and near Huizhou 惠州. There are ancient myths that describe Fu as a floating mountain that came from afar to join Luo.

Since at least the Han, the Luofu Mountains seem to have enjoyed the status of the most holy mountain range in Guangdong and neighboring regions. They were later considered to be one of the ten major Grotto-Heavens (\**dongtian*), the only one located so far south. Many tales state that hermits reside there. The most famous is \*Ge Hong, much honored in later descriptions of the site and its temples. Although the *Jinshu* (History of the Jin; trans. Davis and Ch'en 1941; Sailey 1978, 521–32) claims that Ge died at



Luofu shan (possibly *another* Luofu shan), Ge himself mentions the mountains only once in his *\*Baopu zi* (within a list of places for immortality practices; trans. Ware 1966, 194), and it is unlikely that he would have traveled so far from his native Jiangnan 江南 to what was then a frontier area. Taoism (and Buddhism) flourished in the Luofu Mountains during the late Six Dynasties and the Tang, and what is still now the main temple, the Chongxu guan 崇虛觀 (Abbey for the Veneration of Emptiness, this title granted in 1087), seems to have been founded around the mid-seventh century.

During the Song, Yuan, and Ming periods, we find several references to the Luofu Mountains and their Taoists (Buddhism waned there during the premodern period), and to the Offering (*\*jiao*) rituals organized there every year by officials and common people alike. But the Luofu Mountains gained prominence as a major Taoist institution only during the eighteenth century, when they came under the management of a succession of dynamic *\*Quanzhen* leaders. Since then, these mountains have been the spiritual heart and the ordination center for a rather isolated pocket of Quanzhen monasticism in Guangdong, with offshoot monasteries in nearby cities, such as the Xuanmiao guan 玄妙觀 (Abbey of Mysterious Wonder) in Huizhou and the Sanyuan gong 三元宮 (Palace of the Three Primes) in Guangzhou, which themselves created a lay Quanzhen movement still very active in Hong Kong.

The monasteries of the Luofu Mountains, largely destroyed during the civil wars, were rebuilt by the famous Quanzhen historian *\*Chen Minggui* in 1865–78. Destroyed again during the Cultural Revolution, they are now being rebuilt with massive support from the Hong Kong Quanzhen community, which claims the Luofu Mountains as its ancestral land.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Soymié 1956

✕ TAOIST SACRED SITES

*luotian dajiao*

羅天大醮

## Great Offering of All Heaven

*Luotian dajiao* is one of several terms used to designate the most comprehensive Taoist \**jiao* (Offering) ceremonies. It occurs already in the ritual documents of \*Du Guangting (850–933; see *Guangcheng ji* 廣成集, CT 616, 9.5b–6b), which reproduce the Declaration (*ci* 詞) for a large-scale ceremony with this name performed for the king of Shu 蜀 (Sichuan). However, in the early Song the term came to be associated in particular with the new ritual code, that is, the nomenclature and regulations for the different kinds of *jiao*, revealed in 960 by the divine protector of the dynasty, Yisheng 翊聖, the Assisting Saint (also known as the Black Killer, \*Heisha). From the comprehensive account of this revelation, the \**Yisheng baode zhuan* (Biography of [the Perfected Lord] Assisting Sanctity and Protecting Virtue), which was submitted to the emperor by \*Wang Qinruo in 1016, we know that the highest level of this system included three kinds of *jiao*, all of which were meant to be performed for the general good of the whole country, namely the *putian dajiao* 普天大醮 (Great Offering of the Universal Heaven), the *zhoutian dajiao* 周天大醮 (Great Offering of the Whole Heaven), and the *luotian dajiao*. The third kind is said to have comprised 1,200 seats for the gods (*shenwei* 神位), and could also be sponsored by commoners on behalf of the ruler (*Yisheng baode zhuan*, 1.3a–4a).

In modern times, large-scale ceremonies named *luotian dajiao* have been organized on several occasions, for instance in Shanghai in 1932, headed by the sixty-third Celestial Master, \*Zhang Enpu. The tradition has been resumed more recently, notably in 1993, when a ten-day ceremony of the kind was held at the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing.

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Ruan Renze and Gao Zhenong 1992, 414; Zhang Zehong 1994

※ *jiao*

Lüqiu Fangyuan

閻丘方遠

?–902; *zi*: Dafang 大方 *hao*: Xuandong xiansheng 玄洞先生 (Elder of the Mysterious Cavern) *or* Xuantong xiansheng 玄同先生 (Elder of Mysterious Equality)

Lüqiu Fangyuan was a native of Susong 宿松 in Shuzhou 舒州 (Anhui). He is best known for producing the *Taiping jingchao* 太平經鈔 (Excerpts from the Scripture of Great Peace; CT 1101, *j.* 1), a set of selections from the *\*Taiping jing* that has proved invaluable for supplementing the full text, much of which has been lost. The Taoist Canon also has the *Lingbao dagang chao* 靈寶大綱鈔 (Excerpts from an Outline of the Numinous Treasure; CT 393) and the commentary to *\*Tao Hongjing's \*Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Perfected Numinous Beings) listed under his name. He received a biography in *\*Xu xianzhuan* (Sequel to Biographies of Immortals), from which the information below is taken.

A student of Chen Yuanwu 陳元晤 of Mount Lu (\*Lushan, Jiangxi), Zuo Yuanze 左元澤 of Xianglin 香林 (Zhejiang), and Liu Chujing 劉處靖 of Mount Xiandu (Xiandu shan 仙都山, Zhejiang), at 34 he received the Dharma Registers from Ye Zangzhi 葉藏質 of the Yuxiao gong 玉霄宮 (Palace of the Jade Empyrean) on Mount Tiantai (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang). Summoned to court repeatedly by Zhaozong (r. 888–904), he divined that the Tang throne would be overthrown so refused to go. He was nonetheless honored by the emperor and granted a title. He is said to have had over 200 disciples most of whom were active in the lower Yangzi area, as Lüqiu was himself. He underwent corpse-liberation (*\*shijie*) in 902 and was typically seen later in some of his favorite haunts.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 293

※ *Taiping jing*

Lushan

廬山

Mount Lu (Jiangxi)

Mount Lu is a picturesque mountain in Jiangxi that has been historically important for both Buddhists and Taoists, and has also been admired by generations of landscape painters (Bush 1983). Its highest peak rises to 1,474 m and it is the site of the eighth lesser Grotto-Heaven (*\*dongtian*). The mountain is perhaps best known for its associations with local cults (Miyakawa Hisayuki 1979), the White Lotus Society (Bai lianhua she 白蓮華社) of the Buddhist Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416; Inoue Ichii 1934; Zürcher 1972, 204–39), and the White Deer Grotto (Bailu dong 白鹿洞) of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; Inoue Ichii 1933).

Besides these distinguishing features, Mount Lu has also had a long and important Taoist history. It was considered to be one of the repositories of the revealed *\*Shangqing* manuscripts, and in 481 emperor Gaodi (r. 479–82) sent an envoy there to procure copies. In 461, *\*Lu Xiuqing* (406–77) built an abbey there. Later, the mountain was included on a set of charts accompanying the *Wuyue guben zhenxing tu* 五嶽古本真形圖 (Ancient Version of the Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks; CT 441). Although the Five Peaks (*\*wuyue*) were higher in rank, Mount Lu was, with Mount Qingcheng (*\*Qingcheng shan*, Sichuan) and Mount Qian (Qianshan 潛山 or 灤山, Anhui), one of three mountains that in Song times were deemed to be “assistants” to the Five Peaks (Yokote Yutaka 1999). Mount Lu was home to the poet *\*Wu Yun* (?–778) during the Tang period and for *\*Tan Zixiao* (fl. tenth century), the purported founder of the *\*Tianxin zhengfa* (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart) tradition, and his followers during the Song period. It was also the place where other Taoists were said to have encountered *\*Bai Yuchan* (1194–1229?) and received his teaching.

A monograph entitled *Lushan ji* 廬山記 (Records of Mount Lu), compiled by Chen Shunyu 陳舜俞 (?–1076), survives in the Taishō Buddhist Canon (T. 2095). There is also a detailed Song-dynasty hagiographic account entitled *Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi* 廬山太平興國宮採訪真君事實 (The True Story of the Perfected Lord Envoy of Inquisition at the Palace of Great Peace and the Flourishing Nation on Mount Lu; CT 1286), about the divine transformations and imperial support for the guardian of Mount Lu, named the Envoy of Inquisition from the Nine Heavens (Jiutian caifang shizhe 九天採訪使者).

James ROBSON

☐ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 81–83; Inoue Ichii 1933; Inoue Ichii 1934; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1964, 279–88; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1979; Nara Yukihiko 1998, 183

※ TAOIST SACRED SITES

*Lüzu quanshu*

呂祖全書

Complete Writings of Ancestor Lü [Dongbin]

The *Lüzu quanshu* was compiled by Liu Tishu 劉體恕 in 1741, with revisions by Huang Chengshu 黃誠恕. The first five of its thirty-three *juan* mainly come from the *\*Chunyang Lü zhenren wenji* (Collected Works of the Perfected Lü of Pure Yang), while the rest derive from works revealed through spirit writing (see *\*fuji*). The compilation is associated with the group of *\*Lü Dongbin's* devotees at the Hansan gong 涵三宮 (Palace Encompassing the Three; Wuchang 武昌, Hubei), where most spirit-writing texts were gathered. It is preserved now in four main editions:

1. The original edition of 1742.
2. An edition made at the Tianxiang ge 天香閣 (Qiantang 錢塘, Zhejiang) in 1775. A reprint, made at the Chongshan tang 崇善堂, (Xiangtan 湘潭, Hunan) in 1868 with the addition of the *Chanzong zhengzhi* 禪宗正指 (Correct Directions on the Chan School), is included in the *\*Zangwai daoshu* (vol. 7).
3. A reduced-format edition made at the Qianqing tang 千頃堂, (Shanghai) in 1917, reprinted in 1920 and 1930.
4. An edition published by the Dexin yinwu gongsi 德信印務公司 (Hong Kong) in 1965 and 1979, which also includes the *\*Lingbao bifa*, reprinted by the Qingsong guan 青松觀 in Hong Kong in 1991.

Other editions of the *Lüzu quanshu* with different numbers of *juan* include those by Shao Zhilin 邵志琳 (1748–1810) in sixty-four *juan*, Jiang Yuanting 蔣元庭 (1755–1819) in sixteen *juan*, and Chen Mou 陳謀 (fl. 1852) in eighteen *juan* (see *\*Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*).

*Contents.* Juan 1 and 2 of edition no. 4 above contain Lü Dongbin's biography (*Lüzu benzhuàn* 呂祖本傳, also found in the \**Daozang jiyao*, vol. 12), the *Xianpai yuanliu* 仙派源流 (Origins and Development of the Lineage of the Immortals), and more than one hundred legends concerning miracles and traces left by Lü during his numerous manifestations in the human world. Many of these stories that circulated from the Song period onward come from the *Chunyang Lü zhenren wenji*, to which Huang Chengshu added his own revisions along with supplementary Ming stories gathered from other sources (e.g., the *Shenxian tongjian* 神仙通鑑). Some stories are also found in the *Shengji jiyao* 聖蹟紀要 (Essential Chronicle of the Saint's Traces), which is available in the *Daozang jiyao* (vol. 13).

Juan 4 and 5 consist of poems, chants, lyrics, ballads, and other works attributed to Lü and dating from the Song to the Ming periods, such as the \**Qinyuan chun* (Springtime in the Garden by the Qin River; trans. BaldrianHussein 1985) and the *Baizi bei* 百字碑 (Hundred-Word Stele; trans. Cleary 1991a, 239–52). They are grouped under the title *Wenji* 文集 (Collected Works) and mainly derive from the *Chunyang Lü zhenren wenji*. Most of these works are also found in the *Daozang jiyao*.

Juan 6 to 28 contain works not found in earlier collections. These include the *Zhixuan pian* 指玄篇 (Folios Pointing to the Mystery), a work modeled on the \**Wuzhen pian* and allegedly annotated by \*Bai Yuchan; the *Zhongxiao gao* 忠孝誥 (Declarations on Loyalty and Filiality); the *Bapin xianjing* 八品仙經 (Immortal Scriptures in Eight Chapters); the *Wupin xianjing* 五品仙經 (Immortal Scripture in Five Chapters); the *Sanpin xianjing* 三品仙經 (Immortal Scriptures in Three Chapters); the *Cantong jing* 參同經 (Scripture on the Equality of the Three [Teachings]); the *Shengde jing* 聖德經 (Scriptures on the Virtues of the Saints) which includes the \**nüdan* text entitled *Kunyuan jing* 坤元經 (Scripture of the Original Female); and the *Xingxin jing* 醒心經 (Scripture on Awakening the Mind). Most of these works are also found in the *Daozang jiyao* with differences in form and content. They mainly consist of teachings allegedly transmitted by Lü Dongbin via spirit writing during the Kangxi reign (1662–1722) in Linjiang 臨江 (Jiangxi), in Kanjiang 刊江 (Hunan), and especially in the Hansan gong. Poems written in this temple are also found in this portion of the *Lüzu quanshu* under the title *Hansan zayong* 涵三雜詠 (Assorted Chants from the Palace Encompassing the Three) and *Hansan yulu* 涵三語錄 (Recorded Sayings from the Palace Encompassing the Three).

The remaining five *juan* contain the *Xiuzhen chuandao lun* 修真傳道論 (Essay on the Cultivation of Perfection and the Transmission of the Dao; an alternative title of the \**Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*), the commentaries to the *Qiaoyao ge* 敲爻歌 (Songs Metered According to the Hexagram Lines) by Qian Daohua 錢道華 (fl. 1443) and on the *Qinyuan chun* by Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260–64) and \*Yu Yan (1258–1314)—which are also found in the \**Xiuzhen shishu* (CT 263; 13.9b–17b) and the *Qinyuan chun danci zhujie* 沁園春丹詞注解 (Commentary and Explication of the Alchemical Lyric *Qinyuan chun*; CT 136)—and the *Lüzu gao* 呂祖誥 (Declarations by Ancestor Lü).

These materials make the *Lüzu quanshu* a fundamental source for the study of the cult of Lü Dongbin and the spirit-writing practices in his honor during Ming and Qing times.

Monica ESPOSITO

■ Ang 1997; Baldrian-Hussein 1986, 141–44; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 139–43; Esposito 1998c; Katz P. R. 1996; Ma Xiaohong 1988a; Ma Xiaohong 1988b; Ma Xiaohong 1989a; Ma Xiaohong 1989b; Mori Yuria 1990; Mori Yuria 1992a; Mori Yuria 1998; You Zi'an 1999, 55–58

※ Lü Dongbin

# Encyclopedia of Taoism

## Volume II



1123–84; original *ming*: Congyi 從義; *zi*: Yifu 宜甫, Xuanbao 玄寶;  
*hao*: Danyang zi 丹陽子 (Master of Cinnabar Yang)

The \*Quanzhen master Ma Yu (Ma Danyang) was the heir of an affluent family living at the tip of the Shandong peninsula. So rich as to be nicknamed “he who owns half the prefecture” (*banzhou* 半州), he seems to have led an idle life and to have had a keen interest in Taoist pursuits, becoming a friend of an ascetic called Li Wumeng 李無夢 but not establishing formal links with any Taoist institution.

In 1167, \*Wang Zhe arrived in Ma's hometown as a hermit from Shaanxi and met Ma at a gathering of the local gentry. Ma was impressed by Wang and invited him to stay at his home. Wang built a hut, the Quanzhen 全真菴 (Hermitage for Completing Authenticity), where he began to receive disciples. In the winter of 1167–68, he enclosed himself in the hut for one hundred days (from the first of the tenth lunar month to the tenth of the first lunar month), a practice that later became the paradigm of the \**huandu* retreat. During that time, Wang regularly sent poems and sliced pears (*fenli* 分梨) to Ma and his wife, \*Sun Bu'er, to convince them to separate (*fenli* 分離) from each other and live as celibate ascetics. These poetic exchanges were later edited in the *Fenli shihua ji* 分梨十化集 (Anthology of the Ten Stages of Pear-Slicing; CT 1155). In the spring of 1168, Ma finally assented to his master's injunctions and became a renouncer. From then on, he followed Wang on his mountain retreats and tours of the Quanzhen association halls. Wang repeatedly tested Ma by sending him to beg in places where he had formerly been the local rich man. By the time he died in Kaifeng (Henan) in early 1170, Wang deemed Ma to have achieved spiritual transformation and anointed him as his spiritual heir.

From 1170 to 1172, Ma visited the sites of Wang's earlier ascetic life together with three other intimate disciples, \*Tan Chuduan, \*Liu Chuxuan, and \*Qiu Chuji. They carried Wang's coffin back from Kaifeng, buried him in the Zuting 祖庭 (Ancestral Court, his former hermitage), and observed the mourning rites for the prescribed period of over two years. In 1174 his three fellow disciples left, but Ma stayed at the Zuting enclosed in a *huandu* for three years. Many young adepts from Shaanxi, Shanxi, and Henan began to gather around him and build an active community primarily devoted to the teaching of \**neidan*. After 1178, Ma became more active and toured the area, preaching in official foundations (*guan* 觀), private chapels (*an* 庵 or 菴),

and private houses, directing various rituals, and enclosing himself in *huandu* built for him for periods of one hundred days, where he received his most devoted adepts.

In 1182, Ma returned to his native Shandong, possibly forced to do so by a local government suspicious of itinerant preachers. He revived the lay associations (*hui* 會) founded by Wang and performed miracles; the most famous was the apparition of a city floating on the sea, which resulted in the local fishermen ceasing the killing of living beings and burning their fishing nets. Finally, Ma learned of his former wife's death and died himself shortly thereafter.

*Ma Yu and Sun Bu'er*. The story of Ma Yu and his wife Sun Bu'er, one of the most fascinating in the vast Taoist lore, was elaborated in several “romances of the Seven Real Men” written in the *zhanghui xiaoshuo* 章回小說 novelistic style during the Ming and Qing periods (Endres 1985). Ma and Sun loved each other but had to separate to achieve their spiritual aims. They did so gradually, with much hesitancy. Ma's fame in popular fiction must be related to his role as someone who successfully sublimates his normal marital life. Several Quanzhen masters, beginning with Wang Zhe himself, did so in a cruder way by repudiating wife and children, never to see them again. One of the thirty or so extant Yuan texts of *zaju* 雜劇 (variety plays), called *Ma Danyang sandu Ren fengzi* 馬丹陽三度壬風子 (Ma Danyang Converts Three Times Crazy Ren), compounds the sexual issue with the question of killing living beings as a profession. Ren is a butcher whom Ma convinces to leave his trade as well as his family. His wife and children are thus abandoned and resourceless, which they remonstrate against with reason, but in vain. Ma also figures prominently in several other *zaju* plays extant only in late Ming editions, and is often included in later anthologies of popular hagiography. Whereas Qiu Chuji came to play the most prominent role within the later Quanzhen tradition, Ma became the best known in popular lore.

Ma Yu is also remembered as a great poet. His abundant literary productions were anthologized separately by various groups of disciples and are consequently dispersed in several texts, a process similar to the editing of Wang Zhe's poetry. The Taoist Canon includes the *Jinyu ji* 金玉集 (Anthology of Gold and Jade; CT 1149), the *Jianwu ji* 漸悟集 (Anthology of Gradual Awakening; CT 1142), and the *Shengguang can* 神光燦 (Luster of

Divine Radiance; CT 1150). Many of Ma's poems also appear in Wang's own anthologies. In addition, a long speech and a collection of recorded sayings attributed to him are also extant (see under \*yulu).

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 149–55; Endres 1985; Hachiya Kunio 1987; Hachiya Kunio 1992a; Hawkes 1981; Marsone 2001a, 103

※ Sun Bu'er; Quanzhen

Magu

麻姑

Magu first appears in the historical record in the \**Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals), compiled in the fourth century. In some modern versions of that collection—those that appear to be reconstitutions based on the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period)—she receives an independent biography but it is not cited by the middle of the Tang so cannot reliably be regarded as early. She does, however, feature strongly in the *Shenxian zhuan* biographies of \*Wang Yuan and Cai Jing 蔡經 which form one continuous narrative.

In that story, the immortal Wang Yuan summons Magu while he is at the Cai family home in Wu 吳 (Jiangsu and part of Zhejiang). She appears to the sounds of drums and bells and accompanied by horsemen, a beautiful young woman of 18 or 19. By the Song period, at the latest, Magu is sometimes thought to be Wang Yuan's sister. After Magu arrives, she, Wang, Cai and his family perform the ritual of the “traveling cuisines” (*xingchu* 行廚; see \**chu*) which is described as a banquet, the centerpiece being a roasted, mystical *lin* 麟 beast (sometimes identified as a unicorn). Magu also scatters rice on the ground, transforming it into cinnabar for Cai's sister-in-law's ten-day-old baby, a performance Wang Yuan laughingly dismisses as a “transformation trick” and a “game of youth.” Magu's most idiosyncratic feature is that her fingernails look like birds' talons. At one point, Cai thinks to himself that such nails would be very convenient for an itchy back. Wang, of course, can read Cai's thoughts and upbraids him for this insubordination, whipping him

with an invisible whip.

Magu's age—and the question of the scale of time in which immortals exist—has been a topic of interest to later generations of Taoists and literati. Although she appears young, at one point Magu says to Wang Yuan, “I have not been seen for an instant in more than five hundred years.” Later she says that “since last I was received I have seen the Eastern Sea become mulberry groves and fields three times.” The latter statement is typically taken to refer to the periodic drying out and refilling of the Eastern Sea (on what we would call geological time scales) over which Magu travels on her way from the magical island of \*Penglai to the mainland.

The later history of Magu is rather confused. There are records of two Magu mountains (Magu shan 麻姑山): one in present-day Jiangxi near the town of Nancheng 南城 close to the border with Fujian and one in present-day Anhui near Xuancheng 宣城. The former is listed as the twenty-eighth of the thirty-six lesser Grotto-Heavens (see \**dongtian* and *fudi*). In the story that is found in the *Shenxian zhuan*, Magu is not presented as having any specifically non-immortal existence, though the standard Taoist understanding of immortals would demand that she had one. Thus, the existence of traditions claiming that she came from Jianchang 建昌 (the present-day Nancheng, near this Magu shan), refined the elixir there and attained immortality should not occasion surprise. This was also the mountain that the famous Tang calligrapher and Taoist Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–85) visited and described in his well-known *Magu xiantan ji* 麻姑仙壇記 (Record of the Platform from which Magu Ascended to Immortality). That inscription is now most commonly found as a calligraphy copytext. She was also the subject of poems by the Tang Taoist poet Cao Tang 曹唐 (fl. 847–83), beautifully studied by Edward Schafer (1985).

Magu is also regarded as having cultivated the Dao on Mount Guxu (Guxu shan 姑徐山) in the south east of Mouzhou 牟州 district (eastern Shandong). In some senses this tradition accords best with the original story which, with its references to Penglai and the Eastern Sea, would seem to indicate that Magu had a much more northern affiliation than the site of her eponymous mountains.

Wolfram Eberhard (1968, 123–25) gives various scattered references to her appearances in local traditions.

*Benjamin PENNY*

■ Company 2002, 259–70; Despeux 1990, 61–66; Eberhard 1968, 123–25; Kohn 1993b, 355–58; Little 2000b, 334; Liu Ts'un-yan 1997, 412–20; Schafer 1985, 90–102

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

### Maming sheng

馬鳴生 (*or*: 馬明生)

Maming sheng is an immortal who is said to have lived during the Han dynasty although, since he is credited with a presence on earth of over 500 years, he must also have lived during other periods as well. He is known primarily from two biographies of the *\*Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals): one under his own name and the biography of *\*Yin Changsheng* (trans. Company 2002, 274–77). The latter biography is reliably early but the former is not cited by the mid-Tang so must be regarded as of questionable provenance.

In the Yin Changsheng biography, Yin sought Maming out as he had heard that Maming had attained the Dao of “transcending the generations” (*dushi* 度世). In conventional style Maming tested Yin's seriousness, in this case having his prospective student serve him as a slave for more than ten years. Of the twelve followers Maming had, Yin alone remained. At that point Maming sheng said, “Truly you are able to attain the Dao.” They then proceeded to Mount Qingcheng (*\*Qingcheng shan*, Sichuan) where Maming bestowed the *\*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity) on him.

From his own biography we find that Ma's original name was He Junxian 和君賢 and that he came from Linzi 臨淄 (Shandong). When Maming died young, a spirit gave him medicine and he came back to life. Later, Maming obtained the *Taiyang shendan jing* 太陽神丹經 (Scripture of the Divine Elixirs of Great Yang) in three chapters. On refining this elixir he only took a half measure and became an earthly immortal. He was seen around the empire for more than 550 years before eventually rising bodily into heaven.

Both Yin and Ma, under the names Ma Ming and Yin Sheng, are listed in the *\*Housheng daojun lieji* (Chronicle of the Lord of the Dao, Saint of the Latter Age) as among those ordered to descend to earth and give instruction.

田 Company 2002, 325–26

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

Maojun

茅君

Lord Mao

Mao Ying 茅盈, better known as Maojun, is one of the founding divinities of the \*Shangqing school of Taoism. According to traditional accounts, he lived during the Later Han dynasty and was the eldest of three brothers (the other two are Mao Gu 茅固 and Mao Zhong 茅衷) who moved from Xianyang 咸陽 (Shaanxi) to Mount Gouqu (Gouqu shan 句曲山, Jiangsu) to practice the Dao. As their renown grew, the name of the mountain was changed to Mount Mao (\*Maoshan) and its three main peaks were called Higher Mao (Damao 大茅), Middle Mao (Zhongmao 中茅), and Lesser Mao (Xiaomao 小茅).

With the development of Shangqing, Lord Mao was endowed with new godly attributes. The biography of the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu) in \*Du Guangting's \**Yongcheng jixian lu* (1.9a–20b) describes how, in 1 BCE, Lord Mao received a visit from the goddess, who bestowed titles and secret teachings upon him, and assigned him a divine spouse, \*Wei Huacun. The biography describes the divine encounter between the Queen Mother and Lord Mao in lavish detail: Lord Mao is given various life-extending plants and “numinous mushrooms” (\*zhi), and he and his brothers are granted talismans (\*FU), seals, and sacred scriptures. Then the Queen Mother prepares Lady Wei to meet her future husband, who will become her disciple in the Shangqing mysteries. The core of the Shangqing revelations is believed to be the result of this encounter.

Du Guangting's account of Lord Mao and his brothers is based on a fourth- or fifth-century text partly preserved as “Sanshen ji” 三神紀 (Chronicle of the Three Divinities) in \**Maoshan zhi* 5. The latter is the most complete of three extant biographies of Maojun; the other two are in the \**Shenxian zhuan* and the \**Yunji qiqian* (104.10b–20a), respectively. As noted

by Susan Cahill (1993, 186), the meeting between Maojun and the Queen Mother is set so early in Taoist history as an expedient to place the beginning of the Shangqing tradition before the origin of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao).

*Elena VALUSSI*

▣ Cahill 1993, 183–89; Campany 2002, 326–28; Chen Guofu 1963, 9–11; Robinet 1984, 2: 389–98; Strickmann 1979, *passim*

※ Maoshan; Shangqing; HAGIOGRAPHY

## Maoshan

### 茅山

### Mount Mao (Jiangsu)

Initially named Mount Gouqu (Gouqu shan 句曲山), Mount Mao is located south of Nanjing (Jiangsu). The highest peak rises to a height of about 600 m. Within Taoist sacred geography, the mountain was considered the site of the eighth Grotto-Heaven (\**dongtian*), called Huayang 華陽 (Flourishing Yang), which was perceived to be connected via subterranean conduits to Mount Emei (\*Emei shan, Sichuan), Mount Tai (\*Taishan, Shandong), the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan, Guangdong), and the Linwu grotto (Linwu dong 林屋洞) under Mount Dongting (Dongting shan 洞庭山) in Lake Taihu 太湖 (Jiangsu). Mount Mao was also the site of one of the seventy-two Blissful Lands (\**fudi*). Filled with caverns, it was famous for its diverse pharmacopoeia, elixir ingredients, and “numinous mushrooms” (\**zhi*).

The mountain received its name due to its association with the three Mao brothers (Mao Ying 茅盈, Mao Zhong 茅衷, and Mao Gu 茅固; see under \*Maojun), who alighted on its three peaks during the Han dynasty, practiced there, ascended from its peaks as transcendents, and were later venerated within the \*Shangqing tradition. Indeed, the mountain has almost become synonymous with the Shangqing school, which originated there between the fourth and fifth centuries. Xu Hui 許翮 (341–ca. 370), the son of Xu Mi 許謐 (303–76), was among the first to retire to Mount Mao to study the newly revealed scriptures (for details, see under \*Yang Xi). Later, in 492, \*Tao

Hongjing (456–536) retired to Mount Mao to study those texts and found the hallowed site to be particularly efficacious for compounding elixirs. In Tao's wake, Mount Mao became an important Taoist religious center for both male and female practitioners (who shared the site with Buddhists), and a favorite destination for pilgrims. During the Tang dynasty it was home to a number of influential Shangqing patriarchs, including \*Wang Yuanzhi (528–635) and \*Li Hanguang (683–769). However, for several reasons it is a misnomer to refer to the Shangqing tradition, as is still sometimes done, by the name “Maoshan Taoism.” The mountain was also related to other Taoist lineages, and much of the history of the Shangqing tradition took place away from it. The activities of Shangqing patriarchs such as \*Pan Shizheng (585–682) and \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735), for instance, are allied more closely with Mount Song (\*Songshan, Henan) than with Mount Mao, where significant gaps in the lineage's transmission occurred (Sakauchi Shigeo 1988).

During the Song dynasty, Mount Mao was home to a new set of revelations which, while rooted to some extent in the Shangqing tradition, are characterized by their emphasis on exorcism. In 1120, in particular, a disciple of Zhang Daoling was said to have appeared to \*Lu Shizhong (fl. 1120–30) at Mount Mao and revealed to him the location of the founding text of the Yutang 玉堂 (Jade Hall) ritual tradition. While Mount Mao remained an important Taoist center throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties, its proximity to the urban center of Nanjing led to the destruction of many abbeys during periods of political turmoil and war in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Mount Mao recovered from those recent setbacks, however, and remains an important Taoist site today.

The Taoist Canon preserves a rather abundant textual record for Mount Mao. The \**Maoshan zhi* (Monograph of Mount Mao), compiled by the forty-fifth Shangqing patriarch Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (fl. 1317–28), is a massive text dedicated to the history of the mountain. Chapters 11–14 of the \**Zhengao* (Declarations of the Perfected) also contain much information about the site.

*James ROBSON*

▣ Bertuccioli 1974; Bumbacher 2000a; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1964, 176–87; Nara Yukihiro 1998, 118–21; Schafer 1989; Strickmann 1981, 28–57; Sun Kekuan 1968, 82–92

※ Maojun; *Maoshan zhi*; Shangqing; TAOIST SACRED SITES



*Maoshan zhi*

茅山志

Monograph of Mount Mao

The *Maoshan zhi* (CT 304), a gazetteer on \*Maoshan (Jiangsu), the mountains that served as the first center of the \*Shangqing order, was compiled by Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (fl. 1317–28), the forty-fifth Shangqing patriarch. Although Liu's preface is dated January 2 of 1329, he completed the text sometime before 1326. The work originally had fifteen chapters, but the present version has thirty-three. Since the materials in the gazetteer do not seem to date after Liu finished the work, some later editor apparently restructured the *Maoshan zhi*. Liu had in his possession a previous text in four chapters on Mount Mao that was compiled in 1150. It was, however, unsatisfactory since it contained only titles and brief descriptions.

Liu divided his work into twelve parts. Part one (*j.* 1–4) is a collection of documents issued by the throne dated from 1 ce to 1319. These documents concern the conferral of titles, the bestowal of gifts, the establishment of abbeys, bans on cutting down trees in the mountains, the rites of Casting Dragon Tablets (*\*tou longjian*), correspondence between emperors and patriarchs with replies from the prelates, and other matters.

Part two (*j.* 5) is a chronicle of the three Mao 茅 brothers (see \*Maojun) who purportedly flourished in the Former Han dynasty and after whom the mountains were named. They became the gods who administered the subterranean world beneath Mount Mao where the spirits of the dead resided.

Part three (*j.* 6–7) is partly a guide to geographical features: mountains as well as peaks and grottoes; waters including springs, streams and pools; and rocks. Liu recounts the mythology and history associated with those places. The section also describes bridges, altars, pavilions, and terraces located in the mountains.

Part four (*j.* 8) is really an appendix to the previous section. However, in this section Liu treats particular geographical features or edifices that had more historical significance than the others.

Part five (*j.* 9) is a catalogue of 226 scriptures, biographies and other matter that consists of four lists from various sources. The provenance of the first two is unknown. The third was compiled in the Song dynasty probably

in the early twelfth century. The fourth consists of extracts from the bibliographical section of Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 (1104–62) *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Monographs) completed around 1161.

Part six (*j.* 10–12) consists of two parts. The first is a short enumeration of the deities venerated by the Shangqing order. The second is a collection of brief biographies of the forty-five patriarchs beginning with \*Wei Huacun and concluding with Liu Dabin himself.

Part seven (*j.* 13–14) is a description of the palaces and bureaus of the Grotto-Heaven (see \**dongtian* and *fudi*) that lies beneath Mount Mao. Women who have achieved the Dao occupy two of the three palaces while male Perfected occupy the last as well as one of the bureaus. Each year the Lord Azure Lad of the Eastern Sea (\*Qingtong) conducts a tour of inspection of the palaces. The three Mao brothers govern the three remaining bureaus that constitute effectively the administration of the underworld, mostly concerned with fixing the destiny of the dead in the afterlife. Liu then goes on to provide the titles of the officials working in the three bureaus and names of the immortals who serve there. Then he supplies the names of the occupants of the palaces.

Part eight (*j.* 15–16) covers eminent persons—abbots, abbesses, priests, priest-esses, scholars, officials, hermits, and others—who in one way or another had some affiliation with the monastic complex on Mount Mao. This includes ten descendants of the Celestial Master \*Zhang Daoling, two of them female.

Part nine (*j.* 17–18) is a guide to the religious edifices on Mount Mao—temples, abbeys, cloisters, halls, hermitages, and the like. Whenever possible, Liu provides the dates of their establishment, the name of the patron who sponsored them, and the circumstances under which they were erected. Often, however, he simply supplies their titles and locations.

Part ten (*j.* 19) is a description of “numinous mushrooms” (\**zhi*) and famous trees that existed on the mountains at various times.

Part eleven (*j.* 20–27) is a collection of inscriptions for stele. They concern abbeys, altars, patriarchs, springs, “cinnabar wells” (*danjing* 丹井), conferral of registers (\*LU), and other subjects.

Part twelve (*j.* 28–33) is a collection of poetry dating from the sixth century to the thirteenth century. The last chapter, however, contains miscellaneous writings such as prefaces, letters and inscriptions.

Although much of the material in the *Maoshan zhi* can be found in other works of the Taoist Canon and secular works, the text is one of the most useful reference works for the study of the Shangqing order. Its value lies in the fact that Liu Dabin classified his materials so that a researcher can pursue a line of study without the distraction of extraneous matter. Furthermore, whenever possible, Liu ordered the contents of the treatise according to their dates.

*Charles D. BENN*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 103–5; Chen Guofu 1963, 247–50; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 210–12; Schafer 1989; Sun Kekuan 1968, 75–82

※ Maoshan; Shangqing

### Mawangdui manuscripts

In December 1973, archaeologists clearing tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui 馬王堆, Changsha 長沙 (Hunan), discovered a cache of texts written mostly on silk folded in a lacquer box. They were placed there to accompany Li Cang 利蒼, Lord of Dai 軼侯, who died in 168 BCE, into the afterlife. This was the main discovery of ancient texts since the opening of the hidden library at \*Dunhuang in the early twentieth century. Although in some cases badly damaged, and even fragmented into small pieces as a result of the fraying of the silk at the edges of the folds, and although some of the texts still remain unpublished after thirty years, this discovery has been of major significance for the understanding of the early history of Taoism.

Among the manuscripts were two copies of the *Daode jing*; the earliest version of the \**Yijing* with the earliest version of the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements) and four previously unknown commentaries; manuscripts associated with \*Huang-Lao Taoism (Yates 1997); texts on medicine and Nourishing Life (\**yangsheng*) earlier than the \**Huangdi neijing* (Inner Scripture of the Yellow Emperor), that reveal the use of exorcism, magic, talismans (\*FU), abstention from cereals (\**bigu*), and other techniques of macrobiotic hygiene, together with drug and other therapies in the period leading up to the creation of the medicine of systematic correspondence

(Harper 1998; Lo Vivienne 2001); philosophical texts from the Confucian tradition (Wei Qipeng 1991; Pang Pu 1980); Five Phase (\**wuxing*) texts and three texts and two Nine Palace (\**jiugong*) charts concerned with divination according to the *xingde* 刑德 (Punishment and Virtue) method (Kalinowski 1998–99; Chen Songchang 2001); a drawing of the deity \*Taiyi (Li Ling 1995–96; see [fig. 71](#)); historical texts; and several maps.

*The Mawangdui Yijing.* The manuscript of the *Yijing* is significant in many ways (Shaughnessy 1994; Shaughnessy 1996a; Deng Qiubo 1996; Xing Wen 1997). The order of the sixty-four hexagrams is different from the received version.

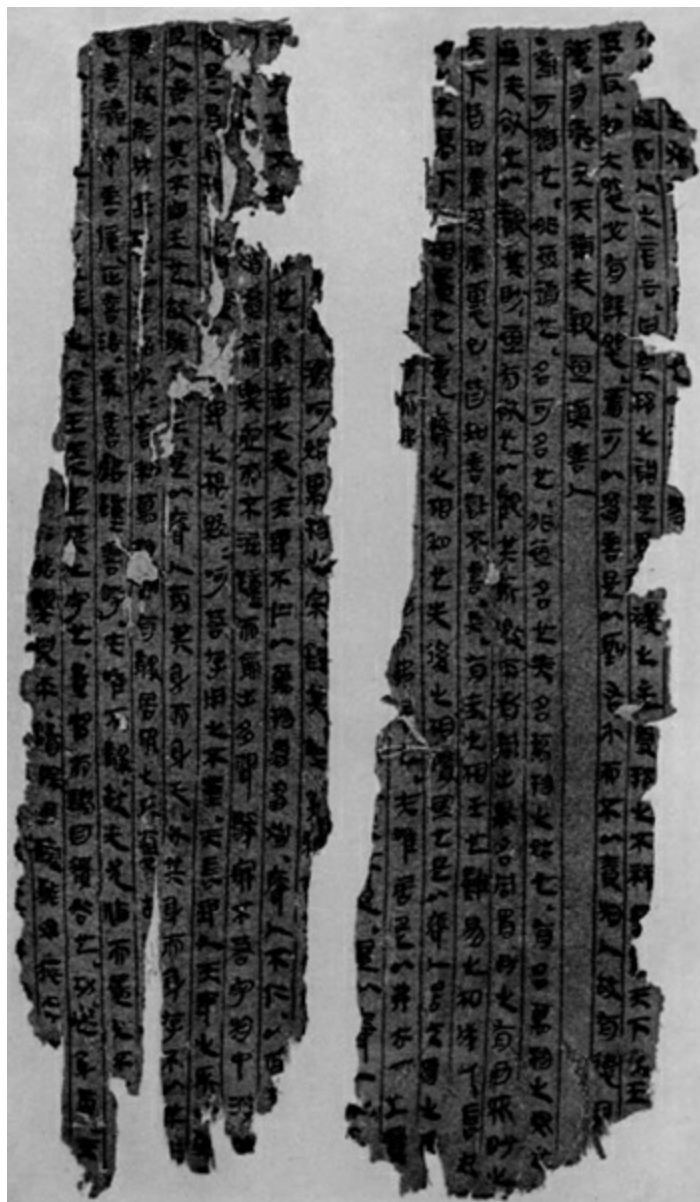


Fig. 57. Fragments of the Mawangdui manuscript of the *Daode jing* (*jia* 甲 version). Reproduced from Guojia wenwuju Guwenxian yanjiushi 1980–85, vol. 1.

Thirty-three of the names of the hexagrams are different from those in the received version, the most important being “Key” (*jian* 鍵) for *qian* 乾 ☰ and “Flow” (*chuan* 川) for *kun* 坤 ☷. There are also a great number of variant graphs in the body of the text that could well have significant philosophical implications. Edward Shaughnessy (1996b) suggests that the original referents of “Key” and “Flow” were the male and female genitalia respectively, rather than the abstract notions of Heaven and Earth. The four lost commentaries have been titled *Ersanzi wen* 二三子問 (The Several Disciples Asked), *Yi zhi yi* 易之義 (The Properties of the *Changes*), *Yao* 要 (Essentials), and *Mu He* 繆和 and *Zhao Li* 昭力, the names of students who pose questions to their teachers on the interpretation of the *Yijing*. Some scholars argue that the manuscript version of the *Xici*, which is shorter than the received version, was originally Taoist in orientation and that it was later conflated with the later part of *Yi zhi yi*, which is Confucian in philosophical orientation and discusses the names of the hexagrams. The received version of the *Xici* can now be seen to derive from multiple sources, including the *Yi zhi yi* and the *Yao*.

*The Mawangdui Laozi*. There are two versions of the *Daode jing* preserved at Mawangdui (Boltz W. G. 1984). Text A (*jia* 甲) was copied in small seal script graphs (*xiaozhuan* 小篆) probably before the reign of Liu Bang 劉邦 (Gaozu, r. 202–195 BCE), the founder of the Han dynasty. Text B (*yi* 乙) was copied in clerical script (*lishu* 隸書) during his reign. These are the earliest surviving complete texts of the *Daode jing*, very similar in philosophical content to the received text (the \*Guodian tomb in the state of Chu, dating approximately 300 BCE, only preserves a limited number of passages). The differences between the manuscripts and the received text have generated much academic debate (Lau 1982; Henricks 1989; Gao Ming 1996). The texts are not divided into individual chapters, as is the eighty-one chapter version of the received text. The division in the received text was made later in the Han dynasty in such a way that the coherence and flow of the argument is at some points obscured, and some passages have been misplaced. In addition, the order of the text in the Mawangdui manuscripts is reversed so that what is now known as the *De* 德 section (chapters 38–81) precedes the

*Dao* 道 section (chapters 1–37), the same order that is found in the “Explicating the *Laozi*” (“Jie Lao” 解老) chapter of the *Han Feizi* 韓非子 (Liao 1939–59, 1: 169–206). This suggests that there were two traditions of ordering the text. But whether the manuscript versions should be interpreted as stressing political and military policies for ordering the world, while the reverse order in the received text stresses metaphysics—the former being used by scholars of the law (*fa* 法) and the latter by the Taoists—is still under discussion. Finally, the manuscripts include many more grammatical particles than the received version, reducing the text's opacity.

*Robin D. S. YATES*

■ Harper 1998; Fu Juyou and Chen Songchang 1992; Guojia wenwuju Guwenxian yanjiushi 1980–85; Henricks 1986b; Jan Yün-hua 1977; Loewe 1977; Riegel 1975; Wu Hung 1992; Yamada Keiji 1985

## Mazu

### 媽祖

Centuries of lore surround the goddess popularly called Mazu or Tianshang shengmu 天上聖母 (Holy Mother in Heaven). Present-day circles of her devotees generally concur that she was born in 960 to the Lin 林 family of Putian 莆田 (Fujian), was given the name Mo(niang) 默(娘), and died at the age of twenty-eight in the year 987. Initially revered for her skills in prophecy, she came to be regarded foremost as the guardian angel of seafarers. Imperial entitlements from the twelfth to nineteenth century signify her sustained acceptance within the canon of deities sanctioned by state authority. Numerous shrines emerged on Mazu's behalf in coastal and inland communities alike. Many temples bear the designation Tianfei 天妃 (Celestial Consort) or Tianhou 天后 (Cantonese: Tin Hau, Celestial Empress), from titles granted by imperial decree in 1281 and 1683, respectively. Over five hundred temples are dedicated to Mazu in Taiwan alone. The vast majority are registered as Taoist institutions, but a small minority claim Buddhist affiliation. Shrines in Mazu's memory also exist in Chinese settlements from Singapore and Nagasaki to São Paulo and San Francisco. Festivals at the temple traditionally mark her date of birth on the

twenty-third day of the third lunar month and her demise on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. Mazu's endurance as a guardian figure of Chinese communities easily reflects the degree to which devotees have adapted their perceptions of her authority to the ever-changing demands on their lives.

Contemporary views of Mazu are shaped by hagiographic and scriptural accounts from the Ming and Qing periods. The concise entry on Tianfei in the *\*Soushen ji* (In Search of the Sacred) of 1593 identifies her father as Chief Military Inspector Lin Yuan 林愿 of Pu(tian). His daughter is said to have been blessed with the skill of foretelling the destiny of others. Upon her demise, villagers honored her memory by constructing a shrine on the isle of Meizhou 湄洲. The single episode recorded in this account demonstrating her divine power tells the story behind the first instance of imperial entitlement. The ambassador to Koryō 高麗 Lu Yundi 路允迪 (fl. 1122–29) reportedly found himself aboard the only ship to survive a typhoon, guided to safety by the descent of the goddess on the masthead. His testimony led Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) to reward her shrine with offerings in 1123, authorizing as well a plaque bearing the inscription Shunji 順濟 (Compliant Salvation).



Fig. 58. Entrance to Mazu temple (Tianhou gong 天后宮, Palace of the Celestial Empress) in Lukang 鹿港, Taiwan. Photograph by Julian Pas.

An eclectic late Ming hagiographic anthology published in 1909 by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1864–1927) as the *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流

搜神大全 (Great Compendium on the Origins and Development of the Three Teachings and Search for the Sacred) dates Tianfei's birth to 742. This event reportedly transpired through the divine intervention of the bodhisattva Guanyin of the South Sea (Nanhai Guanyin 南海觀音), to whom Mazu herself is often compared. The story that has become the mainstay of her legacy concerns a state of trance that her parents mistook for a seizure. When they managed to arouse their daughter, she cried out in despair over her inability to save all of her brothers at sea. Confirmation of her vision came when the surviving sons returned home and described how they witnessed the drowning of the eldest as they saw their own boats secured by a young girl, apparently none other than the projected spirit of their own sister. Distraught at the loss of her eldest brother, Lin Mo vowed to remain single and took her last breath seated in meditation. Thereafter, she gained the reputation for being able to answer the prayers of all women seeking to be with child. The establishment of a shrine at Meizhou is linked to the imperial title of Linghui furen 靈慧夫人 (Lady of Numinous Wisdom) dating to 1156. Her alleged protection of the renowned navy commander Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1435; DMB 194–200) is cited as the source of inspiration in 1409 for the imperial title Huguo bimin miaoling zhaoying hongren puji tianfei 護國庇民妙靈昭應弘仁普濟天妃 (Celestial Consort of Universal Salvation, Wondrous Numen, Brilliant Resonance, and Magnanimous Benevolence, Protecting the State and Sheltering the People).

Putative descendants of Mazu, Lin Yaoyu 林堯俞 (fl. 1589) and Lin Linchang 林麟焜 (fl. 1670), are responsible for transmitting a long episodic narrative entitled *Tianfei xiansheng lu* 天妃顯聖錄 (Account of the Blessings Revealed by the Celestial Consort). An old Taoist Master named Xuanton 玄通 is said to have recognized her Buddha-nature (*foxing* 佛性 or *buddhatā*) conducive to her messianic mission. She reportedly mastered the *Xuanwei bifa* 玄微祕法 (Secret Rites of Mysterious Tenuity) that he bestowed upon her at the age of thirteen. Three years later, the recovery of a talisman from a well purportedly led to a remarkable enhancement of her miraculous faculties. The episode concerning her state of trance differs in naming her father as the one she had failed to rescue at sea. Later popular accounts commonly claim instead that Tianfei lost her own life saving her father, reinforcing the ideal of a filial daughter.

The Taoist Canon contains a scriptural counterpart to hagiographic legend entitled *Taishang Laojun shuo Tianfei jiuku lingyan jing* 太上老君說天妃救



苦靈驗經 (Scripture Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao on the Numinous Efficacy of the Celestial Consort in Relieving Suffering; CT 649). It tells the story of how \*Laojun became aware of countless victims of drowning on various waterways. To show his compassion, he ordered the descent of Miaoxing yunü 妙行玉女 (Jade Woman of Wondrous Deeds) so that she might fulfill her pledge to ease the burdens of all humankind. A variant form of the 1409 title is recorded here, amplified by the epithet Fudou 輔斗 (Sustaining the Dipper) designating Tianfei's origins as a star within the constellation of the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*). The astral deity incarnated as the filial daughter of Meizhou not only vows protection of anyone travelling by boat but also promises to oversee all aspects of life and death, from warding off thieves and tyrants to assuring success in childbirth and scholastic pursuits. Anyone facing hardship is promised relief by devoutly calling her name and reciting the scripture.

A manuscript copy of a cognate scripture collected in Tainan 臺南 (Taiwan) by Kristofer Schipper matches the 1420 printing within the Tenri Library collection in Nara, published in the \**Zangwai daoshu* (3: 781–86). The latter compilation (20: 357–87) also reprints the richly detailed 1881 account of the renowned Hangzhou (Zhejiang) shrine, entitled *Chengbei Tianhou gong zhi* 城北天后宮志 (Monograph of the Palace of the Celestial Empress North of the City Walls).

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

☞ Boltz J. M. 1986a; Cai Xianghui 1989; Li Lulu 1994; Li Xianzhang 1979; Maspero 1981, 145–47; Ruitenbeek 1999; Wäadow 1992

※ HAGIOGRAPHY; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*menshen*

門神

door gods

As the principal point where good and evil influences enter a Chinese house, the main door has long received special ritual attention. Considerable care is devoted to its proper geomantic location and orientation, and various

apotropaic instruments are installed to defend it against the intrusion of malevolent spirits, including talismans (\*FU), mirrors (see under \**jing* and *jian*), the *taiji* 太極 symbol (see \**Taiji tu*), and most importantly the door gods as supernatural guardians. In modern times, these gods are usually represented by the printed pictures, renewed each lunar New Year festival, of two fierce-looking warriors pasted on the main door.

Sacrifices to a door spirit are already recorded in the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites; trans. Legge 1885, 2: 207), and by the time of the Han dynasty we find frequent references to two door gods named Shen Shu 神荼 and Yu Lü 鬱壘, whose names and/or images were painted on peachwood tablets and attached to the door. In late medieval China, these two ancient deities began to be replaced by the effigies of various apotheosized military heroes, most importantly the Tang dynasty generals Qin Shubao 秦叔寶 (?–638) and Yuchi Gong 尉遲恭 (alias Hu Jingde 胡敬德, 585–658), who today still dominate the iconography of the door gods. Besides these “martial door gods” (*wu menshen* 武門神), there are several “civil door gods” (*wen menshen* 文門神), images of scholarly or otherwise auspicious figures that are usually pasted on interior doors of the household to attract blessings.

The door gods are part of popular religious practice and belief and do not play a significant role in Taoist ritual. However, Taoist temples and monasteries frequently provide their main entrances with other supernatural guardians, such as a green dragon (*qinglong* 青龍) and a white tiger (*baihu* 白虎).

*Philip CLART*

▣ Bodde 1975, 127–38; Fong 1989; Ma Shutian 1997, 235–47; Maspero 1981, 115–17

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

Miao Shanshi

苗善時

fl. 1288–1324; *zi*: Taisu 太素; *hao*: Shi'an 實庵 (Hermitage of

Verity), Jinlian daoshi 金蓮道士 (Taoist Master of the Golden Lotus), Xuanyi gaoshi 玄一高士 (Eminent Master of Mysterious Unity)

A native of Jinling 金陵 (near Nanjing, Jiangsu), Miao Shanshi was a master of the Southern Lineage (\*Nanzong) of \**neidan*. He was a disciple of \*Li Daochun, whose Retreat of Central Harmony (Zhonghe jingshi 中和靖室) in Jinling was a flourishing center of the Gate of Mystery (Xuanmen 玄門) movement. Its masters emphasized the study of the *Daode jing*, the \**Zhuangzi*, the \**Yijing*, and major Buddhist *sūtras*, along with the inner alchemical practice in \*Zhang Boduan's tradition and the observance of \*Quanzhen precepts. Miao seems to have enjoyed a high rank among Li's disciples, as he refers to himself as Prior (*zhitang* 知堂).

Besides the third chapter of the *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 清庵瑩蟾子語錄 (Recorded Sayings of [Li] Qing'an, Master of the Shining Toad; 1288; CT 1060), containing materials related to Li Daochun, three texts are attributed to Miao Shanshi. The first is the *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 (Chronicle of the Divine Transformations and Wondrous Powers of the Imperial Lord of Pure Yang; CT 305; Mori Yuria 1992a; trans. Ang 1993), dating from after 1310. This collection of 108 pious anecdotes depicts \*Lü Dongbin as a savior of the deserving and the needy. Most of the tales circulated widely during the Song period, but Miao adds moral and religious overtones to them. Two-thirds of the texts accompanying the murals in the hall dedicated to Lü in the \*Yongle gong (Palace of Eternal Joy) derive from this work.

The second text is the *Xuanjiao da gong'an* 玄教大公案 (Great Enigmatic Sayings of the Mysterious Teaching; 1324; CT 1065), consisting of sixty-four lectures—corresponding to the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing*—on passages of the *Daode jing*, the *Zhuangzi*, and the *Yijing*. Miao's adoption of Chan methods is especially notable here. The third text, the *Sanyuan miaoben fushou zhenjing* 三元妙本福壽真經 (Authentic Scripture on Happiness and Longevity and the Wondrous Origin of the Three Primes; CT 651), is a short liturgical work with a postface by Miao dated 1324.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

❏ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 67, 182–83; Chen Yuan 1988, 729–31; Mori Yuria

1992a

※ Li Daochun; *neidan*; Nanzong

*mijue*

密訣 (or: 祕訣)

Secret Instructions

In present-day Taoism, *mijue* is used as the generic term for the manuals of a practitioner, which contain the methods that are somehow considered most crucial, and that are therefore most restricted in their circulation. In the current forms of the classical \*Zhengyi liturgy, the term refers to the “secret manuals” that are possessed exclusively by the Taoist ritual master (\**daozhang*), and which contain instructions mostly concerning those inner, “esoteric” parts of ritual that are the domain of the high priest (*gaogong* 高功) alone. More than any other manuscript, the secret manual owned by such a priest represents the family heirloom that he will transmit in full only to his son, his successor. A classical Zhengyi priest copies his *mijue* at his ordination, and it typically has the format of a small square volume, which he may carry with him in his pocket during services.

The material included in the present-day *mijue* is derived mostly from the new, exorcistic traditions of the Song dynasty, such as the \*Tianxin zhengfa and \*Qingwei traditions, and in some cases it occurs in almost identical form in the early compilations of the methods of these traditions found in the *Daozang*. But while it seems possible that personal secret manuals used by practicing priests during the Song dynasty may have served as sources for these large-scale and systematic compilations, the precise category of text that corresponds to the form of *mijue* used in present-day classical Zhengyi Taoism is very scarcely represented in the Canon. A notable exception is chapter 31 of the \**Daofa huiyuan*, the fourteenth-century compendium of methods of “thunder magic” (see \**leifa*). It is the companion volume to the preceding chapter 30, which contains the text of a ritual of Announcement (*zougao* 奏告; see \**fabiao*) of the Qingwei tradition. Chapter 31 is entitled *Xuanshu yujue bizhi* 玄樞玉訣祕旨 (Jade Instructions and Secret Purport of the Mysterious Pivot), and gives descriptions of the methods of preparing the

holy water that accompany the ritual of Announcement, a method of making an inner journey to heaven in order to deliver a petition, and a variety of divination techniques.

The structure and contents of this text are quite similar to the *mijue* transmitted by the classical Zhengyi priests of southern Taiwan. Their manuals carry titles such as *Xuanke miaojue* 玄科妙訣, “Wondrous Instructions for the Mysterious Liturgy,” or *Bichuan yujue* 祕傳玉訣, “Secretly Transmitted Jade Instructions,” sometimes preceded by an attribution to the first Celestial Master, \*Zhang Daoling, and a phrase indicating that they originate from Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). The contents of the manuals pertain exclusively to the “pure liturgy” of \**jiao* ceremonies, not to the funerary liturgy, and they mainly focus on the “inner” aspects of the performance of the high priest, that is, on visualization practices and the incantations that are pronounced inwardly, or just inaudibly, by the high priest during the performance.

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Mitamura Keiko 1998; Saso 1978a

※ *jiao*; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

Min Yide

閔一得

1748–1836; original *ming*: Tiaofu 苕甫 *zi*: Buzhi 補之, Xiaogen 小艮; *hao*: Lanyun *zi* 懶雲子 (Master of the Lazy Clouds)

Min Yide, who came from a family of Wuxing 吳興 (Zhejiang), was the eleventh patriarch of the \*Longmen school and is also regarded as the founder of its Shanghai branch called Fangbian pai 方便派 (Branch of the Skillful Methods). In his childhood, as he was of a feeble constitution, his father, Min Genfu 閔艮甫, who was a Provincial Graduate (*juren* 舉人) in Henan, took him to the \*Tongbo guan (Abbey of the Paulownias and Cypresses) on Mount Tiantai (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang). Here the tenth Longmen patriarch, Gao Dongli 高東籬 (?–1768), healed him with the help of physiological techniques. As Gao was already at an advanced age, Min

studied with Shen Yibing 沈一炳 (1708–86), a disciple of Gao's who first taught Min the basic Longmen principles and then became his main master. As his father had wished, after his recovery Min completed his studies, and became a Department Vice Magistrate (*zhou sima* 州司馬) in Yunnan.

It was probably at that time that he met several Taoist masters linked to a Longmen Taoist-Tantric branch called Xizhu xinzong 西竺心宗 (Heart Lineage of Western India). The founding of this branch is ascribed to Jizu daoze 雞足道者 (Man of the Dao from Chicken Claw Mountain; fl. 1790), a legendary figure who played an important role in Min's spiritual development and was himself a recipient of the Longmen ordination. Min states that this master gave him the *Chishi tuoluoni jing* 持世陀羅尼經 (*Vasu[n]dhārā-dhāraṇ*; T. 1162), which is included in Min's *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書 (Collection of the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 184–86). Other biographies say that Min also received a meditation method related to \*Doumu (Mother of the Dipper) and compiled the *Dafan xiantian fanyi doufa* 大梵先天梵音斗法 (Dipper Method of the Precelestial Sanskrit Sounds of the Great Brahmā), a collection of mantras based on their Sanskrit pronunciation.

Min Yide thus was not only initiated into the Longmen school by his master Shen Yibing, but also allegedly received the teachings of its Xizhu xinzong branch from Jizu daoze. He then decided to withdraw to Mount Jingai (Jingai shan 金蓋山, Zhejiang), where he devoted himself to writing the history of the patriarchs and various branches of the Longmen school. The title of his ten-juan work, the *Jingai xindeng* 金蓋心燈 (Transmission of the Heart-Lamp from Mount Jingai), shows that Min paid special attention to the Longmen tradition based on that mountain. Meanwhile, he also gathered several Longmen texts on \**neidan* in his *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu*, a collection that later served as the basis for his \**Daozang xubian* (Sequel to the Taoist Canon; 1834).

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Esposito 1992; Esposito 1997, 80–84; Esposito 2001; Mori Yuria 1994; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 116–27

※ *Daozang xubian*; *neidan*; Longmen

*Minghe yuyin*

鳴鶴餘音

Echoes of Cranes' Songs

The *Minghe yuyin* is the most famous collection of Song-Jin and Yuan Taoist poetry, and an excellent example of how such poetry circulated within society at large. The anthology has a rather complex history. The celebrated Yuan scholar Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348) was invited to write poems in reply to a set of twenty *ci* 詞 (lyrics) written by a Taoist master named Feng 馮, and made famous by a courtesan who sang them to large audiences. Yu wrote his own twelve poems to the same melody, and both sets appear under the title *Minghe yuyin*, together with a preface explaining their origin, in Yu Ji's anthology. In 1347, a southern \*Quanzhen Taoist, Peng Zhizhong 彭致中, collected these and many other Taoist poems of various origins and edited a much larger anthology under the same title. The master Feng whose lyrical work initiated the whole undertaking was actually also a Quanzhen master, only known by his *zi*, Changquan 長筌. His collected works, *Dongyuan ji* 洞淵集 (Anthology of the Cavernous Abyss; CT 1064), include the poems that inspired Yu Ji along with many others.

Although Yu Ji was mainly affiliated with the \*Zhengyi order, he appears to have willingly associated his name with an editorial venture that popularized Quanzhen poetry in the south. This was a favorite method of propagation for Quanzhen Taoism; anthologies of poetry and collected sayings were circulated in areas where the tradition was not well established. The *Minghe yuyin*, however, is not a sectarian book, as it includes—on varying extents—all major trends of mystical Taoist poetry of this period, \**neidan* being by far the main element. Of the 508 texts, largely consisting of *ci* along with a few *shi* 詩 (regulated poems) and prose texts, 248 are by Quanzhen masters (most notably \*Qiu Chuji, \*Ma Yu, Feng Changquan and \*Song Defang). \*Lü Dongbin alone has 114 works included in the collection, and his immortal companions have eighteen. Eminent Song Taoists have thirty-three (with sixteen for \*Bai Yuchan), Yu Ji has twelve, and the remaining eighty-three are either by late Yuan Taoists or by unidentified authors. Many poems are known from other anthologies, but quite a few are unique, like Song Defang's sixty-three *ci*.

Despite its large number of sources, the *Minghe yuyin* has a kind of

cohesiveness. Poems are usually lyrical, extol the bliss of immortality, and urge readers or listeners to strive for aloofness from this world. Many are in the *daoqing* 道情 style (Ono Shihei 1964), and most must have been a popular corpus of songs to be used during festivals at temples and in theatrical productions. Therefore, it is quite logical that the more speculative trend of \*Nanzong poetry is not much represented. On the other hand, a major characteristic of *neidan* poetry, direct revelation by an immortal through spirit writing (see \**fujī*), is evident in these works.

An early Ming edition of the *Minghe yuyin*, alternatively titled *Quanzhen zongyan fangwai xuanyan* 全真宗眼方外玄言 (Mysterious Words of the Spiritual World from the Ancestral Eye of the Quanzhen), is kept at the National Library in Taiwan. Although this version is shorter than the standard *Daozang* edition (CT 1100), it also includes otherwise unknown texts on communal Taoist practice, especially the \**zuobo*, and therefore shows an even stronger Quanzhen influence.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 188–90

※ Quanzhen

*mingmen*

命門

Gate of the Vital Force

In the Chinese medical literature, the term *mingmen* (also rendered as Gate of Life) denotes the right kidney in its function of procreation. The *mingmen* is therefore related to the Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*) or Yang Pneuma (*yangqi* 陽氣), also called Real Fire (*zhenhuo* 真火). The same term also refers to an acupoint located along the Control Channel between the second and third lumbar vertebrae (see \**dumai* and *renmai*).

\**Neidan* texts often designate *mingmen* as a synonym for the lower Cinnabar Field (\**dantian*). Although the *mingmen* can be physically located in the umbilical region or be related to the kidneys, spleen, nose, and so on, it



shares the ambivalent meaning of other key alchemical terms. In fact, the *mingmen* is the center beyond all spatial and temporal categories. It has no shape, but all polarities can be resumed in it and all transformations can take place within it. As the point where breath ascends and descends, and where thought can be perceived in its perpetual fluctuations between movement and quiescence (*\*dong* and *jing*), it is a symbol of the “mechanism of Life and Death” (*shengsi zhi ji* 生死之機).

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Robinet 1993, 79–80

※ TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

*mingtang*

明堂

Hall of Light; Bright Hall

In ancient China, the Hall of Light or Bright Hall was a sacred building used for imperial ceremonies (Major 1993, 221–24). Its round roof and square foundation symbolized Heaven and Earth, respectively. The inner space was divided into five or nine sections or rooms, which represented the spatial structure of the world according to the *\*wuxing* and the “magic square” based on the number 9, respectively (see the entries *\*Taiyi* and *\*Hetu* and *Luoshu*). The Hall of Light was also the house of the calendar, where emperors ritually inaugurated the seasons. Emperors supported and secured the cosmic order of space and time by pacing the hall in a circle.

In Taoism, however, *mingtang* indicates a space within the human body that is important in longevity and transmutation practices. Although the location of the Hall of Light varies according to different texts, most Taoist traditions understand *mingtang* as an area situated within the head. In this view, the center of the brain contains several chambers or palaces; they are usually nine, resembling the structure of cosmic space. The three main palaces are called Hall of Light, Muddy Pellet (*\*niwan*), and Cavern Chamber (*dongfang* 洞房). Names and descriptions of the other palaces vary. (On these palaces see the entry *\*dantian*.)

The Hall of Light is already mentioned in \*Ge Hong's (283–343) \**Baopu zi* (j. 18), where it is situated one inch behind the area between the eyebrows and is one of the loci in the body where the One (\**yi*; see under \**Taiyi*) manifests itself. The topology of the nine palaces is developed in the \**Suling jing* and the \**Ciyi jing*, two of the main \**Shangqing* scriptures. Other *Shangqing* texts give different descriptions of the brain, but they all consider the Hall of Light to be one of its main palaces. Many later Taoist traditions adopted this notion, and the *mingtang* also appears in charts of the human body (in particular, the \**Neijing tu* and *Xiuzhen tu*).

The Hall of Light and other palaces are dwelling places for the gods within the body. According to the *Suling jing*, the gods residing in the Hall of Light look like newborn infants. They exhale a red fire that quenches the adept's thirst and illuminates his way when he travels at night. The gods' task is to protect adepts from harmful influences and demons. During meditation, adepts absorb the red breath of the gods, which helps them to purify their bodies.

*Martina DARGA*

▣ Despeux 1994, 71, 79; Granet 1934, 102–3, 178–82; Maspero 1951; Maspero 1981, 455–59 and passim; Robinet 1984, 1: 125–26; Robinet 1993, 127–31; Wang Shiren 1987

※ *dantian*; *niwan*; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

Mo Qiyān

莫起炎

1226–94; *hao*: Yueding zhenren 月鼎真人  
(Perfected of the Moon Tripod)

Hagiographies relate that this native of Huzhou 湖州 (Zhejiang) failed to pass the civil service exams three times before he abandon this route to pursue success as a dedicated Taoist priest. One of the most important \**Shenxiao* (Divine Empyrean) adepts, Mo learned the Thunder Rites (\**leifa*) and received associated writings from divine beings. When he established his ritual practice in Zhejiang during the 1250s, he saw his tradition as rooted in

the great Shenxiao systematizer, \*Wang Wenqing (1093–1153). Mo regarded the most powerful part of his ritual repertoire to have been the Thunderclap Rites (*leiting* 雷霆; see \**leifa*), which he believed had emerged, in part, as a reaction to the Taoist ritual forms that relied too heavily on the use of talismans (\*FU). Mo later built up his clientele in the Nanfeng 南豐 area of Jiangxi and became the source of \*Wang Weiyi's (fl. 1264–1304) teachings. The \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual, *j.* 77 and *j.* 95) also contains some short texts with Mo's name that are worthy of further study.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 188–90; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 346

※ *leifa*; Shenxiao

*muyu*

沐浴

Bathing; ablutions

### 1. Ritual

In Taoist ritual, “bathing” is the name of one of the rites performed as part of the Yellow Register Retreat (\**huanglu zhai*) and the ritual of Merit (\**gongde*) for the salvation of the deceased, during which the spirit of the deceased is summoned and bathed in a ceremony of purification. According to the \**Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* (Standard Liturgies of the Supreme Great Yellow Register Retreat; 1.7a–12a), the night before the Orthodox Offering (\**zhengjiao*), the spirit of the deceased is summoned, bathed, taken in audience before the gods, and fed (id., *j.* 26). On the night of the second day, i.e., the day of the Orthodox Offering, a bathing rite is held for orphan spirits (id., *j.* 29).

In the ritual of Merit performed in present-day Taiwan, Bathing generally follows the rite of the Destruction of Hell (\**poyu*). After the deceased has been released from the underworld, he is bathed, purified, and given a change of clothing. A low chair is placed in one corner of the Spirit Hall (*lingtang* 靈堂), where the deceased is enshrined, and a basin filled with water is placed

on it. Surrounded by a screen, this is considered to be the ritual bath. A towel is placed in the basin, and miniature clothes for the spirit to change into are also prepared. The priest, standing to one side, calls the spirit by waving the Banner for Summoning the Celestial Soul (*zhaohun fan* 召魂幡; see \*[kaitong minglu](#)) and conducts the deceased to the bath. When this is done, he burns the miniature clothes and silver paper, signifying that the deceased has been given new clothing.

*ASANO Haruji*

▣ Lagerwey 1981b, 174–75; Lagerwey 1987c, 183–84; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 537–40

※ *gongde; huanglu zhai*

## 2. *Neidan*

In \**neidan*, the so-called ablutions are a stage of fire phasing (\**huohou*). As their name suggests, they represent a time of purification or decontamination in which Fire and Water neither rise nor descend. \**Qi* (pneuma) takes twice this time of rest for each cycle of refining: first during its advancement or expansion along the Control Channel, when it reaches the cyclical character *mao* 卯 (the autumn equinox), i.e., the moment of balance between Yang and Yin before Yang becomes more powerful; and then during its retraction or contraction along the Function Channel, when it reaches the cyclical character *you* 酉 (spring equinox), i.e., the moment of equality between Yin and Yang before Yin becomes more powerful. (On these two channels, see the entry \**dumai* and *renmai*.) With reference to the two cyclical characters, the ablutions are often simply called *maoyou* 卯酉

As the ablutions allow one temporarily to reside at the core of vacuity, they are indispensable “intermediary moments” in fire phasing. Their role is to prevent an adept from becoming attached to external features in the practice of activity (Yang) or inactivity (Yin). Thanks to these pauses, one can both retain and transcend Yin-Yang dualism during the cycles of purification that mark the alchemical transformation. These pauses, therefore, play the role of the Center-Heart of the alchemical Work; they are an ideal space within which one can reiterate and make visible the union of Yin and Yang in order to harvest the fruit that is progressively refined through the

practice.

*Monica ESPOSITO*

▣ Esposito 1997, 46–50; Robinet 1989a, 314–21; Robinet 1995a, 232–33

※ *dumai* and *renmai*; *huohou*; *neidan*

## 南嶽

### Southern Peak

As the name Nanyue indicates, this mountain is the southernmost of the Five Peaks, or Five Marchmounts (\*wuyue). Nanyue thus was initially an important site within the imperial cult as a destination on the emperor's ritual progress around the imperium. In occupying the southern position, this mountain has been filled with all the symbolic associations afforded by the \*wuxing system of correspondences (red, fire, and so forth). From the fourth and fifth centuries onward, however, Nanyue has been a mountain steeped in both Taoist and Buddhist religious history. While Taoism was officially instituted at the southern peak as part of Tang Xuanzong's (r. 712–56) decree in 726, which stated that the Five Peaks were henceforth to be understood to be under the control of the deities of the \*Shangqing Taoist pantheon and that Taoist monasteries were to be built at each of the Five Peaks, Mount Nanyue's Taoist history is much older.

In many sources, Mount Nanyue's connection to Taoism gets mapped back into remote antiquity. Mythical connections were established, for example, in the \*Nanyue xiaolu (Short Record of the Southern Peak) between \*Chisong zi and Nanyue. The \*Yunji qiqian often refers to both as a figure named Nanyue Chisong zi 南嶽赤松子 (e.g., 9.2b and 74.18b). It is unclear when Chisong zi was definitively associated with Nanyue, but the connection is already found in \*Tao Hongjing's (456–536) \*Zhengao (14.19a). In later centuries, Nanyue's landscape was literally filled with Taoist toponyms: Immortal Peak (Xianfeng 仙峰), Immortal Gathering Peak (Huixian feng 會仙峰), Numinous Mushroom Peak (Lingzhi feng 靈芝峰), Cavern of the Nine Perfected (Jiuzhen dong 九真洞), and Flying Talisman Peak (Feifu feng 飛符峰). Places on the mountain were also included in the expanding network of Taoist sacred sites, as Nanyue was considered to be the home of one Grotto-Heaven and four Blissful Lands (\*dongtian and fudi; see \*Du Guangting's *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記, CT 599). Significant Taoist abbeys were constructed at Mount Nanyue, and in 738 a Taoist on the mountain was entrusted with the rite of Casting Dragon Tablets (\*tou longjian; see the Tang-dynasty inscription “Nanyue toulong gaowen” 南嶽投龍告文 in Chen Yuan 1988, 122, and Chavannes 1919, 56–

57). Through the Tang and Song dynasties, Nanyue remained an important site for Taoists, and was associated with a group of nine Taoists who were said to have ascended as transcendents from sites on the mountain (see list under entry for *\*Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan*). Mount Nanyue was also the location of a female Taoist cult dedicated to the memory of *\*Wei Huacun* (Despeux 1990, 56–60), and received much imperial patronage during the reign of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125). In recent years there have been projects to restore Taoist abbeys (*guan* 觀) and Buddhist monasteries (*si* 寺) on Mount Nanyue.

The Southern Peak is now generally understood to refer to Mount Heng, in present-day Hunan province, but this has not always been the case. Throughout history there has been much confusion about the different sites associated with the designation “Nanyue.” In addition to Mount Heng (Hunan), other sites that Taoists have considered to be the location of the Southern Peak include: Mount Tianzhu (Tianzhu shan 天柱山, Anhui; see *\*Hengshan* 衡山 and *\*Huoshan*), Mount Tiantai (*\*Tiantai shan*, Zhejiang; see *\*Huoshan*), and Da Huoshan 大霍山 (Fujian; see *\*Huoshan*). During the reign of Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) the designation “Southern Peak” was shifted from Mount Heng (*\*Hengshan* 衡山, Hunan) to Mount Tianzhu (also called Huoshan, Anhui), where rituals directed to the Southern Peak were performed. During the reign of Sui Yangdi (r. 604–17), Mount Heng was restored as the Southern Peak.

The main textual source for Mount Nanyue is the thorough monograph on the site titled *\*Nanyue zongsheng ji* (Anthology of Highlights of the Southern Peak), which is found in both the Taoist Canon (CT 606) and the Buddhist Canon (T. 2097). Other significant Taoist sources include the *Nanyue xiaolu* and the *\*Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* (Biographies of the Nine Perfected of the Southern Peak; CT 452).

James ROBSON

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 109–10; Robson 1995; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 411–13

※ Hengshan [Hunan]; Huoshan; *wuyue*; *Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan*; *Nanyue xiaolu*; *Nanyue zongsheng ji*; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan*

南嶽九真人傳

Biographies of the Nine Perfected of the Southern Peak

This undated text (CT 452) is attributed to Liao Shen 廖僦 (mid-eleventh century). Based on internal evidence, it appears that Liao compiled his work during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). In his preface, he mentions that the contemporary Military Affairs Commissioner (*shumi shi* 樞密使) was Sun Mian 孫沔, who historical records indicate obtained the *jinshi* degree during the Tianxi reign period (1017–21) of the Song emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). Since the *Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* is listed in Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 (1104–62) *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Monographs; van der Loon 1984, 121), it must have been in circulation prior to 1162.

The *Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* contains a collection of biographies that detail the practices that led to the attainment of transcendence by nine eminent Taoists associated with Mount \*Nanyue (\*Hengshan 衡山, Hunan) during the Six Dynasties. The Nine Perfected of Nanyue include: Chen Xingming 陳興明 (?–265), Shi Cun 施存 (?–300), Yin Daoquan 尹道全 (?–315), Xu Lingqi 徐靈期 (?–473 or 474), Chen Huidu 陳慧度 (?–484), Zhang Tanyao 張曇要 (?–494), Zhang Shizhen 張始珍 (?–504), Wang Lingyu 王靈輿 (?–512), and Deng Yuzhi 鄧郁之 (fl. 483–493). These are the same names that were already listed in the Tang dynasty (902) *\*Nanyue xiaolu* (Short Record of the Southern Peak) as having ascended as Perfected from the Southern Peak. Some of the practices connected with these figures are associated with the \*Shangqing tradition (Ren Jiyu 1990, 183 and Robinet 1984, 1: 224), and one of them, Xu Lingqi, is mentioned in relation to the dissemination of the \*Lingbao scriptures (Bokenkamp 1983, 441). The *Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* stresses that the Southern Peak was a particularly efficacious site for undertaking religious practices necessary to ascend as a transcendent.

James ROBSON

※ Nanyue



*Nanyue xiaolu*

南嶽小錄

Short Record of the Southern Peak

The *Nanyue xiaolu* (CT 453) is a Tang-dynasty record of the sacred sites and Taoist figures at Mount \*Nanyue (\*Hengshan 衡山, Hunan). Its preface, dated 902, indicates that it was written by a Taoist practitioner at Mount Nanyue named Li Chongzhao 李冲昭 (ninth century; also known as Li Zhongzhao 李仲昭). After the Huang Chao 黃巢 rebellion (874–84), writings concerning Nanyue were becoming dispersed, so Li collected as much information as he could about the site from inscriptions and other scattered documents and recorded them in the *Nanyue xiaolu*.

Following the preface is a section that consists of a narrative of the main highlights of Mount Nanyue. Citing references in the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou), and other classical sources, the author emphasizes that Mount Nanyue's status was on par with that of an imperial office holder and that it is a formidable guardian of the South. The text also emphasizes that Mount Nanyue is a sacred realm replete with numinous \*qi and with a Grotto-Heaven and Blissful Lands (\*dongtian and fudi), and that it is an efficacious place to live and practice in order to ascend as a transcendent. The middle portion of the text comprises several sections divided into short detailed entries on each of the five main peaks (*wufeng* 五峰), three streams (*sanjian* 三澗), abbeys, palaces, pavilions, platforms, cloisters, altars, and an entry on the Zhuling 朱陵 Grotto-Heaven. The final section consists of two lists. The first is a list of the “Nine Perfected of the previous generation” (*qiandai jiu zhenren* 前代九真人), whose names agree with those in the \**Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* (Biographies of the Nine Perfected of the Southern Peak), and the dates and locations on the mountain that they ascended as Perfected. The second is a list of fourteen Taoists at Mount Nanyue who “attained the Dao during the Tang dynasty.” Some of the material in the *Nanyue xiaolu* was later incorporated into subsequent monographs on Mount Nanyue, such as the \**Nanyue zongsheng ji* (Anthology of Highlights of the Southern Peak). In addition to valuable detailed information on specific Taoist sites at Mount Nanyue, the *Nanyue xiaolu* also contains information on the veneration of \*Wei Huacun on the mountain (Schafer 1979, 33).

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 110

※ Nanyue

*Nanyue zongsheng ji*

南嶽總勝集

Anthology of Highlights of the Southern Peak

The *Nanyue zongsheng ji* is an extensive record of Mount \*Nanyue (\*Hengshan 衡山, Hunan) that was compiled by the Song dynasty writer Chen Tianfu 陳田夫 (twelfth century), who wrote a preface to the text dated 1163. Internal evidence indicates, however, that the text was later emended (Boltz J. M. 1987a, 110).

Texts with the title *Nanyue zongsheng ji* are included in both the Taoist and Buddhist canons. The “long” version of the text that is contained in the Taishō canon (T. 2097) is divided into three *juan*. The first contains Chen's “Preface,” a brief note on the sources consulted in his compilation, and a short history of the mountain, followed by entries on the main peaks, the locations of the Grotto-Heavens and Blissful Lands (\**dongtian* and *fudi*), lists of geographical features (rivers, creeks, springs, and cliffs), cultural relics (altars and *stūpas*), and textual references to Nanyue found in other historical materials (many of which are no longer extant). The second *juan* contains passages on Taoist abbeys (*guan* 觀), cloisters (*yuan* 院), and palaces (*gong* 宮), and on Buddhist monasteries (*si* 寺). There are entries for fourteen abbeys, five cloisters, seven palaces and sixty-three monasteries. This *juan* also contains a short section on botanical information (lists of trees, plants, flowers, herbs, and pharmacological information). The final *juan* contains biographical entries on approximately forty-five eminent Nanyue hermits, including Taoists, Buddhists, and popular local figures.

The “short” version of the *Nanyue zongsheng ji* contained in the *Daozang* (CT 606) is an abridgment of the Taishō edition. The *Daozang* text merely contains twenty-eight entries on Taoist abbeys, courts, and palaces, and all of the Buddhist material has been edited out.

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 109–10; Robinet 1984, 1: 199, 224, and 233; Robson 1995, 226–27

※ Nanyue

## Nanzong

### 南宗

#### Southern Lineage

The division of the *\*neidan* tradition into formal lineages began in the late twelfth century. In the north, then under the Jurchen Jin dynasty, *\*Wang Zhe* (1113–70) and his disciples formed the *\*Quanzhen* order, which emphasized monastic discipline, ascetic practices, and celibacy, and also incorporated some *neidan* practices. The formation of a southern lineage, subsequently known as Nanzong, took place almost a century later. Its putative founder, *\*Zhang Boduan* (987?–1082), is attributed with the main scripture of the lineage, the *\*Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection). Zhang reportedly attained enlightenment after he received teachings from a Perfected in Chengdu (Sichuan), identified by the twelfth century as *\*Liu Haichan*. Thus Zhang's teachings were directly linked to Liu's masters, *\*Zhongli Quan* and *\*Lü Dongbin*. This triad is also the source of the Quanzhen teachings.

The main representatives of Nanzong after Zhang Boduan are related to each other through master-disciple transmission of texts and oral teachings. They are *\*Shi Tai* (?–1158), *\*Xue Daoguang* (1078?–1191), and *\*Chen Nan* (?–1213). Only toward the end of the Song and the beginning of the Yuan dynasty did *\*Bai Yuchan* (1194–1229?, a disciple of Chen Nan) and his followers first give Nanzong the semblance of an organized school. Bai and his disciple, *\*Peng Si* (fl. 1217–51), founded retreats in renowned religious centers and acquired a large number of disciples. Some scholars, indeed, suggest that Bai—an ordained Taoist who combined Zhang Boduan's teachings with the Thunder Rites (*\*leifa*)—is the actual founder of Nanzong.

*The identity of Nanzong.* The date at which the term Nanzong was first used

is unclear. The designation Five Patriarchs of the Southern Lineage (*nanzong wuzu* 南宗五祖) apparently was inspired by the legacy of the Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖) and the Seven Perfected (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)) of Quanzhen. Significantly, when the Yuan rulers bestowed honors on members of the Quanzhen, \*Taiyi, \*Zhengyi, and other orders in 1269, no representative of Nanzong was included: the Five Patriarchs of Quanzhen were given the title of Perfected Lords (*zhenjun* 真君), while \*Qiu Chuji and others received the title of Perfected (\**zhenren*). On the other hand, a thirteenth-century work compiled by disciples of Bai Yuchan formulates a similar classification, which possibly was a pious invention of Bai himself (Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 155). It lists three Perfected Lords, namely, Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, and Liu Haichan, and five Perfected: Zhang Boduan, Shi Tai, Xue Daoguang, Chen Nan, and Bai Yuchan (*Haiqiong chuandao ji* 海瓊傳道集; CT 1309, preface, 1b). As the latter list does not mention the Quanzhen patriarchs, the Nanzong masters at that time apparently accepted a common origin with Quanzhen but considered themselves different from the latter school. Later, however, a second-generation disciple of Bai Yuchan, \*Li Daochun (fl. 1288–92), gave Nanzong and Quanzhen the same status by stating that they had a common source and belonged to the same family. Around 1330, \*Chen Zhixu (1290–after 1335) completed the integration process by subordinating the Five Patriarchs of Nanzong to the Five Patriarchs and the Seven Perfected of Quanzhen. Thus Nanzong disappeared as an independent movement and was subsequently referred to as a part of Quanzhen.

As a whole, the references to a Northern and Southern Lineage (Beizong 北宗) appear to reflect an arbitrary distinction within Quanzhen created in imitation of the similar division within Chan Buddhism. In fact, although Nanzong and Quanzhen are frequently mentioned together, the Nanzong masters were actually linked to or assimilated by other orders as well. For instance, Bai Yuchan himself, with his Thunder Rites, was associated with both the \*Shenxiao and Zhengyi traditions.

*Lines of transmission.* The disappearance of Nanzong as a separate entity did not lessen the influence of its doctrinal and textual tradition. Two main branches developed from the original lineage. The first is the Pure Cultivation (Qingxiu 清修) branch, which takes Zhang Boduan, Shi Tai, and Xue Daoguang as its earliest representatives. The form of cultivation employed by

this branch entailed individual practices to join the complementary principles within the human being and transmute them into the inner elixir. The final goal was to become a “celestial immortal” (*tianxian* 天仙) and transcend all realms of existence. With Chen Nan, Xue Daoguang's disciple, the situation changed: Chen is known to have combined the *neidan* tradition with the Thunder Rites and with healing procedures. His disciple, Bai Yuchan, carried on his teachings.

The second line of transmission within Nanzong is the so-called Joint Cultivation (Shuangxiu 雙修) or Yin-Yang 陰陽 branch, represented by Zhang Boduan, Liu Yongnian 劉永年 (fl. 1138–68), and \*Weng Baoguang (fl. 1173). This line is linked to a Tantric interpretation of the *Wuzhen pian*, especially the practice of the joint cultivation (\**shuangxiu*) of inner nature and vital force (\**xing* and *ming*), Yin and Yang, or male and female. While the goal is the same as that of the Pure Cultivation branch, the initial stage of the practice—the union of Yin and Yang—requires a partner. Although for Zhang Boduan “joint cultivation” originally meant the joint practice of Buddhism (*xing*) and Taoism (*ming*), later commentators of the *Wuzhen pian* interpreted this notion in diverse ways.

The influence of Nanzong can also be seen in the writings of such later masters of *neidan* as \*Li Xiyue (1806–56), founder of the Western Branch (Xipai 西派); \*Lu Xixing (1520–1601 or 1606), founder of the Eastern Branch (Dongpai 東派); \*Liu Yiming (1734–1821), of the \*Longmen (Gate of the Dragon) school; \*Wu Shouyang (1574–1644) and \*Liu Huayang (1735–99), founders of the \*Wu-Liu school; and \*Zhao Bichen (1860-after 1933), who also belonged to the Wu-Liu school.

*Practices.* The Nanzong doctrines can be summed up in the phrase *xianming houxing* 先命後性 (“first the vital force, then the inner nature”). Emphasis lies first on the practice of increasing the vital force through methods of self-cultivation, and then on meditation to achieve enlightenment. This is the same system found in the \*Zhong-Lü texts, which the *neidan* practices of Nanzong follow to some extent, although their sequence differs according to individual branches and masters. On the other hand, Quanzhen begins with meditation and claims that the life-force will be reinforced naturally. These theoretical distinctions, however, are not always followed by individual masters or schools.

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 173–86; Chen Bing 1985; Chen Guofu 1963, 439–44; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: 143–80 and 365–84; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 155–57; Ren Jiyu 1990, 504–11; Robinet 1997b, 224–25

※ *neidan*; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.3 (“Alchemy: Nanzong and Later Related Authors and Texts”)

*neidan*

內丹

inner elixir; inner alchemy

The form of doctrine and practice conventionally known as *neidan* involves a synthesis of theories derived from the cosmological trends of *\*waidan* (external alchemy), metaphysical speculations expressed through the emblems of the *\*Yijing* and other cosmological patterns, and techniques originally belonging to *\*yangsheng* (Nourishing Life) traditions such as *\*meditation*, breathing (*\*xingqi*), gymnastics (*\*daoyin*), and sexual hygiene (*\*fangzhong shu*). The aim of *neidan* is described as achieving immortality or a state of union with the Dao; this is variously imagined as attaining the rank of a celestial immortal (*tianxian* 天仙), becoming a “celestial official” (*tianguan* 天官) in the otherworldly bureaucracy, joining one's spirit with the Dao (*yu shen he dao* 與神合道), or obtaining “release from the corpse” (*\*shijie*). In all these instances, a *neidan* master is thought not to die, but to undergo a voluntary metamorphosis.

As a general term, *neidan*—usually called in the sources *jindan dao* 金丹道 or Way of the Golden Elixir—is considered to be complementary to *waidan*. However, while *waidan* traditions are attested in China since at least the second century BCE, *neidan* as we know it today is a relatively late development. Some techniques used in *neidan* go back to preimperial times, but its heyday seems to be linked with that of the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* and its interpretations during the Tang and the Song dynasties. The increase in popularity of *neidan* largely coincided with the decline of *waidan*.

*Schools and texts.* The term *neidan* is often believed to have first occurred in

the biographies of Deng Yuzhi 鄧郁之 (fl. 483–493) and \*Su Yuanming (fl. ca. 600). It is also found in the vow pronounced in 559 by the Tiantai Buddhist master Huisi 慧思 (515–77). The authenticity of the relevant passages is doubtful, however (Baldrian-Hussein 1989–90, 164–71). The term was seldom used throughout the late Tang and Five Dynasties period, which nevertheless saw the appearance of several individual *neidan* writings in prose, such as those by \*Liu Zhigu (before 663–after 756), Tao Zhi 陶埴 (?–825), and \*Peng Xiao (?–955), and the formation of the two earliest known bodies of *neidan* teachings and texts, those of the \*Zhenyuan and \*Zhong-Lü schools.

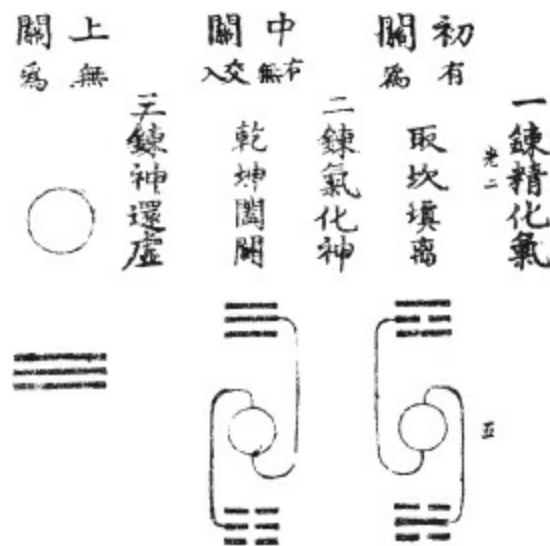


Fig. 59. The *neidan* process represented by trigrams of the *Book of Changes* (\**Yijing*). Right to left: Exchanging the inner lines of *li* 離 ☲ and *kan* 坎 ☵; joining *qian* 乾 ☰ and *kun* 坤 ☷ restoring Oneness, represented by *qian* 乾 ☰. The accompanying text relates these three diagrams to the three stages of the alchemical process: “refining essence into pneuma,” “refining pneuma into spirit,” and “refining spirit and reverting to Emptiness.” \**Zhonghe ji* (Anthology of Central

Harmony; CT 249), 2.6a-b.

Use of the term *neidan* became widespread only toward the beginning of the Song period, when *neidan* evolved into a highly complex system in both its theoretical and practical aspects. Traditional Chinese ideas on the interdependence of macrocosm and microcosm, as well as medical theories based on the \**Huangdi neijing* (Inner Scripture of the Yellow Emperor), were

incorporated in various forms and with different emphases to form new systems of theory and practice. The notions of Yin and Yang, \**wuxing*, essence, pneuma, and spirit (\**jing*, *qi*, *shen*) were at the basis of the alchemical discourse, together with the use of the *Yijing* trigrams and hexagrams and with speculations concerning the \**Taiji tu* (Diagram of the Great Ultimate). Buddhist (especially Chan) and Confucian doctrines were also often integrated within the system. *Neidan* adepts could thus claim to represent the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) since their systems borrowed from a wide gamut of Chinese conceptions.

This new doctrinal background was paralleled by a change in the form of teaching. Originally, the *neidan* adepts did not belong to any particular group of Taoists; they were mostly individuals who practiced the art with the help of a master or followed the instructions of certain texts. With the establishment of the \**Quanzhen* order, this individual tradition changed. New groups and schools emerged all over China—especially the \**Nanzong* lineage—offering new interpretations of the most important texts.

While the Tang *neidan* writings were mostly *lun* 論 (discourses or discussions on a topic), Song authors often preferred to present their material as dialogues between master and disciple or in the form of \**yulu* (recorded sayings). Charts (*tu* 圖) illustrating the macrocosmic/microcosmic processes were also widely used during this period. Another form often employed by *neidan* authors, especially during the Northern Song dynasty, was poetry, the best-known examples of which are the \**Ruyao jing*, the \**Qinyuan chun*, and \**Zhang Boduan's* (987?–1082) \**Wuzhen pian*.

During the Ming-Qing period, five main *neidan* schools existed:

1. Northern Lineage (Beizong 北宗) or Quanzhen (Complete Perfection), founded by \**Wang Zhe* (1113–70)
2. Southern Lineage (\**Nanzong* 南宗), which follows in the footsteps of Zhang Boduan
3. Central Branch (Zhongpai 中派), whose main proponent was \**Li Daochun* (fl. 1288–92)
4. Western Branch (Xipai 西派), founded by \**Li Xiyue* (1806–56)
5. Eastern Branch (Dongpai 東派), founded by \**Lu Xixing* (1520–1601 or 1606)

Several other schools, however, also emerged during the Ming and Qing



dynasties, such as the \*Wu-Liu and \*Longmen schools.

*Doctrines and practices.* The *neidan* literature uses a metaphorical language addressed to readers on different planes. The texts go into great detail in describing the alchemical process, its ingredients—for instance, red cinnabar and black lead, or lead and mercury, or Dragon and Tiger (\**longhu*)—and their hierogamies and phases of transmutation; they establish correspondences between the organs and their functions in the human body, the eight trigrams (\**bagua*), the *wuxing*, and so forth, in various categorical groups (see [fig. 10](#)).

The notion that every human being is at a certain level in the search of enlightenment is expressed by the concept of *yinyuan* 因緣 (causality). \*Wu Shouyang writes that the simple fact that one even hears of his text is because one was predestined to encounter it, whereas Zhang Boduan claims that, upon reading his work, anyone at the right level will be immediately enlightened. The preface to the \**Lingbao bifa* (Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure) states that the Dao cannot be expressed in words, and then proceeds to elaborate a whole system of alchemical methods in three levels to be put into practice. At the end of the book, however, a commentator states that the true teaching is not expressed at all in the written word.

Most texts explain the alchemical practice in three levels, sometimes called Three Accomplishments (*sancheng* 三成) or Three Vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘). All agree that the ultimate objective is returning or reverting (\**fan*, *huan* 還) to the Dao and to the Origin. This objective can only be achieved in a state of perfection. Procedures are only needed to help adepts to overcome their own particular deficiencies; as a Zhong-Lü text explains, they are like nets used for fishing that one discards after the fish has been caught.

The basic methods employed in *neidan* do not vary much among the different schools: most authors follow the division into three stages, which in turn correspond to the transformation of the three basic endowments that constitute a human being, namely, essence (*lianjing huaqi* 鍊精化氣, “refining essence into pneuma”), pneuma (*lianqi huashen* 鍊氣化神, “refining pneuma into spirit”) and spirit (*lianshen huanxu* 鍊神還虛, “refining spirit and reverting to Emptiness”). The successful practice results in the formation of the inner elixir (*neidan*), or Embryo of Sainthood (\**shengtai*), and the realization of the Dao. This is described as a “reversion to the origin” (*huanyuan* 還元) by which adepts transcend all modes of space

and time. The ultimate transfiguration occurs when the adept discards his human body.

In more detail, the process can be described as consisting of the following steps: 1. installation of the metaphoric inner “laboratory” (“laying the foundations,” *zhuji* 築基); 2. union of Yin and Yang; 3. gathering of the ingredients for the alchemical medicine (*caiyao* 採藥); 4. nourishment of the Embryo of Sainthood through fire phasing (*\*huohou*); and 5. birth of the new self. This process involves first a cosmic homology that includes various psycho-physiological techniques to homologize the adept with cosmic rhythms and cycles, and to generate a new cosmos out of Chaos. This is followed by an inversion and regression that is expressed as “reversing” (*diandao* 顛倒) the cyclical order or “going against the current” (*niliu* 逆流). This stage is marked by a total withdrawal toward one's center, whereby one reverses the process of decline and gradually reverts back to the Dao. The process is concluded by the dissolution of the cosmos and its reintegration into the Dao and the state of non-differentiation.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1989–90; Despeux 1994; Esposito 1997; Katō Chie 2002; Little 2000b, 337–55; Needham 1983; Pregadio 1996; Pregadio 2006a; Pregadio and Skar 2000; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 330–36; Robinet 1989a; Robinet 1989–90; Robinet 1991; Robinet 1992; Robinet 1995a; Robinet 1997b, 212–56; Sakade Yoshinobu 1988b; Seidel 1989–90, 264–65

※ *jindan*; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.3 (“Alchemy”)

*neiguan*

內觀

inner observation; inner contemplation; inner vision

*Neiguan* is a practice of turning one's eyes inward and seeing the interior state of one's body and mind. The term can indicate seeing colors in the inner organs, visualization of deities, observation of the movements of vital energy, detached analysis of mental activities, and the development of a non-

judgmental attitude toward all things. It becomes central in Taoist literature in the Tang dynasty, when it is connected with the Buddhist concept of insight, also expressed with the word *guan* 觀 and indicating the development of wisdom along the lines of the Buddhist teaching, i.e., impermanence, no-self, and suffering.

Unlike Buddhists, however, Taoists continue to emphasize the presence of gods within the body and the importance of physical energy in the practice of *neiguan*. They see the more concrete forms of inner vision as leading gradually to the appreciation of subtler forces and eventually opening up the “observation of emptiness” (*kongguan* 空觀), or the joining of one's conscious vision with the Dao.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Kohn 1989b; Robinet 1997b, 202–11; Sakade Yoshinobu 1983b; Sakade Yoshinobu 1988b

※ MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*Neijing tu* and *Xiuzhen tu*

內經圖 *or* 內景圖·修真圖

Chart of the Inner Warp (*or*: Chart of the Inner Landscape);  
Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection

The *Neijing tu* and the *Xiuzhen tu* are two charts of the human body. They are first mentioned in the Qing period and are probably late, but their origins are unclear. Both charts are cognate to Yanluo zi's 煙蘿子 (tenth century?) diagrams of the body found in the *\*Xiuzhen shishu* (18.2a–3a; see [fig. 12](#)), which include anatomical details but add elements of *\*neidan* symbolism. A synthesis of Yanluo zi's charts was later drawn on a lateral representation of the body in the *Huangdi bashiyi nanjing zuantu jujie* 黃帝八十一難經纂圖句解 (Charts and Explications on the Scripture of the Eighty-One Difficult Points [in the Inner Scripture] of the Yellow Emperor; preface dated 1269; CT 1024, preface, 4a–b) and in the 1478 edition of the Song-dynasty *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (Extensive Records of the Forest of Affairs; see Needham

1983, 110–11). Moreover, some alchemical elements of the body are foreshadowed in two charts that represent the body as a mountain, contained in \*Xiao Yingsou's *Duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* 度人上品妙經內義 (Inner Meaning of the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 90, 8a–b; see [fig. 13](#)) and in \*Chen Zhixu's \**Jindan dayao* (Tu 圖; CT 1068, 3a–b). These alchemical elements reappear in the *Neijing tu*.

*Inner Landscape.* The *Neijing tu* represents a side view of the body. The head is Mount \*Kunlun and the spinal cord is a meandering watercourse flowing out from it. The pole star and the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*) represent the heart, and the buffalo ploughing and planting the elixir of life represents the intestines. The accompanying text contains the names of the gods of the five viscera (\**wuzang*) and the gallbladder according to the \**Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court) and the symbolism of *neidan*. The chart was engraved in 1886 on a stele in Beijing's \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) on Liu Chengyin's 劉誠印 (or Liu Suyun 劉素雲) initiative, based on an old silk scroll found on Mount Song (\*Songshan, Henan). A colored scroll, kept in the Museum of the History of Chinese Traditional Medicine in Beijing, was painted at the Palace of Fulfilled Wishes (Ruyi guan 如意館) of the Imperial Palace during the Qing period.

*Cultivation of Perfection.* Similar in form to the *Neijing tu*, but representing a front

# 內經圖

道門秘傳內經圖  
真蹟 廷樞是款觀  
中華民國元年...

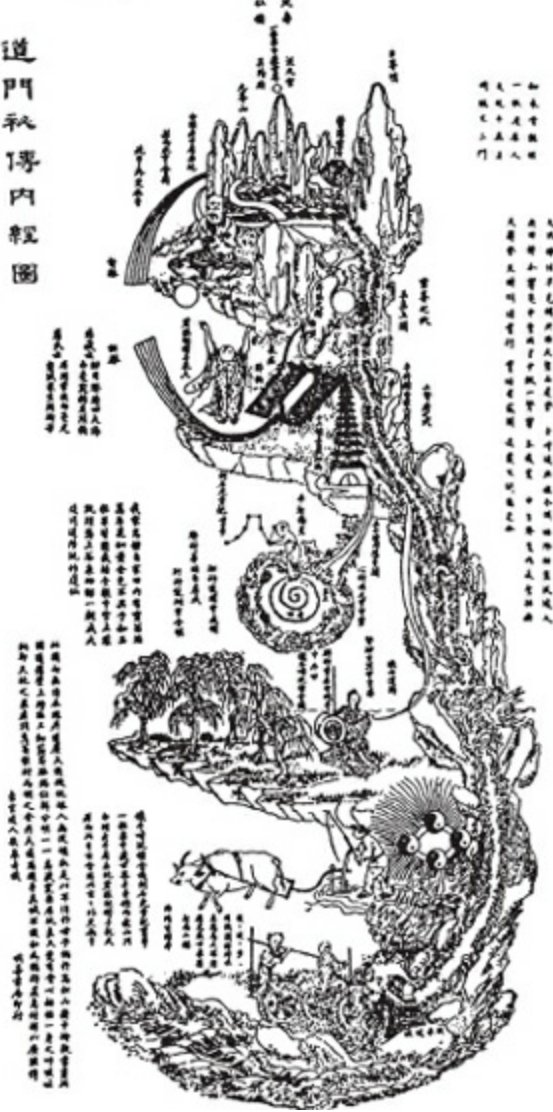


Fig. 60. *Neijing tu* (Chart of the Inner Warp).  
\*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), Beijing  
(1886).

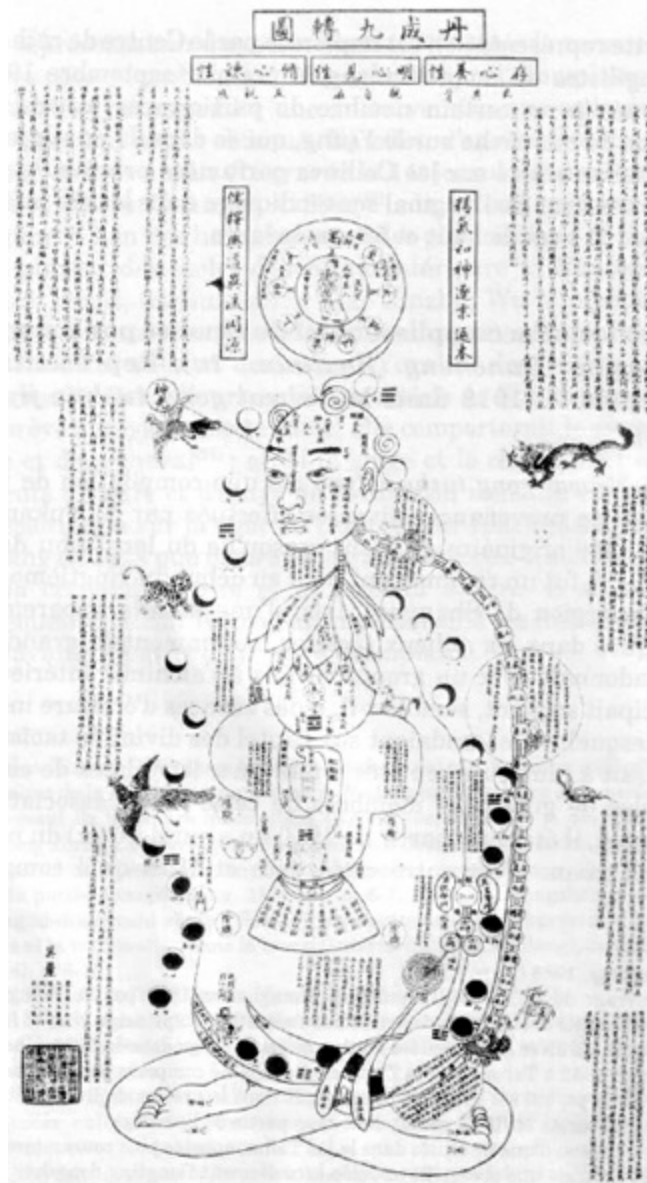


Fig. 61. *Xiuzhen tu* (Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection). *Neiwai gong tushuo jiyao* 內外功圖說輯要 (Essentials of Illustrated Explanations for Inner and Outer Practices; 1920).

view of the body, the *Xiuzhen tu* is richer and includes a longer text. Several versions with different titles are known to have existed in both northern and southern China. At present, the following five versions are known:

1. A stele in the Sanyuan gong 三元宮 (Palace of the Three Primes) in Guangzhou (Canton), engraved in 1812 by Qiu Fengshan 邱鳳山 (also known as Xingzhou 行舟) when the temple abbot was

Ning Liyong 寧黎永.

2. A version from Mount Wudang (\*Wudang shan, Hubei), printed in 1924 and entitled *Xiuzhen quantu* 修真全圖 (Complete Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection). An earlier version seems to have circulated on Mount Wudang, engraved on wood in 1888 by Wu Mingxuan 吳明玄 of the \*Longmen school.
3. The *Dancheng jiuzhuan tu* 丹成九轉圖 (Chart of the Nine Cycles for Achieving the Elixir), printed in the *Neiwai gong tushuo jiyao* 內外功圖說輯要 (Essentials of Illustrated Explanations for Inner and Outer Practices) in 1920. The author of this work, Xi Yukang 席裕康, was a trader active in the Shanghai area.
4. Another *Xiuzhen quantu*, printed by Duan Fu 段甫 in Chengdu in 1922. A copy of this chart was given to Joseph Needham in 1943.
5. The undated *Xiuzhen tu* in Beijing's Baiyun guan. Its inscription reads: “Representation obtained from a friend in the Dao, Guo Yicheng 郭一澄, at the Erxian an 二仙庵 (Hermitage of the Two Immortals), \*Qingyang gong (Palace of the Black Ram), Chengdu. Guo took it to Weiyang 維陽 (Yangzhou 揚州, Jiangsu) where I could contemplate it. I had it engraved on wood to circulate it widely.”

The various versions of the *Xiuzhen tu* are all associated with the Longmen tradition. The elements that distinguish this chart from the *Neijing tu* are mainly related to the Thunder Rites (\**leifa*)—in particular, the spiral at the level of the kidneys, the nine “orifices of hell” at the base of the spine, and the three curls at the top of the head that represent the three primordial breaths according to the \*Tianxin zhengfa tradition. The chart also represents the main parts of the body, including the Cinnabar Fields (\**dantian*), the Three Passes (\**sanguan*, represented by the three chariots) of the back, the throat, the paradisiac and infernal worlds, and the body's divinities according to the *Huangting jing*, and also shows the firing process (\**huohou*). The whole is reminiscent of a talisman illustrating a divine body that connects to the sacred world.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1994; Lagerwey 1991, 128–35; Little 2000b, 350–51; Needham 1983, 110–18; Rousselle 1933; Sakade Yoshinobu 1991; Wang D. T. 1991–

※ *neidan*; *yangsheng*; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

*Neiye*

內業

Inner Cultivation

A long-overlooked text of classical times, the *Neiye* (“Inner Cultivation” or “Inner Development”) is a text of some 1,600 characters, written in rhymed prose, a form close to that of the *Daode jing*. It sometimes echoes that text and the *\*Zhuangzi*, but it lacks many of the concerns found in those works. Generally dated to 350–300 BCE, it is preserved in the *Guanzi* 管子 (j. 49), along with two later, apparently derivative texts, *Xinshu* 心術 (Arts of the Heart), *shang* 上 and *xia* 下 (j. 36–37).

The *Neiye* had extremely profound effects on Taoism and Chinese culture. It seems to have influenced the form, and certain contents, of the *Daode jing*; the self-cultivation beliefs and practices of many later Taoists (from the *\*Huainan zi* and *\*Taiping jing* to the twentieth-century); and certain fundamental concepts of traditional Chinese medicine. It may also have influenced Neo-Confucian ideals of self-cultivation, by way of Mencius’ (Mengzi 孟子, ca. 370–ca. 290 BCE) teachings on cultivating the *\*xin* (heart-mind) and building up *\*qi* (*Mengzi* 2A.2; trans. Legge 1895, 185–96).

The *Neiye* seems to be the earliest extant text that explains and encourages self-cultivation through daily, practiced regulation of the forces of life. Those forces include *qi* (“life-energy,” the universal force that gives life to all things); and *\*jing* (“vital essence,” one’s innate reservoir of *qi*). (There is no trace here of the much later Chinese concept that *jing* referred to reproductive fluids.) Like Mencius, the *Neiye* suggests that the *xin* was originally as it should be, but now needs rectification (*zheng*). The *xin* becomes agitated by excessive activity, which leads to dissipation of one’s *jing*, resulting in confusion, sickness, and death. To preserve one’s health and vitality, one must quieten (*jing*) one’s *xin*. Then one can attract and retain *qi*, and other vaguely interrelated forces, such as *\*shen* (“spirit” or “spiritual consciousness”), and *dao* 道 (a vague term, apparently interchangeable with



*shen* and *qi*). (Such concepts are explained more intelligibly in passages of the *Huainan zi*: see Roth 1991a). In the *Neiye*, *shen* and *dao* are external realities, which one must learn to draw into oneself by purifying the body/mind/heart. Since such forces come and go, one must work daily to keep the body well-regulated (e.g., by dietary moderation and proper breathing). But, again like Mencius (and *Daode jing* 55), the *Neiye* warns against forceful efforts to control the *qi*: one cannot make it arrive or stay by an act of will, but only by purifying and realigning oneself. One's ability to achieve those ends is a matter of one's \**de* 德, “inner power” (cognate with homonym *de* 得, “get/getting”). If one's *de* is sufficient, one will attract and retain *qi/shen/dao*. Here, *de* retains its general archaic sense of “a proper disposition toward the unseen forces of life,” so it also carries moral overtones. (Mencius, for his part, taught building up one's *qi* by acts of “correctness,” *yi*.) A person who does these things well is called a “sage” or a “saint” (\**shengren*)—the term for the human ideal shared by the *Daode jing* and by Neo-Confucians like Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). One finds nothing gender-specific about any of the *Neiye*'s concepts, and it is quite conceivable that women as well as men may have engaged in such practices.

To understand the place of the *Neiye*'s teachings among the currents of classical China, certain points warrant notice. First, the *Neiye* displays no interest in political matters: unlike the *Daode jing*, which offers lessons for rulers, the *Neiye* gives no such advice. The sage is apparently not assumed either to have or to aspire to political authority. The text does argue that the “gentleman” (*junzi* 君子) who has a well-governed *xin* will transform all around him (suggesting influence by a disciple of Confucius). But there is no mention of such Confucian ideals as *li* 禮 (proper ritual/social behavior) or *ren* 仁 (benevolence). Yet, nowhere does the *Neiye* ridicule Confucian ideals, as the *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi* do. There is in fact little evidence that the contributors/redactors of the *Neiye* were even acquainted with the concerns of other now-well-known classical “schools.” There is no evidence of awareness of the teachings of the Mohists, the Legalists, or the Yin-Yang theorists. The *Neiye* does not share Confucius' and Mozi's belief in *tian* 天 (Heaven) as an agency that had instituted the world's processes, wished certain courses to be followed, and sometimes acted in life's events. In addition, there is no trace in the *Neiye* of certain concerns of others whom we commonly class as “Taoist.” For instance, there is no idealization of a simple society or a simple life (as in *Daode jing* 80 and other “Primitivist” passages of that text and

*Zhuangzi*). There is also no trace of other ideas found in *Zhuangzi*: there is no critique of language (e.g., as engendering misconceptions of reality); no questioning the capacity of the human mind to comprehend reality; no attack on “conventional” views; and no argument that life is an unrelenting process of change.

There is no trace of the assumption, found in both *Zhuangzi* and the *Daode jing*, that in antiquity people had lived in an ideal manner, and that later generations had somehow “lost the way.” And there is no trace in the *Neiye* of several key themes of the *Daode jing*: there is no advice for warriors, no exhortation to engage in “feminine” behaviors; no exhortation to practice non-action (\**wuwei*); no altruistic moral teachings (e.g., that enlightened self-restraint ultimately benefits self and others alike); no concept of “the Dao” as mother, and no ruminations on “Being” or “Non-being.” And there is no teaching that the ideal person is someone radically different from other members of society, someone with a truer knowledge of reality.

Like the *Daode jing*, the *Neiye* is devoid of proper names (personal or geographical, real or fictive), and refers to no specific events (legendary or historic). It was clearly composed to encourage the practice of a fairly specific model of bio-spiritual self-cultivation, which would bring the practitioner into accord with the full realities of life. The continuities of such practices in later Taoism (and segments of Confucianism) need more extensive study.

Russell KIRKLAND

▣ Graham 1989, 100–105; Kirkland 1997b; Rickett 1985–98, 1: 151–79 (trans.); Rickett 1993; Roth 1996, 123–34 (part. trans.); Roth 1999a (trans.)

※ *yangsheng*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

Nie Shidao

聶師道

844–911; *zi*: Zongwei 宗微; *hao*: Wenzheng xiansheng 問政先生  
(Elder of Mount Wenzheng)

Nie Shidao, who came from Shezhou 歙州 (Anhui), belonged to a \*Shangqing Taoist lineage based on Mount Tiantai (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang). From an early age, he devoted himself to the cultivation of the Dao and to dietary practices, and was admired for his virtue and filiality. He became a \**daoshi* in 857, at the age of thirteen, and received ritual registers (\*LU) in 859. Anxious to visit eminent sages, he made pilgrimages to several mountains including Mount Wenzheng (Wenzheng shan 問政山, Anhui) and the Southern Peak (\*Nanyue), where he spent some time at the Zhaoxian guan 招仙觀 (Abbey of Summoning the Immortals). He was a disciple of \*Lüqiu Fangyuan (?–902), a Taoist recluse associated with the Taoist Canon edition of the \**Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace).

Yang Xingmi 楊行密 (?–907), who became Prince of Wu 吳 in 902, built for Nie the Xuanyuan gong 玄元宮 (Palace of Mysterious Origin) in Guangling 廣陵 (Jiangsu), and conferred on him the honorific title Xiaoyao dashi 逍遙大師 (The Great Master of Free and Easy Wandering). Among the over five hundred disciples reportedly gathered by Nie was Wang Qixia 王棲霞 (882–943), who later became the nineteenth patriarch of the Shangqing lineage, thanks to Nie's support (Sakauchi Shigeo 1988).

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 294

※ Lüqiu Fangyuan; Shangqing

Ning Benli

寧本立

1101–81; *zi*: Daoli 道立; *hao*: Zanhua xiansheng 贊化先生 (Elder Who Assists Transformation); also known as Ning Quanzhen 寧全真

Ning Benli, the first codifier of the \*Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) tradition of Taoist ritual, was from Kaifeng (Henan), the capital of the Northern Song dynasty. He reportedly studied the writings of

various ancient schools of thought, medicine, pharmacology, prognostication arts, and other esoteric and technical disciplines, and was a disciple of Tian Sizhen 田思真, a Taoist master of Mount Tiantai (\*Tiantai shan, Zhejiang). According to Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Heard and Written by Yijian), Ning's ritual and exorcistic activities in the Tiantai area had already won him a reputation by 1154. Song Gaozong (r. 1127–62) granted him the honorific title Dongwei gaoshi 洞微高士 (Eminent Master Pervading the Subtlety), and his disciples called him Kaiguang jiuku zhenren 開光救苦真人 (The Perfected Who Spreads Radiance and Relieves Suffering).

Ning is deemed to have received codifications and liturgical material traditionally traced to \*Lu Xiujing (406–77), the major codifier of the early Lingbao tradition. Two compendiums in the Taoist Canon describe his ritual practices. The first is the \**Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1221), compiled by Wang Qizhen 王契真 (fl. ca. 1250), where Ning's teachings appear in *juan* 66. The second work is the \**Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu* (Golden Writings for Deliverance by the Sect Leader of the Numinous Treasure Tradition) in 320 *juan*, edited by Lin Weifu 林偉夫 (1239–1302). The preface to this work—the largest ritual collection in the Taoist Canon—contains an account of its transmission, in which Ning seems to have played a major role.

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 43–45; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 326–27

※ *Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu*; *Shangqing lingbao dafa*; Lingbao dafa

Nippon dōkyō gakkai

日本道教學會

Japanese Association of Taoist Studies

The Nippon dōkyō gakkai was founded in October 1950 by a group of fourteen scholars, including Fukui Kōjun 福井康順 (chairman), Kimura Eiichi 木村英一, Kubo Noritada 窪徳忠, Murakami Yoshimi 村上嘉實, Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, and Yoshioka

Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, with the purpose of “promoting wide-ranging research on Taoism and the popular religion and culture of East Asia.” The Association's journal, *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 (Journal of Eastern Religions), was inaugurated in December 1951 and has been published biannually since then.

The Association has greatly contributed to the study of Taoism in Japan and abroad. Its annual conference attracts reports which are then published in *Tōhō shūkyō*. Since 1989, moreover, the Japan Association of Taoist Research Prize has been offered to young scholars whose articles, submitted to *Tōhō shūkyō*, have been judged the best. In 1985, the Association celebrated its thirty-fifth anniversary with a symposium on “The State of Taoist Studies and Its Issues.” In November 1999, the fiftieth anniversary was celebrated with a lecture series on “Taoism and Popular Cults in East Asia.”

In 2003, the Association's membership had reached around 600, including some fifty non-Japanese scholars. The current chairman (2004) is Horiike Nobuo 堀池信夫 of the University of Tsukuba.

*SAKADE Yoshinobu*

*niwan*

泥丸

Muddy Pellet

The *niwan* or Muddy Pellet is one of the Nine Palaces (*\*jiugong*) in the head (see [fig. 62](#)). Starting from (1) the Hall of Light (*mingtang gong* 明堂宮; see *\*mingtang*) located one inch (*cun* 寸) behind the point between the eyes, and (2) the Cavern Chamber (*dongfang gong* 洞房宮) two inches behind that point, one finds (3) the Muddy Pellet (*niwan gong* 泥丸宮) three inches further inside. The other Palaces are (4) the Palace of the Flowing Pearl (*liuzhu gong* 流珠宮) and (5) the Palace of the Jade Emperor (*Yudi gong* 玉帝宮), respectively located four and five inches inside; (6) the Celestial Court (*tianting gong* 天庭宮), one inch above the Hall of Light; (7) the Palace of Ultimate Reality (*jizhen gong* 極真宮), one inch above the Palace of the Jade Emperor; (8) the Palace of Mysterious Cinnabar (*xuandan gong* 玄丹宮), one

inch above the *niwan*; and (9) the Palace of the Great Sovereign (*Taihuang gong* 太皇宮), one inch above the Palace of the Flowing Pearl.

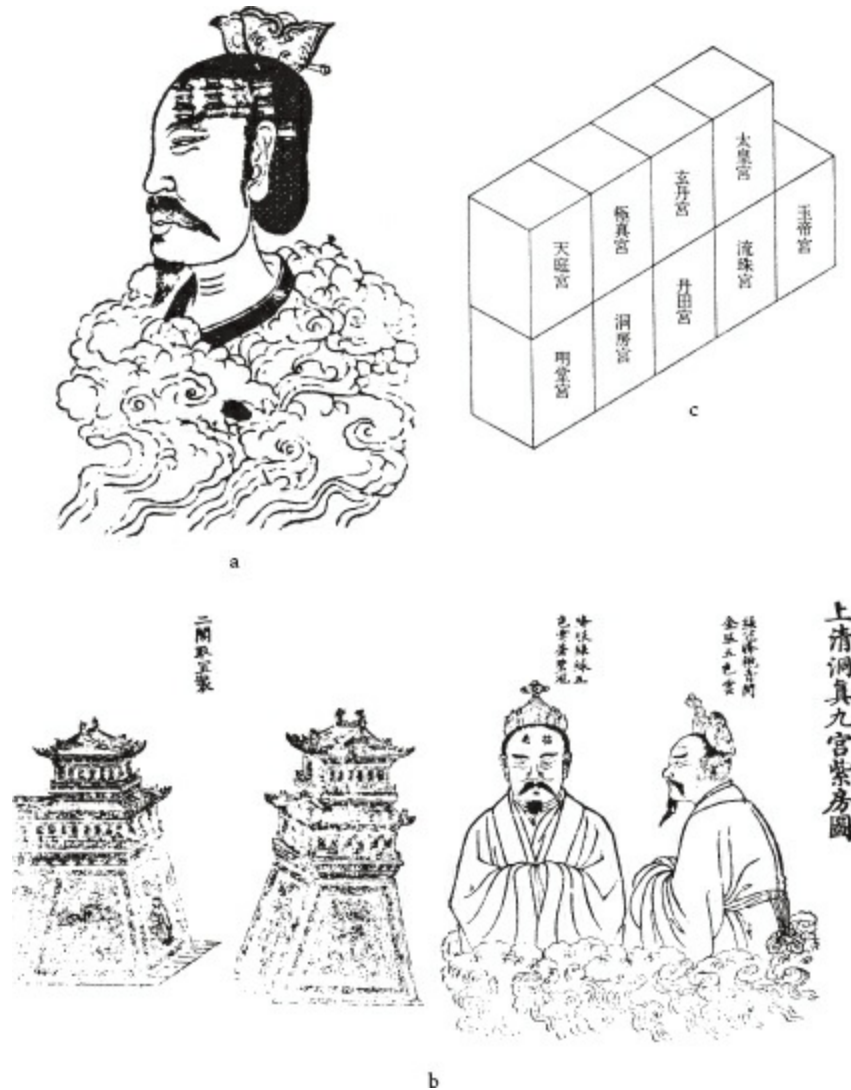


Fig. 62. The Nine Palaces of the Mud Pellet (*niwan*).

(a) \**Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1221), 3.23a. (b) *Jiugong zifang tu* 九宮紫房圖 (Charts of the Purple Rooms of the Nine Palaces; CT 156), 1b. (c) Diagram showing the arrangement of the nine palaces or “rooms.” The leftmost palace in the lower row is located between the eyebrows. The upper Cinnabar Field (\**dantian*) proper is the third palace in the lower row. Reproduced

from Noguchi Tetsurō et al. 1994, 422.

Since the *niwan* occupies the central position in the head, it is also regarded as the sum total of the Nine Palaces. This may be the origin of its name: contrary to the interpretation of Henri Maspero (1981, 457), who deemed *niwan* to derive from the Sanskrit term *nirvāṇa*, Ishida Hidemi

(1987a, 219) has suggested that it may allude to the round form (*wan* 丸 or “pellet”) of the brain and to the central agent Soil (*ni* 泥 or “mud”). Other names of the *niwan* allude to its centrality. For example, \*Bai Yuchan states in his *Ziqing zhixuan ji* 紫清指玄集 (Anthology on Pointing to the Origin by the Master of Purple Clarity; *Daozang jinhua lu* ed., 4b): “In the head there are Nine Palaces that communicate with the Nine Heavens (\**jiutian*) above. In the center there is the Palace called *niwan*, Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭), \*Kunlun, or Tiangu 天谷 or Celestial Valley.” As an image of Heaven within the body, the *niwan* is called the Yellow Court because it embodies the qualities of center, where all transformations take place. Since the center is located on the vertical axis that connects Heaven to Earth and Humanity, the *niwan* is also called “Kunlun,” a term that usually denotes the *axis mundi*. Hence the *niwan* is the Upper Cinnabar Field (Heaven), related to the Lower (Earth) and Middle (Humanity) Cinnabar Fields (see \**dantian*). It is “the One that connects the Three” (*yi guan santian* 一貫三田).

Under the name *baihui* 百會 (lit., “one hundred gatherings”), the *niwan* is the starting and arrival point of the circuit established by the Control Channel and the Function Channel (\**dumai* and *renmai*; [fig. 31](#)). Incorporating the Control Channel at its uppermost point at the crown of the head, it is the sanctuary in which the Yang Spirit (*yangshen* 陽神) is stored before its return to emptiness (see \**chushen*).

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Despeux 1994, 130–33; Kakiuchi Tomoyuki 1998; Maspero 1981, 455–57; Robinet 1984, 1: 125–26; Yamada Toshiaki 1988a

※ *dantian*; *mingtang*; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

*niidan*

女丹

inner alchemy for women

One of the earliest references to \**neidan* practices for women is found in \*Xue Daoguang's (1078?–1191) commentary to the \**Wuzhen pian* (in *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 悟真篇三注; CT 142, 2.4a), but the sources for

women's alchemical practices can be traced to the texts on sexual techniques (*\*fangzhong shu*). A description of how women have to practice in different ways than men is included, for instance, in the biography of Peijun 裴君 (Lord Pei; YJQQ 105.3b) as part of the transmission of longevity practices for men and women (*nannü keyi changsheng zhi dao* 男女可以長生之道). A *neidan* literature specifically devoted to women, however, developed only between the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing dynasties. While the general principles of *nüdan* are the same as those of *neidan* for men, there are differences reflecting the female nature and physical constitution.

Since a woman's congenital energy is based on blood, the first stage of the alchemical practice for her consists of the sublimation of blood into *\*qi* (pneuma). This sublimation, known as the Beheading of the Red Dragon (*\*zhan chilong*), is meant to stop the physiological hemorrhage that harms a woman each month by causing her to lose creative energy. The sublimation of blood into *qi* is the counterpart of the sublimation of the seminal essence (*\*jing*) into *qi* by a male adept: the “essential blood” (*jingxue* 精血) or Red Dragon (*chilong* 赤龍) in a woman is the opposite and complementary aspect of the “spiritual vitality” (*shenqi* 神氣) or White Tiger (*baihu* 白虎) in a man.

Moreover, while the White Tiger, as a male or igneous Water, resides in a man's testicles, the Red Dragon, as a feminine or aqueous Fire, resides in a woman's breasts. This explains why a man and a woman begin their practices from exactly opposite Cinnabar Fields (*\*dantian*). A woman first must concentrate on the Brook of Milk (*ruxi* 乳溪) in the center of her chest (also known as *qixue* 氣穴 or Cavity of Pneuma), and gently massage her breasts to activate the circulation of blood and *qi*. The breasts are regarded as the receptacle of pure secretions that can enrich her natural endowment of *qi*. Once purified, blood descends to the lower Cinnabar Field (at the level of the navel) and is transformed into *qi*. By contrast, since a man's constitutional energy is associated with his seminal essence and his genital organs (which are in turn related to the kidneys), the process for him begins with concentration on the lower Cinnabar Field (also called *qixue*). After having gradually accumulated and purified his essence, he can sublimate it into *qi* and lead it to the upper Cinnabar Field (at the level of the brain).

This different placement is related to the traditional theories of sexual reproduction. While menstrual blood and seminal essence are the basic ingredients of human procreation, in the inverted world of the alchemical work they are used to generate the immortal embryo (*\*shengtai*, Embryo of



Sainthood). For that purpose, the two ingredients must invert their natures and go against the laws that govern the ordinary world, to return to their state “before Heaven” (\**xiantian*). A woman therefore should work on her blood before it is transformed into menses, and a man on his essence before it becomes sperm. These pure ingredients thus represent the reservoirs of power, the *materia prima* for the alchemical work, while in their impure form they are simply synonyms of sterility, death, and the incapacity of generating. This explains why a woman should concentrate on the premenstrual phase of her cycle—some texts specify two and half days before—and stop practicing during menstruation. The premenstrual phase represents for her the moment to catch the Pure Yin (*chunyin* 純陰), just as the prejaculation moment is for a man the time to catch the Pure Yang (*chunyang* 純陽).

One can thus understand the meaning of practices such as the Beheading of the Red Dragon, which for women consists of “stopping the menstrual blood.” Its counterpart for men is called Taming the White Tiger (*jiang baihu* 降白虎) and consists of “stopping the spermatic flow.” This “stopping” marks the distinction between the ordinary procreation of those who follow the normal course of events and generate another human being (*shun* 順, lit., “continuation”), and the transcendent procreation of those who, by mastering this course and by reversing it, are capable of re-generating themselves (*ni* 逆, lit., “inversion”). The stage of the Beheading of the Red Dragon in inner alchemy for women provides therefore full control over time and body—as does the control of seminal essence in masculine alchemy—since it is the emblem of the mastery of passions and of all “emotional and discursive outflows.”

After this stage, a woman follows the same three-stage process as in *neidan* for men. She thus gains access to the stage of convergence of all contraries, in which there is no longer any distinction between practices for men and women. The *nüdan* texts describe a woman deprived of sexual attributes and endowed with an androgynous body; the retraction of breasts corresponds the retraction of testicles in a man. The Beheading of the Red Dragon, however, corresponds only to the Lesser Celestial Circuit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天; see \**zhoutian*) if a woman limits herself exclusively to the physiological results of the practice. According to *neidan* principles, a woman must also realize the Greater Celestial Circuit (*da zhoutian* 大周天) in order to produce the Embryo of Immortality.

▣ Despeux 1990; Esposito 1998a; Esposito 2004a; Wile 1992, 192–219

※ *jindan*; *neidan*; WOMEN IN TAOISM

*Nüqing guilü*

女青鬼律

Demon Statutes of Nüqing

The *Nüqing guilü*, in six *juan* (CT 790), is a text of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) that probably dates to the fourth century. The date is suggested by its eschatological vision, which seems to be inspired by Buddhism, and by the use of the term “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*). Neither of these themes appears in Taoist literature before 360 CE. At the same time, the *Nüqing guilü* does not mention the doctrine of the Three Heavens (see \*[santian](#) and *liutian*), central to the Celestial Masters tradition of the Liu Song dynasty, thus suggesting a pre-fifth-century date.

The text begins with a description of the decline the world is entering, with harmful energies in all five directions, as well as innumerable predators and reptiles. Demons are said to be flying about everywhere, people are dying, and the good order of the world has disintegrated. In fact, demons number in the billions and no one is safe from them any longer.

In response to this situation, the text provides detailed instructions on how to keep demons at bay. It lists the names, appearances, and exact locations of demons, describing, for example, the third elder demon of Southvillage (Nanfang 南方), with his name Che Ni 車匿, his location in the northwest and his activity as manager of the records of the dead (1.1b–2a). Similarly, the demon of Great Harmony (Taihe 太和) has a head but no body and a frightening appearance; his name is Zibei 子碑 (2.6a). Calling out the names of the demons at a moment of crisis will keep them away or force them to appear in their true shapes. Reciting lists of names in a formal liturgy over a period of time will ensure good fortune and freedom from their nasty effects.

As the world approaches its end, those who do not know the names of the demons and do not practice Taoism will be exterminated through war,

starvation, and disease. Eventually the world will be cleansed so that the new era of the Dao can begin. Then, Great Peace (*\*taiping*) will rule everywhere and the faithful will return to their country of origin.

*Livia KOHN*

☐ Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 376–78, 415–20; Lai Chi-tim 2002; Strickmann 2002, 79–88

※ APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY; DEMONS AND SPIRITS

Pan Shizheng

潘師正

585–682; *zi*: Zizhen 子真

Pan Shizheng, the eleventh \*Shangqing patriarch or Grand Master (*zongshi* 宗師), was the spiritual heir of \*Wang Yuanzhi, and the transmitter of Wang's authority to \*Sima Chengzhen, the greatest of all Tang Taoists.

Pan's life is known from biographies in the Standard Histories (*Jiu Tangshu*, 192.5126; *Xin Tangshu*, 196.5605) and in Taoist sources (e.g., \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, 25.4b–7b; \**Maoshan zhi*, 11.1a–2a). The standard biographies report that during the reign of Sui Yangdi (r. 604–17), Pan took ordination as a \**daoshi* and studied under Wang, then lived for many years as a recluse on Mount Song (\*Songshan, Henan), the “Central Peak” near Luoyang. From 676 to 683, he received several visits from Tang Gaozong (r. 649–83) and Empress Wu (r. 690–705). Gaozong apparently sought to glorify himself by associating with an “honored recluse” (Kirkland 1992–93, 153–56), but as in certain other cases, the association seems to have been less substantial than the ruler wished.

The Taoist biographies report that in 676 Gaozong requested “talismans and texts” (*fushu* 符書), but that Pan refused. The Standard Histories do not mention this event, though we know that Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) later received such a transmission from Sima Chengzhen. Scholars have speculated as to why Pan would have denied Gaozong's request (e.g., Benn 1977, 49–50). On one level, the issue seems to be one of great political significance, since the conveyance of such materials had for centuries signified religious sanction of a worthy ruler (Seidel 1983a; Kirkland 1997a). If Pan did refuse Gaozong such materials, the implication would have been that Gaozong's reign was spiritually deficient. Some have suggested (Benn 1977, 50) that Pan declined because the Empress Wu was already exercising more power than was acceptable in a sanctified reign. But more innocent explanations are possible. For instance, the talismans of the Shangqing order consisted primarily of diplomas that certified a certain degree of spiritual

attainment on the recipient's part. Perhaps Pan merely judged Gaozong insufficiently advanced in spiritual matters to receive such certification. Or perhaps Pan was just reluctant to involve himself in politics, like Sima's successor, \*Li Hanguang (see Kirkland 1986b). It is also conceivable that the Taoist reports of the incident were merely reflections of events concerning Sima, Li or similar figures of the period.

Though no writings are attributed to Pan, the *Daozang* preserves a purported colloquy between him and Gaozong, the *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 道門經法相承次序 (The Scriptures and Methods of Taoism in Orderly Sequence; CT 1128). Barrett (1996, 38–39) notes that the opening section summarizes basic elements of Taoist belief and practice; the conclusion constitutes a glossary of Taoist terms; and the body of the work reports Pan's answers to Gaozong's questions about the number and organization of the Taoist heavenly beings. The actual provenance of the text remains uncertain.

The standard biographies report that when Pan died in 682, both Gaozong and Empress Wu “brooded over it endlessly.” They granted Pan a noble rank, and canonized him as the Elder Who Embodies the Mystery (Tixuan xiansheng 體玄先生). But it remains unclear whether he ever welcomed imperial attentions. The data suggest that he may have been little more than a coveted worthy, whose true importance derived from his associations with Wang Yuanzhi and Sima Chengzhen.

*Russell KIRKLAND*

▣ Barrett 1996, 38–39; Benn 1977, 49–50; Chen Guofu 1963, 50–52; Kirkland 1986b, 44; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 128–32

※ Shangqing

Pantao gong

蟠桃宮

Palace of the Peaches of Immortality (Beijing)

The Pantao gong was a famous Taoist temple in Beijing that is no longer

extant today. Its full name, Huguo taiping Pantao gong 護國太平蟠桃宮 (Palace of the Peaches of Immortality for Protecting the State and Great Peace), reveals its association with the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu), in whose garden grew the peaches of immortality. The temple was located on the eastern end of the Great East Avenue (Dong dajie 東大街) in Beijing's Chongwen 崇文 district, i.e., inside Dongbian Gate (Dongbian men 東便門), south of the bridge across the city moat. Construction was begun during the Ming dynasty, but the temple was rebuilt in 1662.

In the front and rear pavilions inside the temple compound, ceremonies were offered to the Queen Mother of the West and the Mother of the Dipper (\*Doumu), respectively. In front of the temple gate there were flagpoles and stone lions; on the side walls of the compound were inlays of glazed yellow tiles with green edges on which the four characters *pantao shenghui* 蟠桃盛會, “Great Assembly of the Peaches of Immortality,” were written. At the temple gate, ceremonies were offered to \*Wang lingguan. Inside the two halls, all kinds of divinities and immortals were revered.

During the Ming, Qing, and Republican periods, from the first to the third days of the third lunar month, a great festival at the Pantao gong celebrated the birthday of the Queen Mother of the West. According to the records, seventy to eighty percent of Beijing's citizens visited the festival, which indicates that the temple attracted an extremely large number of worshippers. The festival drew a variety of entertainment and amusements, and the stalls of street peddlers offering all sorts of goods stretched over a length of three *li* (about 1.5 km). In 1987, the Pantao gong was destroyed to make way for a construction project by the city government.

*CHEN Yaoting*

※ TEMPLES AND SHRINES

Peng Dingqiu

彭定求

1645–1719; *zi*: Qinzhi 勤止, Nanyun 南畝; *hao*: Shougang daoren 守綱道人 (The Taoist Who Guards The Guideline), Yongzhen

shanren 詠真山人(The Mountain Man Who Chants The Truth)

Peng Dingqiu was born in Changzhou 長洲 (Jiangsu) to a family of military descent. After he obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1676 or 1686 (*Qingshi gao* 304 and 480, respectively), he served as a Senior Compiler (*xiuzhuan* 修撰) at the Hanlin Academy in Beijing. In 1689 he returned to Changzhou to visit his ailing father, who died before he arrived there. Peng joined the Hanlin Academy again in 1693, but soon decided to retire to Changzhou and devote himself to self-cultivation. One of the first activities he organized in his hometown was a vegetarian society, modeled after the Doufu hui 豆腐會 (Association of Bean Curd Eaters) founded by Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562–1626; DMB 701–10).

Peng's main contribution to Taoist studies is the original edition of the \**Daozang jiyao*. His role in the compilation of this collection has been questioned by several scholars, but was recently reasserted (Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 455–61). Apparently Peng began to work on the *Daozang jiyao* soon after he retired from his official post in 1693. At the same time he produced various types of works that yield an image of him as both a Confucian scholar and a Taoist devotee. These include the *Gaowang yin* 高望吟 (Chant of High Aspirations), the *Yinyang shihui lu* 陰陽釋毀錄 (Account of the Defamation of Buddhism according to Yin and Yang), and the *Rumen fayu* 儒門法語 (Exemplary Sayings of the Confucian School). Peng's interest in Taoism is also witnessed by his edition of the *Zhenquan* 真詮 (Veritable Truth), a text by the Ming author Yang Daosheng 陽道生, completed in 1710.

Elena VALUSSI

▣ Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 455–61; Suter 1943–44; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955, 175–76; Zhu Yueli 1992, 327–38

※ *Daozang jiyao*

Peng Haogu

彭好古

fl. 1597–1600; *zi*: Bojian 伯錢; *hao*: Yihe jushi 一壑居士  
(Retired Gentleman of the One Ocean)

Not much is known about Peng Haogu, a native of Xiling 西陵 (Hubei). According to the prefaces in his *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu* 道言內外祕訣全書 (Complete Writings of Secret Instruction on Inner and Outer Taoist Teachings), he was a follower of the Pure Cultivation (*qingxiu* 清修) branch of \*Nanzong. In the preface to this compendium, which was completed between 1597 and 1600, Peng Haogu states: “When Confucius speaks of \**xing* and *ming* (inner nature and life), he explains only the shadow (*ying* 影) but not the form (\**xing*); when the Buddha explains *xing* and *ming*, *xing* is the form, *ming* is the shadow; when Laozi explains *xing* and *ming*, he explains shadow and form together.” Peng's collection thus emulates the way of Laozi conceived of as a complete illustration of Taoist teachings.

The *Daoyan*—as the collection is often known for short—is divided into Inner and Outer Teachings (*neiyang* 內言 and *waiyang* 外言). The Inner Teachings include texts in prose and verse, in turn arranged into two sets. The first set contains such texts as the *Daode jing*, the \**Yinfu jing*, the \**Qingjing jing*, the \**Dingguan jing*, the \**Duren jing*, the \**Wuchu jing*, the \**Xinyin jing*, and the \**Taixi jing*. The second set contains \**neidan* works such as the \**Ruyao jing*, the \**Zhonglü chuandao ji*, the \**Lingbao bifa*, and the \**Jindan sibaizi*. The Outer Teachings, on the other hand, contain among others the \**Longhu jing*, the \**Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi*, and the \**Wuzhen pian*, as well as works attributed to \*Xu Xun and \*Bai Yuchan. Several of these texts include Peng Haogu's own commentaries. The entire collection is reprinted in the \**Zangwai daoshu* (vol. 6).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

※ *neidan*

Peng Si

彭耜

fl. 1217–51; *zi*: Jiyi 季益; *hao*: Helin 鶴林 (Crane Forest)



This heir to an important Fuzhou (Fujian) clan based in Sanshan 三山, Changle 長樂, was, together with the equally well-bred Liu Yuanchang 留元長 (fl. 1217–37) from Jinjiang 晉江 (Fujian), part of the core pair of \*Bai Yuchan's (1194–1229?) disciples who did the most to promote his teachings in elite circles during the last half-century of Song rule. Growing up in a literati family, Peng only realized his true calling—studying inner alchemy (\**neidan*), Thunder Rites (\**leifa*), and the Divine Empyrean (\**Shenxiao*) tradition—after meeting master Bai Yuchan around 1215. Peng and his closest disciple, Pan Changji 盤常吉 (like Liu and his main follower, Zhou Xiqing 周希清) seem to have entered the religious life after their initiation (with several others) by Bai Yuchan late in 1218. Bai also presided over a funerary ceremony for Peng's father, Peng Yan 彭演, in 1222. After his initiation, Peng set up a retreat he called the Helin jing 鶴林靖 (Quiet of the Crane Forest), where he continued his studies in the teachings of Confucius and Laozi, and also successfully treated the afflicted in his area with talismans (\*FU) and ritual.

Peng and Liu had assembled forty *juan* of their master's works for publication by 1237 and had enlisted the scholar-official Pan Fang 盤枋 to write a preface. Finally, in 1251, Peng added a colophon to the collected correspondence he and his fellow disciples had exchanged with their master over the years (*Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu* 海瓊白真人語錄; CT 1307, 4.21b). Peng also compiled the \**Chongbi danjing* (Scripture of the Elixir for Piercing the Jasper Heaven) on behalf of his master Bai and a Sichuan patron interested in alchemy named Meng Xu 孟煦, who approached him several times in the early 1220s.

Besides loyally following and promoting Bai Yuchan and his teachings, Peng was also an important scholar of the *Daode jing*. He produced a series of texts on this scripture that continue where the Northern Song scholar \*Chen Jingyuan's efforts left off. The main text, which gathers parts of twenty different commentaries from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is the eighteen-*juan* *Daode zhenjing jizhu* 道德真經集注 (Collected Commentaries to the Authentic Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 707). Peng's 1229 preface refers to a twelve-*juan* version of the work. Two supplementary works, the *Daode zhenjing jizhu shiwen* 道德真經集注釋文 (Exegesis to Collected Commentaries to the Authentic Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 708) and the *Daode zhenjing jizhu zashuo* 道德真經集注雜說 (Miscellaneous Discussions to Collected Commentaries to the Authentic

Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 709), provide clues on the sources and approach employed by Peng, and show how Laozi has both been revered by the state and provided a textual model for sagely governance.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 219–21

※ *neidan*

Peng Xiao

彭曉

?–955; *zi*: Xiuchuan 秀川; *hao*: Zhenyi zi 真一子  
(Master of the Authentic One)

A native of Yongkang 永康 (Sichuan), Peng Xiao changed his original surname, Cheng 程, to Peng out of reverence for \*Pengzu (\**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*; 43.7b–8a). He served the Shu dynasty first as Magistrate of the Jintang 金堂 district, and later as Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites and as Military Supervisor. His works include the *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tong zhenyi* 周易參同契分章通真義 (Real Meaning of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, with a Division into Sections; CT 1002), the *Huandan neixiang jin yaoshi* 還丹內象金鑰匙 (Golden Key to the Inner Images of the Reverted Elixir; YJQQ 70.1a–14a), and a lost commentary to the \**Yinfu jing* (Scripture of the Hidden Accordance).

Peng Xiao's exegesis of the \**Zhouyi cantong qi*, completed in 947, is remarkable not only for his commentary but also for the version of the *Cantong qi* that he edited, which represents a watershed between the text found in the two earlier Tang commentaries (see under \**Zhouyi cantong qi*) and most later versions. Peng submitted the text of the *Cantong qi* to a substantial rearrangement, dividing it into ninety sections, placing the “Song of the Tripod” (“Dingqi ge” 鼎器歌) in a separate *pian*, relocating several lines, and changing many individual words. His work, moreover, contains an appendix entitled “Chart of the Bright Mirror” (“Mingjing tu” 明鏡圖), a diagram complete with explanatory notes that illustrates several cosmological devices used in the *Cantong qi* (see Needham 1983, 55–59). In the Taoist

Canon, the chart is printed with the final sections of the *Cantong qi* as a separate work entitled *Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu* 周易參同契鼎器歌明鏡圖 (The “Song of the Tripod” and the “Chart of the Bright Mirror” of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1003), but both Peng Xiao's preface and the other extant editions of his commentary show that the two texts originally formed a single work.

The extent of the variations that Peng Xiao brought to the text of the *Cantong qi*, however, is difficult to ascertain. In 1208, the astronomer Bao Huanzhi 鮑澣之 (fl. 1207–1210) reedited Peng's work based on Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) recension for the text of the *Cantong qi* (\**Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi*), and on Zheng Huan's 鄭煥 (fl. 1142?) lost edition for Peng's own notes. He followed, however, other editions when they agreed with each other against those of Zhu Xi and Zheng Huan. Judging from the examples that Bao provides of his alterations (CT 1003, 6b–8a), Peng's original text appears to have been closer to the Tang text of the *Cantong qi* than it is now. Further evidence of alterations is provided by a quotation from the lost commentary by Zhang Sui 張隨, who lived one century after Peng Xiao (CT 1003, 1a).

The *Fenzhang tong zhenyi* is the first extant \**neidan* commentary to the *Cantong qi*, and a major source for the study of the *neidan* traditions before the rise of the Southern Lineage (\*Nanzong). It was held in high esteem by the Southern Lineage, as shown, for instance, by quotations in the commentary to the \**Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Reality) found in j. 26–30 of the \**Xiuzhen shishu*, and in the *Wuzhen pian zhushu* 悟真篇注疏 (Commentary and Subcommentary to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 141). Moreover, the three-juan anonymous *neidan* commentary in the Taoist Canon (*Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注; CT 1000) follows Peng Xiao's recension so faithfully that it may serve to verify the accuracy of the various editions of Peng's work.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Li Dahua 1996; Meng Naichang 1993a, 41–44; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 521–33; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 288–89; Robinet 1995a, 36–39

※ *neidan*

## Penglai

### 蓬萊

Belief in the existence of the paradisiacal isles Penglai, Fangzhang 方丈, and Yingzhou 瀛洲 in the seas off China's eastern coast originated in the coastal populations of the ancient states of Yan 燕 and Qi 齊 (modern Shandong). Finding these mountain isles became a special preoccupation of rulers like Kings Wei (Weiwang 威王, r. 334–320 BCE) and Xuan (Xuanwang 宣王, r. 319–301 BCE) of Qi, King Zhao (Zhaowang 昭王, r. 311–279 BCE) of Yan, Qin Shi Huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE; see \*Xu Fu), and Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE), who believed they could attain immortality by consuming the isles' herbs. When Wudi had the artificial lake Taiye 太液 (Great Fluid) dredged near the Jianzhang 建章 Palace, its four islands were named after the ancient three, plus Huliang 壺梁 which probably represented the turtle or fish believed to bear the isles through the ocean (*Shiji*, 28.1402; trans. Watson 1961, 66). An alternative name for Fangzhang, Fanghu 方壺 (Square Pot), may have been a combined name for Fanghu and Huliang that persisted through the association with folklore about worlds concealed in gourds. Yet another alternative name for Fangzhang, Fangzhu 方諸 (Square Speculum), appears later in \*Shangqing scriptures; the “speculum” was a mirror used for dew-collection (Schafer 1985, 109–10; Kroll 1985, 79).

The \**Liezi* describes a larger set of five isles that also included Daiyu 岱輿 (Great Carriage) and Yuanqiao 員嶠 (Rounded Ridge). They originally drifted about in the ocean, then were carried on the raised heads of giant turtles. Later a giant caught some of the turtles, so that Yuanqiao and Daiyu drifted north and sank (5.52–53; trans. Graham 1960, 97–98). The name Penglai suggests the meaning of “coming [like a windblown] tumbleweed or pond nuphar” (Schafer 1985, 56), the name Fangzhang may connote the large square feast table filled with rare delicacies mentioned by Mencius (*Mengzi* 孟子, 7B.34; trans. Legge 1895, 496), while Yingzhou simply means “Ocean Isle.” More fanciful descriptions of the five isles and various mountains may be found in Wang Jia's 王嘉 (?–ca. 324) *Shiyi ji* 拾遺記 (Uncollected Records; Foster 1974, 295–302; Campany 1996, 64–67 and 306–18).

Further east lay Fusang 扶桑 (Supporting Mulberry), described in early sources like the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 73, 113, and 300), the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; trans. Mathieu 1983, 438 and 539), and others as the vast tree of sunrise, where the

ten suns perched birdlike on its branches. Ancient artistic depictions show a tree with nine orbs among its branches, the tenth sun of legend probably being in transit across the skies of the mundane world (Allan 1991, 19–56).

Another set of ten immense isles or continents, including Yingzhou, arrayed in distant seas around the known world were initially described in Later Han omenological literature (Li Fengmao 1986, 128–29). These were later brought into Shangqing cosmology, as described in the *Waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen* 外國放品青童內文 (Inner Script of the Azure Lad on the Distribution of the Outer Realms; CT 1373), which probably dates to the Eastern Jin period (Robinet 1984, 2: 97–100), and one later, highly influential apocryphon, the \**Shizhou ji* (Record of the Ten Continents).

To the ten continents, the *Shizhou ji* adds four island paradises, including one Canghai dao 藏海島 (Watchet Sea Isle) in the north, and two mountain paradises, \*Kunlun and Zhongshan 種山. In one version of the text, the pure freshwater seas around Yingzhou and Fusang are separated from common oceans by a ribbon-shaped land called Daizhou 帶洲. Fusang is described as an isle covered with giant mulberry trees that grow in mutually supporting pairs. The paradises are homes of earthly transcendents (*dixian* 地仙) and ruled by various perfected officials of Shangqing Taoism.

In the *Waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen*, the four seas of *Shizhou ji* become continents with Sanskrit names, and nine of the ten continents become countries. Kunlun is shifted from the northwest to the world's center, and the *Shizhou ji*'s descriptions of exotic flora and fauna are abridged or eliminated entirely as the emphasis shifts toward mineral elixirs, the immortal residences and bureaucracy, and the correct recital of spells. In addition, heavens and hells are distinguished, revealing a strong Buddhist influence, whereas the *Shizhou ji* retains more of the simple terrestrial geography of its Han sources (see \*[sanshiliu tian](#)). The extensive descriptions of such far-off lands in Shangqing literature are intended to prepare the adept for his or her eventual translation there.

Thomas E. SMITH

▣ Foster 1974; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1990; Kroll 1985; Li Fengmao 1986, 123–85; Little 2000b, 370–71 and 377; Schafer 1985, 51–60; Smith Th. E. 1990; Smith Th. E. 1992

Pengzu

彭祖

Ancestor Peng

According to the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals; trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 82–84), Pengzu was a high officer of the Yin 殷 kingdom (in present-day Henan). His surname was Qian 籛 and his given name was Keng 鏗. By the end of the Yin dynasty he had reached the age of about eight hundred years old thanks to his practice of gymnastics (*\*daoyin*) and circulation of breath (*\*xingqi*). Mentions of his longevity are also found in the *Xunzi* 荀子 and the *\*Zhuangzi*, suggesting that this view of Pengzu had become current by the Warring States period.

Pengzu's biography in a later work, the *\*Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals), however, states that he achieved an extremely long life through sexual techniques (*\*fangzhong shu*). Similarly, the *\*Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 217–18), quoting the anonymous *Pengzu jing* 彭祖經 (Scripture of Pengzu), describes him as a high government officer who lived throughout the Xia dynasty until the Yin. He taught the sexual techniques to the king of Yin, who employed them effectively. When Pengzu realized that the king wanted to obtain sole control of those techniques, he left Yin. At that time he was some seven or eight hundred years old. This account indicates that by the early fourth century Pengzu was regarded as having obtained longevity through sexual practices.

The link between these apparently conflicting views is provided by the manuscript entitled *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions; trans. Harper 1998, 385–411), excavated from a Han tomb at *\*Mawangdui*. This text records an answer that Pengzu gave to the immortal *\*Wangzi Qiao* concerning the *\*qi* of human beings, namely that one should perfect one's sexual energy through gymnastics and breathing. In a similar way, the *Yinshu* 引書 (Book on Pulling; see Harper 1998, 30–33 and 110–19), another manuscript excavated from a tomb at Zhangjiashan 張家山 (Hubei), speaks of perfecting one's sexual energy, specifically identifying this as the “Way of Pengzu.” These

references suggest that Pengzu was seen from early times as a practitioner of sexual techniques, which were closely related to gymnastics and breathing and performed in order to obtain longevity.

The *Pengzu jing* thus appears to have been a manual that described a variety of longevity techniques with a focus on sexual practices. While this work was lost at an early date in China, several quotations from it are found in chapter 28 of the *\*Ishinpō* (Methods from the Heart of Medicine; 984).

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Company 2002, 172–86; Harper 1998, 110–11; Kaltenmark 1953, 82–84; Sakade Yoshinobu 1985; Yoshikawa Tadao 1995a; Zhu Haoxi 1995

※ *daoyin*; *fangzhong shu*; HAGIOGRAPHY

*po*

魄

Yin soul(s); earthly soul(s)

See *\*hun* and *po* 魂·魄.

*poyu*

破獄

Destruction of Hell

The Destruction of Hell, also known as Attack on the Fortress (*dacheng* 攻城), is a rite performed during the ritual of Merit (*\*gongde*). Its purpose is to break open the gates of hell and obtain the release of the souls of the dead who are trapped there. The origins of this rite, which was performed as part of the *\*Lingbao \*zhai* (Retreat) rituals in the Six Dynasties period, can be partly traced to the idea of illuminating the nine realms of the underworld (*jiuyou* 九幽), with the purpose of the enlightenment and salvation of the dead. As used in Song and later times, the term *poyu* exhibits the influence of

esoteric Buddhist ideas and rites seen in such works as the *Sanzhong xidi po diyu zhuan yezhang chu sanjie bimi tuoluoni fa* 三種悉地破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼法 (Method of the Secret Dhāraṇī of the Three Types of Siddhi for Destroying Hell, Transforming the Barriers of *Karma*, and Leaving the Three Realms; T. 905), written around 830.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Lagerwey 1987c, 216–37

※ *gongde*

*pudu*

普度

universal salvation

### 1. The term

The term *pudu* refers to the salvation of all human beings. Similar ideas of universal love, concern for the immortality of all beings, and the link between one's own salvation and the sins of one's ancestors are found in early religious Taoist and alchemical traditions. Under Buddhist influence, the notion of rebirth appeared in the \*Lingbao scriptures, leading to a wider soteriological goal: Taoist practitioners not only aimed for their own transcendence but also sought to save others through ritual means. The \**Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation) mentions the term *pudu* several times, referring to “illimitable, universal salvation without end.” Other terms indicating the salvation of all appear throughout the Lingbao corpus.

Along with several other concepts and imagery, the Lingbao school derived the idea of universal salvation from Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Buddhist scriptures. One such Buddhist text was the *Amitābha Sūtra* (*Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*; *Amituo sanye sanfo salou fotan guodu rendao jing* 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經; T. 362), translated into Chinese by Zhi Qian 支謙 (third century) whose many writings had a direct influence on the Lingbao corpus. According to Mahāyāna texts, the pejoratively termed Hīnayāna (Lesser Vehicle) Buddhist tradition aimed at individual salvation



only whereas Mahāyāna worked for the salvation of all beings. Similarly, Lingbao Taoism presented itself as saving all in contrast to the individual practices of the \*Shangqing and other schools of Taoism.

Amy Lynn MILLER

▣ Boltz J. M. 1983; Robinet 1997b, 152–55

✕ Lingbao; REBIRTH; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

## 2. The ritual

Just as the concept of *pudu* (universal salvation) lies at the heart of the \*Lingbao codification, so, too, did the *pudu* ritual emerge as a central feature of Lingbao liturgy. It is the Taoist counterpart to the so-called *yulanpen* 盂蘭盆 (*avalambana*?) ritual of salvation popularized in Tantric teachings conveyed by Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空, 705–74). Like its Buddhist analogue, the *pudu* ritual came to be closely identified with the tradition of commemorating the dead on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, known as *zhongyuan* 中元.

The origins of contemporary *pudu* practice are conventionally traced to the Lingbao patriarch \*Ge Xuan (trad. 164–244). Accounts of how Ge was rewarded for his deliverance of ghosts by performing a ritual of *jilian* 祭鍊 (oblatory refinement) are recorded in hagiographic lore dating to the Yuan and Ming. His service on the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month (*xiayuan* 下元) of 214 reportedly led to his compilation of a penitential guide for the lay community. One text ascribed to Ge in the Taoist Canon, the *Jiuyou chan* 九幽懺 (Penance of the Nine Shades; CT 543), is presumed to be the work of \*Li Hanguang (683–769), whose name is attached to the preface. The fact that this preeminent \*Shangqing patriarch was a contemporary of Amoghavajra invites speculation as to the nature of the symbiotic relationship between Tantric and Lingbao rituals of salvation emerging during the Tang period.

Contemporary *pudu* ritual practice is still firmly anchored in the legacy of the early Lingbao canon codified by \*Lu Xiuqing (406–77). Its foundations are perhaps most readily apparent in the *Mingzhen ke* 明真科 (Code of the Luminous Perfected; CT 1411). The \**zhai* ritual of purification prescribed in this text is to be conducted within a family courtyard for the benefit of all the

*hun*-souls of the deceased (*sihun* 死魂; see \**hun* and *po*) suffering incarceration in the netherworld. But it is the redemption of the celebrant's own ancestors that appears to be of foremost concern.

Derivative *pudu* ritual codes are primarily directed toward the salvation of *guhun* 孤魂, orphaned or desolate souls. Such was the designation of the spirits of those whose demise had not been properly commemorated. Taken before their time by tragic circumstances, *guhun* were perceived to be an innately threatening presence to the living and thus in need of pacification. Those who engage in a *pudu* service thus seek reconciliation with these masses of unknown dead. Details may differ from one region to the next, but if there is any single identifying feature linking diverse *pudu* practices it is the weight of kinship ties that seems to persist above all.

Fieldwork and textual studies of the *pudu* service to date largely reflect the practices in Fujian, Taiwan, Hong Kong, as well as Honolulu. The service is typically scheduled on the closing evening of a \**jiao* (Offering) ritual staged on temple grounds. Such events are communal affairs sponsored by civic leaders who themselves have specific roles to play in the ritual itself. The crowds these events attract are usually drawn more by the spectacle of the feast and operatic presentations honoring the deceased than by the ritual performance undertaken on their behalf.

Significant narrative and dramatic features of contemporary *pudu* ritual can be traced to the *huanglu* 黃籙 (Yellow Register) protocols codified by \*Du Guangting (850–933; see \**huanglu zhai*) and ritual formularies on \**liandu* (Salvation through Refinement) compiled from the Song to Ming. Many songs and incantations also find their echo in Buddhist ritual formularies. The *pudu* service is by and large a hybrid form of ritual, the merit (\**gongde*) of which is dependent upon the cooperative efforts of a host of divine forces representing the spirit realms of diverse Taoist, Buddhist, and local traditions. The image of the bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音 at Mount Putuo (Putuo shan 普陀山) is often evoked together with tutelary deities in support of the \**sanqing* trinity.

The Taoist Master who serves as celebrant (the high priest, or *gaogong* 高功; see \**dao Zhang*) typically takes on the identity of \**Jiuku tianzun* (Celestial Worthy Who Relieves Suffering) in presiding over the deliverance of *guhun*. Assisted by the chief cantor, or \**dujiang*, and an ensemble of musicians, the celebrant guides the *guhun* on their path to redemption through a combination

of song, chant, and recitation. The fundamental role he assumes in this vividly choreographed mission is that of a father, expressing time and again a profound sense of grief and compassion for all lost souls. What the *pudu* service thus serves to endorse overall is the perception that all of humanity finds its brethren in the community of the dead as well as the living.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Bokenkamp 1996c; Boltz J. M. 1983; Boltz J. M. 1996; Lagerwey 1987c, 20–21, 58–59, 199–200, and 230–35; Lü and Lagerwey 1992, 29–34; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 391–404, 752–72, 786–814, and 883–900; Orzech 2002; Pang D. 1977

※ *jiao; zhai*; REBIRTH

Puhua tianzun

普化天尊

Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation

Puhua tianzun, also known as Leisheng Puhua tianzun 雷聲普化天尊 (Celestial Worthy of the Sound of Thunder of Universal Transformation), is the deity said to have revealed the *\*Yushu jing* (Scripture of the Jade Pivot), a text that originated among the followers of *\*Bai Yuchan* (1194–1229?) during the Southern Song period. The god is the personification of the creative power of the universe as symbolized by thunder. As such, he is the highest deity of the exorcistic Thunder Rites (*\*leifa*).

In the *\*Shenxiao* pantheon, Puhua tianzun is one of the Nine Monarchs (*jiuchen* 九宸; see under *\*Changsheng dadi*) and is flanked by *\*Jiuku tianzun* (Celestial Worthy Who Relieves Suffering). In Taoist iconography, he is portrayed with the attributes of Samantabhadra (Puxian 普賢), the bodhisattva who rides an elephant.

*Caroline GYSS*

※ *Yushu jing; leifa*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

*qi*

氣

pneuma (breath, energy, vital force)

See \**jing*, *qi*, *shen* 精·氣·神.

*qigong*

氣功

“practice of *qi*”; “efficiency of *qi*”

*Qigong* is a product of the twentieth century, but is rooted in the earlier tradition. The term is mentioned in the Tang period to designate the “practice of *\*qi*,” and in the Song period the “efficiency of *qi*.” In modern times, it has taken on a new meaning and refers not only to Nourishing Life (*\*yangsheng*) but also to martial and therapeutic techniques. As the term *qigong* signifies both “practice” and “efficiency” of *qi*, it can embrace all types of techniques, both traditional and modern.

Depending on the doctrinal and social context of these practices, historians currently divide *qigong* into six branches: a Taoist *qigong*, a Buddhist *qigong*, a Confucian *qigong*, a medical *qigong*, a martial *qigong*, and a popular *qigong* (including the methods of rural exorcists and sorcerers). According to the features of the practice, they also distinguish between a “strong *qigong*” (*ying qigong* 硬氣功), incorporating martial techniques, and a “soft *qigong*” (*ruan qigong* 軟氣功). The latter is further divided into two groups:

1. *Jinggong* 靜功, or the practice of *qi* in rest, which traditionally was called “sitting in oblivion” (*\*zuowang*) by Taoists, “sitting in *dhyāna*” (*chanzuo* 禪坐) by Buddhists, and “quiet sitting” (*\*jingzuo* 靜坐) by Neo-Confucians. These sitting practices can be accompanied by breathing, visualization, and mental

concentration.

2. *Donggong* 動功, or the practice of *qi* in movement, which includes the gymnastic traditions (*\*daoyin*) of medical doctors, Taoists, and Buddhists. The induction of spontaneous movements (*zifa donggong* 自發動功) is derived from traditional trance techniques (Despeux 1997).

New practices essentially created in the 1980s were much debated and criticized by traditional religious personalities, *qigong* followers, and authorities. Certain practices, such as the “Soaring Crane form” (*hexiang zhuang* 鶴翔庄), lead to spontaneous movements that were said to cause illness, probably because of their close connection with trance states. Some techniques that emphasize collective practices and promote the establishment of a so-called “area of *qi*” (*qichang* 氣場 to increase efficiency were also strongly criticized; for instance, the method taught by Yan Xin 嚴新, a master who organized collective *qigong* sessions in stadiums with a capacity of up to about ten thousand, was very popular but aroused suspicion among the authorities. As for the therapeutic technique of the *qigong* master who heals people at a distance through his energy or his hands—a method that actually revives the traditional Taoist practice of “spreading breath” (*\*buqi*)—the possible existence of an “outer energy” (*waiqi* 外氣) and its efficacy have been debated at length.

Official *qigong* institutions appeared in the 1950s and 1960s and were at first exclusively concerned with therapeutics. One of the main *qigong* promoters at the time was Liu Guizhen 劉貴珍 (1920–83). A friend of Mao Zedong, he returned to his village after developing a stomach ulcer and practiced breathing and meditation exercises under a Taoist master. Later he created a new method called “practice of inner nourishment” (*neiyang gong* 內養功) and founded *qigong* therapy institutes in Tangshan 唐山 (Hebei) in 1954 and in Beidaihe 北戴河 (Hebei) in 1956. These institutes were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and then partly reconstructed after 1980 when *qigong* flourished again.

From that time, *qigong* began to invade the town parks where masters and followers practice in the morning. Some religious personalities who described themselves as “*qigong* masters” felt encouraged to revive forgotten or little-known practices, or to create new techniques based on the traditional ones. *Qigong* had both enthusiasts and critics among the authorities.

Although its therapeutic function was always essential, certain officials wanted to move *qigong* beyond the realm of individual practice and propound it to the masses and to society, even to the state, because they saw in it economic advantages and the possibility of asserting the specific identity of China, its power and its modernity. *Qigong* was taught in schools and universities and became the object of international congresses and scientific research, and numerous specialized journals and books were published on the subject. Other officials viewed it as charlatanism and superstition, and mistrusted the subversive potential of certain movements. An example is the Falun gong 法輪功 (Practices of the Wheel of the Law), a form of *qigong* allegedly rooted in the Buddhist tradition, which in 1999 organized demonstrations in Beijing and other Chinese cities and was outlawed shortly afterward.

*Catherine DESPEUX*

▣ Chen Bing 1989; Despeux 1997; Esposito 1995; Micollier 1996; Miura Kunio 1989; Penny 1993; Wang Buxiong and Zhou Shirong 1989; Xu Jian 1999

※ *yangsheng*

## Qingcheng shan

青城山

Mount Qingcheng (Sichuan)

Mount Qingcheng (lit., “Green Citadel”) is one peak (about 1600 m high) in a larger chain of mountains overlooking a rich irrigated plain, with the famous Guanxian 灌縣 irrigation works that feed the entire Chengdu basin located just at its base (Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan, is some 60 km to the southeast). The mountain must have been a sacred site already during the time of the Shu 蜀 kingdom before unification with China in the third century BCE. It was closely associated with the nascent Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) during the second century CE. The founding moment of that church, Laozi's appearance to \*Zhang Daoling in 142, took place on Mount Heming (\*Heming shan), near Mount Qingcheng. Zhang Daoling's lore on

Mount Qingcheng is attested as early as the fourth century, as shown by his biography in the *\*Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals; trans. Campany 2002, 349–54). *\*Fan Changsheng*, a Taoist leader of one Celestial Masters branch, built an autarchic community on Mount Qingcheng around 300, and later supported a messianic general who founded a short-lived dynasty (see under *\*Dacheng*).

The later history of Mount Qingcheng is known thanks to the great Taoist scholar *\*Du Guangting*, who lived there during the late eighth and early ninth centuries and left records pertaining both to the institutions on the mountain and to popular cults associated with it. The major temples, then as now, are the Jianfu gong 建福宮 (Palace for the Establishment of Blessings) at the foot of the mountain, dedicated to Ningfeng zi 甯封子 (an immortal of antiquity considered to be the god of the mountain, and honored as such in Tang official cults), and, on the mountain itself, the Shangqing gong 上清宮 (Palace of Highest Clarity) and the Changdao guan 常道觀 (Abbey of the Constant Dao). The latter is also known as Tianshi dong 天師洞 (Cavern of the Celestial Master) because it is built around a cave where Zhang Daoling is said to have meditated. The Zhangs of Mount Longhu (*\*Longhu shan*) maintained a strong relationship with that temple. All three temples were founded in the late Six Dynasties or early Tang.

The circumstances of the advent of the *\*Quanzhen* order at Mount Qingcheng are not known. There must have been a Quanzhen presence on the mountain during the Yuan, but sources are scarce, as in the whole of Sichuan which was hit particularly hard by war and depopulation during the thirteenth century. The mountain, as well as closely related monasteries in Chengdu, namely the *\*Qingyang gong* (Palace of the Black Ram) and Erxian an 二仙庵 (Hermitage of the Two Immortals), have been managed since the late seventeenth century by Quanzhen Taoists of a local *\*Longmen* sub-lineage called Dantai bidong 丹臺碧洞 (Jasper Cavern of the Cinnabar Terrace). Mount Qingcheng was one of the first Taoist sites to operate anew after 1978, and a Quanzhen ordination took place there in 1995. Ever since the nineteenth century, moreover, Sichuan Quanzhen has been famous for its alchemical traditions for women (*\*nüdan*), and there is now once again a community of nuns on Mount Qingcheng devoted to its practice.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Hachiya Kunio 1990, 1: 124–77, 294–96, 2: 133–74, 286–87; Peterson T. H. 1995; Wang Chunwu 1994

※ TAOIST SACRED SITES

*qingjing*

清靜

clarity and quiescence

The term *qingjing* and the ideas surrounding it made their first appearance in *Daode jing* 45: “Clear and quiescent, this is the correct mode of all under heaven.” Later the expression was linked to \*Huang-Lao thought and used to refer to a way of government that assured a peaceful life for the people by not burdening them with excessive demands.

Taoism has consistently attached importance to *qingjing* as the ideal state of body and mind. The \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing* says: “Taoists should value their essence and spirit. Clarity and quiescence are the basis” (see Bokenkamp 1997, 121). In the mid-Tang period, the idea of *qingjing* became the central theme of the \**Qingjing jing* (Scripture of Clarity and Quiescence), which states that when the mind is constantly calm and quiet, it becomes clear, desires are eliminated, and one attains the Dao. The *Qingjing jing* was widely read in later times and more than ten commentaries were written on it, including those by \*Du Guangting (850–933) and \*Li Daochun (fl. 1288–92). It was also prized as a basic text by the \*Quanzhen school. Attesting to the importance of the concept of *qingjing* within Quanzhen, one of its branches was called Qingjing, and \*Sun Bu'er (1119–83) took the sobriquet Vagabond of Clarity and Quiescence (Qingjing sanren 清靜散人). Little, however, is known about the Qingjing branch of Quanzhen except that its practices included \**neidan*.

In ancient times, the characters *jing* 靜 and *jing* 淨 (whose meanings were later differentiated into “quiescence” and “purity”) were interchangeable and *qingjing* 清靜 could also be written *qingjing* 清淨. For instance, in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; j. 130) Laozi is described as “transforming himself through non-action (\**wuwei*) and establishing himself as correct through clarity and purity (*qingjing* 清淨).” This compound cannot but call to mind



Buddhist terminology. The idea of *qingjing* already existed in early Buddhism, since terms equivalent to the Chinese compound *qingjing* 清淨 can be found in both Sanskrit and Pāli (*parisuddhi*, *visuddhi*; “clear and pure,” free from defilement), and was later developed within Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Buddhism into the idea of the “innately pure mind” (meaning that the mind of sentient beings is inherently pure and free from defilement). Whereas Chinese Buddhism always uses the compound *qingjing* 清淨 (clarity and purity) rather than *qingjing* 清靜 (clarity and quiescence), Taoism uses both interchangeably. When *qingjing* 清淨 (clarity and purity) is used, however, there is ample room for considering a Buddhist influence.

MIURA Kunio

▣ Hosokawa Kazutoshi 1987; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 273–77; see also bibliography for the entry \**Qingjing jing*

※ *Qingjing jing*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

### *Qingjing jing*

清靜經

#### Scripture of Clarity and Quiescence

The *Qingjing jing*, dating from the mid-Tang period, appears variously in the Taoist Canon, both alone (CT 620) and with commentary (CT 755 to CT 760, and CT 974), as well as in a slightly longer—and possibly earlier—version known as the *Qingjing xinjing* 清靜心經 (Heart Scripture of Clarity and Quiescence; CT 1169). Spoken by \*Laojun himself and written in verses of four characters, the text combines the thought and phrasing of the *Daode jing* with the practice of Taoist observation (\**guan*) and the structure of the Buddhist *Banruo xinjing* 般若心經 (Heart Sūtra of Perfect Wisdom). Following the latter's model, the *Qingjing jing*, as much as the earlier *Xiaozai huming miaojing* 消災護命妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on Dispelling Disasters and Protecting Life; CT 19), is a collection of essential or “heart” passages that is used less for inspiration and doctrinal teaching than for ritual recitation (\**songjing*).

The text first describes the nature of the Dao as divided into Yin and

Yang, clear and turbid (*qing* 清 and *zhuo* 濁), moving and quiescent (*\*dong* and *jing*), and stresses the importance of the mind in the creation of desires and worldly entanglements. It recommends the practice of observation to counteract this, i.e., the observation of other beings, the self, and the mind, which results in the realization that none of these really exist. The practitioner has reached the observation of emptiness (*kongguan* 空觀). The latter part of the work reverses direction and outlines the decline from pure spirit to falling into hell: spirit (*\*shen*) develops consciousness or mind (*\*xin*), and mind develops greed and attachment toward the myriad beings. Greed then leads to involvement, illusory imagining, and erroneous ways, which trap beings in the chain of rebirth and, as they sink deeper into the quagmire of desire, causes them to fall into hell.

The earliest extant commentary to the *Qingjing jing* is by *\*Du Guangting* (850–933; CT 759). The text rose to great prominence in the Song dynasty, when it was used in the Southern Lineage (*\*Nanzong*) by such masters as *\*Bai Yuchan* (1194–1229?), *\*Li Daochun* (fl. 1288–92), and *\*Wang Jie* (?–ca. 1380), all of whom interpreted it in a *\*neidan* context (CT 757, 755, and 760, respectively). Later the *Qingjing jing* became a central scripture of the *\*Quanzhen* school, in whose monasteries it is recited to the present day as part of the regular morning and evening devotions.

Livia KOHN

▣ Balfour 1884, 70–73 (trans.); Fukui Fumimasa 1987, 280–85; Ishida Hidemi 1987b (crit. ed. and trans.); Kohn 1993b, 24–29 (trans.); Mitamura Keiko 1994; Wong Eva 1992 (trans. of comm. by Shuijing zi 水精子)

※ *qingjing*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*qingtan*

清談

Pure Conversation

Pure Conversation was a style of discourse that developed during the Wei (220–65) and Jin (265–420) dynasties. It has its roots in the metaphysical and political discussions of the Later Han dynasty (25–220), particularly character

evaluations known as “pure critiques” (*qingyi* 清議). Pure Conversation eventually developed into a sophisticated intellectual game, consisting of rounds of debate during which the “host” would propose a principle, and the “guest” would present his objection. Debaters often accentuated their arguments with dramatic gestures employing fly-whisks or the sleeves of their robes.

The Zhengshi reign period (240–48) of the Wei dynasty is generally considered the golden age of Pure Conversation. The brightest stars of this period were \*Wang Bi (226–49) and He Yan 何晏 (190–249), leaders of a school of metaphysical thought drawing on the *Daode jing*, the \**Zhuangzi*, and the \**Yijing* known as Arcane Learning (\*Xuanxue). The political turbulence of the following generation led its greatest Pure Conversationalists, including \*Xi Kang (223–62) and the poet Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–63; Holzman 1976), to pursue a life of reclusion and spontaneity as an alternative to engagement in the world.

During the Jin dynasty, Pure Conversation became increasingly formalized, with debaters specializing in particular topics. With the rising popularity of Buddhist texts such as the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* (Teaching of Vimalakīrti) and the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) literature, the monk Zhi Dun 支盾 (314–66, also known as Zhi Daolin 支道林) became one of the most celebrated Pure Conversationalists of the fourth century. Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–43) compiled anecdotes and sayings attributed to the great Pure Conversationalists in his *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Account of Tales of the World; trans. Mather 1976).

*Theodore A. COOK*

▣ Balázs 1948; Chan A. K. L. 1991b, 25–28; Henricks 1983; Tang Changru 1955, 289–350; Yü Ying-shih 1985; Zhou Shaoxian 1966

Qingtong

青童

Azure Lad

Azure Lad, despite his unassuming name, is one of the main deities in

\*Shangqing Taoism. He is also commonly referred to in Taoist texts as Shangxiang Qingtong jun 上相青童君 (Lord Azure Lad, Supreme Minister) or Fangzhu Qingtong jun 方諸青童君 (Lord Azure Lad of Fangzhu). As Supreme Minister, his position in the celestial hierarchy is just below that of Lijun 李君 (Lord Li), and as the lord of the paradise isle of Fangzhu 方諸 in the east, he is strongly associated with spring, dawn, and the regenerative forces of Yang. References to a Haitong 海童 (Sea Lad) or Donghai jun 東海君 (Lord of the Eastern Sea) may already be found in Eastern Jin poetry and *zhiguai* 志怪 fiction (“records of the strange”), and his identity seems to have developed in eastern China from the earlier, more shadowy figure Dongwang gong 東王公 (King Lord of the East). As such, he becomes to some extent a male counterpart of \*Xiwang mu (Queen Mother of the West), and Fangzhu becomes the counterpart of Mount \*Kunlun, Xiwang mu's abode.

Azure Lad more specifically manages the affairs of earthly transcendents (*dixian* 地仙); he functions as the Great Director of Destinies (Da siming 大司命; see \*Siming) over the other Directors of Destinies in the Five Peaks (\*wuyue) and the various Grotto-Heavens (\*dongtian; see \*[Zhengao](#), 4.9b, 9.22a). The master name lists of those destined for immortality or death are kept in his palace at Fangzhu. After visiting other Grotto-Heavens and examining the earthly transcendents' progress, he returns to Fangzhu every *dingmao* 丁卯 day (the fourth of the sexagesimal cycle; *Zhengao* 9.15b). Thus he is often recorded in Shangqing texts as revealing scriptures to worthy adepts.

Thomas E. SMITH

▣ Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1990; Kroll 1985; Kroll 1986b; Schafer 1985, 108–21

※ Shangqing

Qingwei

清微

Pure Tenuity

The Qingwei ritual system took shape in late thirteenth-century Fujian. Its main extant texts were first codified by \*Huang Shunshen (1224–after 1286),

who claimed to have received them from Nan Bidao 南畢道(1196-?). As “the synthesis of all traditions,” these texts and their associated rituals wed the Thunderclap rites (*leiting* 雷霆; see *\*leifa*) used by the *\*Shenxiao* (Divine Empyrean) and *\*Lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) legacies to the heritage of Tantric Buddhism. Although early sources claim to be grounded in teachings that passed through a line of five Guangxi spiritual matriarchs purported to have lived in Tang times, the first codifications of this system boast a patriarchal line that leads to Fujian literati in the mid-thirteenth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Qingwei teachings had spread to many areas of south China, including major centers on Mount Wudang (*\*Wudang shan*, Hubei) and in Jiangxi, and by Ming times, Taoist priests saw the Qingwei and Shenxiao systems as the main Taoist ritual programs available.

Chapters 1–55 of the *\*Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual; CT 1220) contain a collection of Qingwei manuals. Besides these works, six other texts form the core of the Qingwei legacy in the Taoist Canon:

1. *Qingwei xuanshu zougao yi* 清微玄樞奏告儀 (Protocols for Announcements to the Mysterious Pivot of the Pure Tenuity; CT 218) by Yang Xizhen 楊希真 (1101–24), a disciple of Huang Shunshen from Mount Wudang, which consists of a manual on submitting petitions.
2. *\*Qingwei xianpu* (Register of Pure Tenuity Transcendents; CT 171), compiled by Chen Cai 陳采 in 1293, which may also derive from Huang Shunshen's teachings, but asserts that the Qingwei tradition was created by the matriarch Zu Shu 祖舒 (fl. 889–904) who first blended Thunderclap rituals and Tantric Buddhist maṇḍalas.
3. *Qingwei yuanjiang dafa* 清微元降大法 (Great Rites Based on the Original Revelations of the Pure Tenuity; CT 223), probably from the fourteenth century, which offers the most comprehensive treatment of Qingwei ritual and focuses on rites for saving dead ancestors.
4. *Qingwei zhaifa* 清微齋法 (Rituals for the Pure Tenuity Retreat; CT 224), also from the fourteenth century, which shows how Qingwei adapted the Lingbao Retreat (*\*zhai*) into its ritual system.
5. *Qingwei danjue* 清微丹訣 (Elixir Instructions for the Pure

Tenuity; CT 278), also from the fourteenth century, which emphasizes the complementarity of \**neidan* and Qingwei ritual.

6. *Qingwei shenlie bifa* 清微神烈祕法 (Secret Rites of the Divine Candescence of the Pure Tenuity; CT 222), dating from the late Yuan, with diagrams for conquering demons in the Qingwei Thunder Rites tradition.

This substantial textual material, which has scarcely been studied, provides the basis for one of the last major traditions to be included in the Ming Taoist Canon.

*Lowell SKAR*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 38–41, 68–70; Davis E. 2001, 29–30; Despeux 2000a; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: 137–41 and 340–43; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 141–48; Reiter 1988a, 40–52; Schipper 1987

※ Huang Shunshen; *Qingwei xianpu*

### *Qingwei xianpu*

清微仙譜

#### Register of Pure Tenuity Transcendents

Consisting of cosmological-cum-hagiographic accounts of how the \*Qingwei tradition was passed down from exalted deities to its late Southern Song synthesizer, \*Huang Shunshen (1224-after 1286), this work's worldly existence can be credited to Huang's disciple, Chen Cai 陳采, who wrote a preface dated 1293. The text (CT 171) includes sections on the early transmission of Qingwei teachings, and charts of the transmissions of the \*Shangqing, \*Lingbao, Daode 道德 (i.e., *Laozi*), and \*Zhengyi traditions, which the Qingwei “Synthetic Way” (*huidao* 會道) claimed to blend. These charts, which serve as rosters of deities to be summoned during the performance of rituals, include the lineage that ends with the eleventh patriarch, Huang Shunshen, who appears to have synthesized the tradition for his many followers.

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 39, 68–70

※ Huang Shunshen; Qingwei

## Qingyang gong

青羊宮

Palace of the Black Ram (Chengdu, Sichuan)

The Qingyang gong is the major Taoist sanctuary in Chengdu (Sichuan), built at the site where Laozi allegedly met \*Yin Xi for the second time, identified him as a fully realized Taoist, and empowered him to join him on his western journey as a full partner. The legend tells how Yin Xi was to recognize Laozi through the sign of a black ewe (although the sheep at the temple today have prominent horns and are definitely rams), which was to be sold, bought, or otherwise present when he appeared.

The story is first recorded in the Tang collection \**Sandong zhunang* (The Pearl Satchel of the Three Caverns) and is given prominent status in a Tang inscription at the temple—at this time still called Zhongxuan guan 中玄觀 (Abbey of Central Mystery) and located at Black Ram Market. The text, by the scholar-official Yue Penggui 樂朋龜 is contained in the *Xichuan Qingyang gong beiming* 西川青羊宮碑銘 (Stele Inscription at the Palace of the Black Ram in Sichuan; CT 964), dated 884. It begins with an outline of Laozi's life and then describes how, in October 883, a \**jiao* (Offering) ceremony was held in the temple. Suddenly a red glow illuminated the area, coalescing into a purple hue near a plum tree. Bowing, the officiating priest advanced and had the indicated spot excavated to uncover a solid square brick. It bore six characters in ancient seal script that read: “The Most High Lord brings peace to the upheaval of [the reign period] Central Harmony.” Not only was this wondrous text written in a “seal script” that had not been in use for a millennium, but the brick itself was like an ancient lithophone, making marvelous sounds when struck and appearing luminous like jade when examined closely.

After an exchange of several memorials and formal orders, all faithfully

recorded in the inscription, the temple was formally renamed Qingyang gong, granted several new halls and a large piece of land, and honored with gifts of cash and valuables. The officiating priest was promoted in rank and given high emoluments. In addition, great festivals were held at Taoist institutions throughout the empire, and Yue Penggui was entrusted with writing the inscription. The Qingyang gong thereby became the major Taoist center it still is today.

Livia KOHN

▣ Hachiya Kunio 1990, 1: 113–22 and 293, 2: 122–31 and 285; Kusuyama Haruki 1978; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 265–66; Yūsa Noboru 1986

※ TEMPLES AND SHRINES

*Qinyuan chun*

沁園春

Spring in the Garden by the Qin River

This short alchemical lyric (*ci* 詞), ascribed to \*Lü Dongbin, is one of the most famous texts of the \*Zhong-Lü tradition. The date of the work is uncertain. Its transmission is recounted in an anecdote found in Liu Fu's 劉斧 (1040–after 1113) *Qingsuo gaoyi* 青瑣高議 (Notes and Opinions Deserving the Highest Consideration; Shanghai guji chubanshe ed., *Qianji* 前集 8.82). This source states that the poem was revealed by a cobbler to a scholar named Cui Zhong 崔中 in Yueyang 嶽陽 (Hunan), a cultic center associated with Lü Dongbin. Since the cobbler was illiterate, he asked Cui to write down the words for him. Asked who he was, the cobbler answered with an anagram. Cui reported the strange encounter to the governor of Yueyang, who immediately recognized the cobbler as Lü Dongbin.

The poem is reproduced in several collections, and differing interpretations abound. The main commentaries in the Taoist Canon are those by a Li zhenren 李真人 (Perfected Li) in the *Longhu huandan jue* 龍虎還丹訣 (Instructions on the Reverted Elixir of the Dragon and Tiger; Northern Song; CT 1084, 8b–16a); Li Jianyi 李簡易 (fl. 1264–66) in the *Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao* 玉谿子丹經指要 (Essential Directions on the Scriptures of



the Elixirs by the Master of the Jade Gorge; 1264; CT 245, 3.11b–16b); Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260–64) in the *\*Jindan dacheng ji* (*\*Xiuzhen shishu*; CT 263, 13.9b–17b); and *\*Yu Yan* in the *Qinyuan chun danci zhujie* 沁園春丹詞注解 (Commentary and Explication of the Alchemical Lyric *Qinyuan chun*; CT 136). The commentary by Yu Yan is of special interest because of the texts and authors quoted therein.

The *\*neidan* process described in the poem consists of the collection of Real Yang (*zhenyang* 真陽) at the *\*zi* hour, its union with Real Yin (*zhenyin* 真陰) to obtain the elixir seed, the purification by fire phasing (*\*huohou*), and the gestation and birth of the immortal. To achieve transfiguration and return to the Dao, the adept should first accomplish 3,000 meritorious deeds.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1985

※ Lü Dongbin; *neidan*; Zhong-Lü

Qiu Chuji

丘處機

1148–1227; *zi*: Tongmi 通密;  
*hao*: Changchun 長春 (Perpetual Spring)

Qiu Chuji (Qiu Changchun) is the youngest of the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)), the paradigmatic group of *\*Wang Zhe*'s disciples that formed the first generation of *\*Quanzhen* masters. While some of these figures, such as *\*Tan Chuduan* or *\*Ma Yu*, had been already experienced in Taoist and other teachings when they became Wang's disciples, Qiu came as a twenty year-old orphan keen on self-cultivation but unable to find proper guidance. Some accounts even suggest that he learned to read with Wang, which seems unlikely. Another later legend has him begging an old woman who lives as an ascetic in the mountains to instruct him in immortality techniques. The lady then directs him to Wang, describing the master as the only person able to unravel the secrets of Taoism for the benefit of all.

When Qiu found in Wang the master he was looking for, he placed

himself entirely at his service and became one of his four core disciples. He accompanied his master on his last journey, and then helped carry his coffin to the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi). After the three-year mourning period, while Ma Yu stayed near Wang's tomb, the other three went their ways to complete their ascetic training. Qiu spent six years in Panxi 磻溪 (Shaanxi), and seven more years in Longmen 龍門 (on the Shaanxi-Gansu border), practicing typical Quanzhen austerities such as standing on one foot for days, going without sleep for weeks, roaming half-naked in the midst of winter, staying by the fireside during the scorching heat of summer, not eating, and fraternizing with mountain beasts. Worst of all, according to his disciples' recorded sayings, were the mental states of fright and demonic hallucinations experienced under such conditions, which Qiu had to overcome to gain complete control of his mind.

Now a mature Taoist, Qiu must have begun to teach during this period, for he emerges then as a famous religious figure. Between 1186 and 1191, he stayed at the Zuting 祖庭 (Ancestral Court), the temple and conventual buildings erected around Wang's grave, which later became the Chongyang gong 重陽宮 (Palace of Double Yang). Ma Yu had directed this community until his departure in 1182, and since then it had been quite active on its own. Qiu was also summoned to the Jin court in 1188. In 1191, he went back to his native Shandong, where he began to gather disciples and built several new abbeys, which he organized as a network so that he could obtain funds to buy new abbey licenses. In 1195 the Zuting was closed down, an event that brought to a peak the tension between the Quanzhen order and the Jin state, which had been rising since 1190. In this predicament, the Shaanxi Quanzhen leaders turned to Qiu, who managed to save the Zuting. This suggests that—although the later Quanzhen hagiographies have the four disciples Ma Yu, Tan Chuduan, \*Liu Chuxuan, and Qiu Chuji become successive patriarchs, which would have made Liu the patriarch at that time—it was Qiu who actually mastered a corporate leadership of the order.



Fig. 63. Qiu Chuji. Reproduced from Zhongguo daojiao xiehui 1983.

In the following years, large areas of northern China and especially Shandong were plunged into chaos as a result of the 1194 Yellow River defluviation, Mongol invasions, war between the Song and Jin, and various rebellions. The Quanzhen's autonomous organization grew under Qiu's leadership and proved increasingly efficient, enabling him to run relief operations and gain a political position. Qiu was already an old man when he was summoned by the Mongol emperor, Chinggis khan (Taizu, r. 1206–27), in 1219. Accompanied by eighteen of his most eminent disciples, Qiu made

the long and arduous journey to central Asia to finally meet the khan in 1222. This event, the most famous of his life, is told in detail in the *\*Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (Records of a Journey to the West by the Real Man Changchun). Qiu's influence on the khan is difficult to estimate, but the subsequent privileges enjoyed by the Quanzhen order were put to good use for the civilian population. Qiu was therefore granted a biography in the official history (*Yuanshi*, j. 202), a rare feat for a religious leader, and has been since then considered to be a savior whose actions helped to spare thousands of Chinese lives.

Back in Beijing in 1224, Qiu took control of the largest Taoist monastery there, the Tianchang guan 天長觀 (Abbey of Celestial Perpetuity), which was soon renamed Changchun gong 長春宮 (Palace of Perpetual Spring) in his honor. From this base, he began to organize a nationwide autonomous hierarchical structure for the Quanzhen order, which, after the fall of the remaining Jin territory in 1234, extended to the whole of northern China. When he died in 1227, he was buried next to the Changchun gong, and a subordinate monastery, the *\*Baiyun guan* (Abbey of the White Clouds), was built around it. Subsequent Quanzhen patriarchs continued to be based there.

Qiu's life is known from a variety of sources, including several hagiographic accounts and a host of inscriptions that are either devoted to him or mention his actions. A more familiar picture of the man and his teachings emerges from the anecdotes told by his disciples *\*Wang Zhijin* and *\*Yin Zhiping* in their recorded sayings. Moreover, an extended biography, the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* 玄風慶會圖 (Felicitous Meetings with the Mysterious School, with Illustrations; Katz P. R. 2001), was published on several occasions, including a very fine 1305 Hangzhou edition, the first *juan* of which is still extant but not widely available: in it Qiu's life is divided into accounts of independent events each embellished by an illustration. This genre was also used to recount in both book and mural form the lives of *\*Lü Dongbin* and *Wang Zhe* (the text is lost but surely inspired the murals in the Pavilion of Pure Yang, or *Chunyang dian* 純陽殿, of the *\*Yongle gong*), as well as the life of Laozi and his eighty-one transformations (see *\*Laojun bashiyi hua tu*). This is no mere coincidence: Qiu's travels to the west to convert the “barbarians” (i.e., the Mongols) were likened to Laozi's similar venture, and Qiu's successor to Quanzhen patriarchy, *Yin Zhiping*, was considered to be a new *\*Yin Xi*.

Only a portion of Qiu's own writings is extant. Some poems are included

in the *Panxi ji* 磻溪集 (Anthology of the Master from Panxi; CT 1159), dating from 1208 (Wong Shiu Hon 1988b; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 215–16). Other poems by Qiu are found in the *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* and the \**Minghe yuyin* (Echoes of Cranes' Songs; CT 1100). Biographical data provide more titles of his lost books, some of which may actually have overlapped with the extant works. A *Mingdao ji* 鳴道集 (Anthology of Songs to the Dao) seems to have been extant until the mid-Ming, as it is quoted in the *Zhenquan* 真詮 (Veritable Truth; \**Daozang jiyao*, vol. 15). A \**neidan* treatise, the *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Straightforward Directions on the Great Elixir; CT 244), is attributed to him, but this is very likely a later attribution because the text is not mentioned in any biographical source, and also because Qiu does not seem to have been fond of theoretical writing.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 66–67, 157–60; de Rachewiltz and Russell 1984; Endres 1985; Eskildsen 2001; Marsone 2001a, 105; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: 183–207; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 333–34; Yao Tao-chung 1986; Zhao Yi 1999; Zhou Shaoxian 1982

※ *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*; *Minghe yuyin*; Quanzhen

Qiu Zhao'ao

仇兆鰲

1638–1713; *zi*: Cangzhu 滄柱; *hao*: Zhiji zi 知幾子  
(Master Who Knows the Subtle Beginnings)

Born in the Yin 鄞 district of Zhejiang, Qiu Zhao was a disciple of Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–95; ECCP 351–54) and obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1685. He entered the Hanlin Academy in Beijing but later retired to devote himself to the practice of \**neidan*. He studied with Tao Susi 陶素耜 (fl. 1676) and received the \**Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*) from a master of Mount Wuyi (\*Wuyi shan, Fujian).

Besides commentaries to Confucian classics and to Du Fu's 杜甫 (712–70) poems, Qiu wrote two valuable compilations of notes on the \**Wuzhen pian*

(Folios on Awakening to Reality) and the *Cantong qi*. The former, entitled *Wuzhen pian jizhu* 悟真篇集注 (Collected Commentaries to the *Wuzhen pian*; 1703, printed in 1713), contains selections from nine commentaries, including those of \*Weng Baoguang, \*Chen Zhixu, \*Lu Xixing, and \*Peng Haogu. The second, entitled *Guben Zhouyi cantong qi jizhu* 古本周易參同契 (Collected Commentaries to the Ancient Version of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; 1704, printed in 1710), contains selections from sixteen commentaries, including those of \*Peng Xiao, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (see \*[Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi](#)), \*Chen Xianwei, and \*Yu Yan. It also includes passages of Du Yicheng's 杜一誠 (fl. 1517) lost commentary, the first known work to be based on the “ancient text” (*guwen* 古文) version of the *Cantong qi*. Both compilations also include Qiu's own notes and diagrams.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

※ *neidan*

*qixue*

氣血

“breath and blood”

*Qixue* refers to “breath” (\**qi*) and “blood” (*xue*), which are viewed as flowing constantly through the body, being mutually transformed into one another. *Qixue* permeates the entire body, but it is thought to be particularly prone to flow within the conduits (\**jingluo*). In Chinese medicine, acupuncture and moxibustion treatment is directed at regulating its flow and balancing any form of excess. *Qi* is generally attributed with Yang aspects and *xue* with Yin aspects, though the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, depending on the context in which they are mentioned. In those cases *qi* and *xue* do not designate different entities, but different aspects of the same entity. This view is however not univocally given in the \**Huangdi neijing*. In *Lingshu* 靈樞 30 (Numinous Pivot; see *Huangdi neijing*), for instance, \**jing* (essence) is opposed to *qi*, and *xue* to *mai* 脈 (conduits or channels); but *jing*, *qi*, *xue*, and *mai* are all said to be aspects of *qi*. Here *qi* is used in two different senses: once it is mentioned in a narrow sense as an opposite of *jing*, and once in a

wider sense as a superordinate term that embraces many different aspects of the phenomenal world. Blood is defined in this chapter as the *qi* that the “middle burner” (*zhongjiao* 中焦, the stomach system) receives and transforms into a red liquid.

*Elisabeth HSU*

▣ Larre 1982, 183–86; Porkert 1974, 166–86; Sivin 1987, 46–53, 147–71

※ *jing, qi, shen*

### *Qizhen nianpu*

七真年譜

### Chronology of the Seven Real Men

The *Qizhen nianpu* (CT 175), compiled in 1271, is one of the three extant historiographical works written by the \*Quanzhen master \*Li Daoqian. The author uses all major historiographical formats to recount the history of Quanzhen; the present text is akin to the antique style of the chronology as it provides in a serious tone, year after year, the whereabouts and major deeds of \*Wang Zhe and his disciples, the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)). The sources are varied, including biographies (notably the *Qizhen xianzhuan* 七真 仙傳; see \*[Jinlian zhengzong ji](#)), inscriptions, and the literary anthologies of the Seven Real Men. In his postface, Li explains that he has found the latter especially reliable.

The *Qizhen nianpu* spans 116 years, from Wang Zhe's birth (in lunar year 1112, corresponding to January 1113) to \*Qiu Chuji's death in 1227. Each year's entry first mentions the age either of Wang Zhe (until 1170) or of one of his four favorite disciples in this sequence: \*Ma Yu, \*Tan Chuduan, \*Liu Chuxuan, and finally Qiu Chuji. The text thus implies that each of the four in turn headed the Quanzhen order, a theory with no historical basis. Related events focus on the social activities of the masters, especially their ascetic prowess in public, their ritual performances, and their relationship to the state. Unpleasant events, however, such as the Quanzhen proscription in 1190–97, are omitted, and controversial ones (like the story of a Buddhist monk breaking two of Tan Chuduan's teeth) are written anew (here the culprit

is a beggar). The *Qizhen nianpu* was therefore contrived to present a consensual version of Quanzhen's history when its political role was being questioned at the imperial court.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 68; Chen Guofu 1963, 243; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 199–200

※ Li Daoqian; Quanzhen

## Quanzhen

全真

Completion of Authenticity; Complete Reality;  
Complete Perfection

Quanzhen is today the main official branch of Taoism in continental China. This status is not primarily due to its doctrines, for Quanzhen tenets do not radically differ from those of other Taoist schools, but rather to its celibate and communal mode of life. At least since the Tang, the Chinese state wanted Taoists to conform to Buddhist standards, but although Buddhist-style monasteries had existed since the fifth century, regulations imposing celibacy on Taoists had largely remained unheeded. The appearance around 1170 of Quanzhen, the first Taoist monastic order, whose members could more easily be registered and wore distinctive garments, apparently fit the state's religious policy of segregation between the lay and religious. Although its fortunes were not as good under the Ming dynasty as they were in the Yuan and Qing periods, Quanzhen has consistently enjoyed official protection since 1197. In this position, Quanzhen has played a major role in transmitting Taoist texts and practices, especially through the persecutions of the twentieth century.

*Early history: 1170 to 1368.* Quanzhen was founded by a charismatic preacher, \*Wang Zhe, a \**neidan* practitioner who lived as a hermit in the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi) and reportedly was guided by the popular immortals \*Zhongli Quan, \*Lü Dongbin, and \*Liu Haichan. In 1167, Wang moved to Shandong and converted adepts, seven of



whom were selected by later hagiography as the first generation of Quanzhen masters, the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真): \*Ma Yu, \*Sun Bu'er, \*Tan Chuduan, \*Liu Chuxuan, \*Qiu Chuji, \*Wang Chuyi, and \*Hao Datong (see [table 17](#)). Although Wang had already started to teach and attract disciples in Shaanxi, the formal foundation of Quanzhen is traditionally associated with the setting up of five lay associations (*hui* 會) that were later to support the movement. Wang then took his four favorite disciples (Ma, Tan, Liu, and Qiu) back to the west, and died on the way. The four disciples carried his coffin back to the Zhongnan mountains, where they founded a community and then dispersed to practice asceticism and proselytize in various areas of northern China. Later Quanzhen hagiography relates that the four main disciples became patriarchs (*zongshi* 宗師) in turn after the death of the founder. Actually, the patriarchy was not created before the 1220s.

Table 17

FIRST VERSION	SECOND VERSION
<i>Five Patriarchs</i>	
1 Donghua dijun 東華帝君	1 Laozi 老子
2 Zhongli Quan 鍾離權	2 Donghua dijun
3 Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓	3 Zhongli Quan
4 Liu Haichan 劉海蟾	4 Lü Dongbin
5 Wang Zhe 王嘉 (1113–70)	5 Liu Haichan
<i>Seven Real Men</i>	
1 Ma Yu 馬鈺 (1123–84)	1 Wang Zhe
2 Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (1123–85)	2 Ma Yu
3 Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (1147–1203)	3 Tan Chuduan
4 Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1148–1227)	4 Liu Chuxuan
5 Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142–1217)	5 Qiu Chuji
6 Hao Datong 郝大通 (1140–1213)	6 Wang Chuyi
7 Sun Bu'er 孫不二 (1119–83)	7 Hao Datong

The Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖) and the Seven Real Men  
(or Seven Perfected, *qizhen* 七真) of Quanzhen.

During its first decades, Quanzhen had no official existence. The teachings halls (*tang* 堂) and hermitages (*an* 庵 or 菴) founded then were not recognized by the state and many masters were not ordained Taoists. As the

Quanzhen teachings quickly became popular, adepts were often invited into *guan* 觀, the usually family-run official headquarters for Taoist communities. Quanzhen adepts, however, seem to have felt that they did not really belong to such hereditary institutions, and usually founded new institutions as open teaching centers supported by lay groups. The situation deteriorated when these foundations were forbidden by the state. Quanzhen was banned in 1190 and its main center, the community built around Wang Zhe's grave in Shaanxi, was closed in 1195.

Under the management of Qiu Chuji, however, Quanzhen had built its own network and in 1197 managed to buy official recognition on favorable terms from an already depleted Jin state. Quanzhen's autonomy grew even more during the troubled times of the early thirteenth century, and when the Mongol emperor Chinggis khan (Taizu, r. 1206–27) summoned Qiu, it was in his capacity as a leader of a movement exercising influence over the whole country. In the most famous episode of Quanzhen's history, Qiu travelled to see the khan in 1222 and came back with decrees conferring on him a host of fiscal and political privileges (see under *\*Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*).

Historians have long debated the precise extent of those privileges and whether the order abused them. What seems clear is that Quanzhen became the official form of Taoism, and that most of the independent *guan* converted to it. When the Mongols conquered the remnants of the Jin empire in 1234, Quanzhen leaders, who were on good terms with the local Chinese and foreign chiefs, secured the conversion of the important centers in Shanxi, Shaanxi and Henan. This rapid development was backed by an autonomous organization, at the head of which was the powerful patriarch who nominated a religious administration answering only to him. This autonomy allowed Quanzhen to thrive during a time of chaos, and to raise funds on a nationwide scale for projects of both a social nature (famine relief, ransoms, and so forth) and a religious nature, the most spectacular of which is the compilation of the largest-ever Taoist Canon between 1237 and 1244 (see *\*Xuandu baozang*).

Controversy arose quickly, however, and some influential Buddhist hierarchs accused Quanzhen of appropriating Buddhist temples. What probably happened is that Quanzhen masters repaired and managed many abandoned religious sites, usually with the approval of local leaders. Even the Confucian school in Beijing was run by Quanzhen masters for several decades. This disruption of the religious status quo was considered dangerous, and when a doctrinal controversy arose around the old *huahu* 化

胡 (“conversions of the barbarians”; see \**Huahu jing*) theme, the Buddhists secured in 1255, and again in 1258, a formal disavowal in court of the Quanzhen leaders. In a largely unrelated event, the ageing emperor Khubilai (Shizu, r. 1260–1294) reacted angrily to some religious brawls in Beijing, as well as to several military defeats, and condemned the Quanzhen-compiled Taoist Canon to be burned in 1281. Quanzhen activities also were curtailed for a time.

The debates did not have the devastating effects on Quanzhen that some historians have assumed. The best measure of the order's vitality, a chart of the numbers of Quanzhen stelae erected per year (with a total of over 500 for the 1170–1368 period), shows that its peak was indeed reached in the 1260s and slightly declined after that but remained at a high level until the 1340s. The rapid development of the order was limited when most of the earlier Taoist centers had already been converted to it, and when the pace of establishing new centers had naturally slowed. The Buddhist reaction was probably no more than one of several limiting factors. It is estimated that around the year 1300, Quanzhen had some 4,000 monasteries in northern China. Its inroads into southern China after 1276 were quantitatively more modest, probably because the social conditions were different and the southern religious scene had been already transformed by other renewal movements.

In the fourteenth century, many Taoist schools—including the newly introduced \*Xuanjiao—were competing for support at court, although they also collaborated with each other. Favours went to each of them in turn, and Quanzhen had another a glorious day in 1310, when a new canonization bestowed titles on its ancestors and past patriarchs even grander than those granted in an earlier 1269 decree. These court politics, however, meant little for the vigorous Quanzhen institutions in the provinces. The earlier independence and power of the patriarchs had mostly gone, but at the local level, Quanzhen monasteries continued until 1368 to enjoy the legal and administrative independence characteristic of the Yuan religious policy.

*Six centuries of Quanzhen presence.* During the Ming period, Quanzhen exerted far less influence than it had under the Mongols, chiefly due to the end of its state-declared autonomy. The Quanzhen clergy and institutions were integrated into the religious bureaucracy whose head was the Celestial Master (\**tianshi*) of the \*Zhengyi order. Some of its main formation centers,

such as the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing, were also directed by Zhengyi dignitaries. At the same time, Quanzhen ascetic training drew admiration from Taoists of all obediences: its status was acknowledged in such Zhengyi texts as the \**Daomen shigui* and the \**Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce*. These methods were taught in the small Quanzhen communities (\**daoyuan*) that were attached to most major Taoist centers, regardless of their affiliation.

This lack of institutional control, however, impeded Quanzhen's vitality, and the centralizing brotherhood of the Yuan dynasty (when almost all monks and nuns, whatever their generation, had shared a few common characters in their religious names) gave way during the Ming to more and more branches or lineages (*pai* 派). At the very end of the Ming, the \*Longmen lineage (the most prestigious, although apparently not a very ancient one) began to restore Quanzhen's former independence. Its actual founder, \*Wang Changyue (?–1680), benefited from Manchu's support and changed the monastic ordination system, which since then was controlled by Longmen masters. In the wake of this renewal movement, coupled with political change, Longmen gained control of many monasteries and convents throughout the country. During the late Qing, most eminent Quanzhen writers came from southern China, such as \*Min Yide (1748–1836) and \*Chen Minggui (1824–81), and some gazetteers of Quanzhen institutions were compiled in the Jiangnan 江南 area. Archival data, however, suggest that in the mid-eighteenth century most of the 25,000 or so officially recognized Quanzhen Taoists (according to the Taoist Association, there were 20,000 in 2002) lived in northern China, and that therefore their geographical distribution had not changed much since the Yuan.

The historical significance of Quanzhen can be assessed from several points of view. Its role in the political and social history of the Yuan period can hardly be overestimated. Quanzhen is not a transitory phenomenon linked to the Mongol invasion, however, but needs to be explained on the basis of long-term trends. One of these is the closure of Taoist institutions that had become hereditary, each cleric adopting a disciple from his kin. The need to open Taoism to all with true vocations prompted the appearance during the twelfth century of several movements, including the \*Taiyi and the \*Zhen dadao, which expanded quickly by offering instruction to all. These movements rejected or modified the traditional ordination procedures, which usually limited the number of disciples of each master to one. Quanzhen

amplified this renewal with the founding of lay associations for the practice of *neidan*, and by admitting novices of all ages and social classes. One should also mention the important role played by women, who accounted for about one third of the Quanzhen clergy during the Yuan dynasty. In later times, Quanzhen did not play as large a role in channelling religious vocations, but managed to remain open to outsiders. Entry into the novitiate was limited to small “private” temples (*zisun* 子孫), while ordination was monopolized by the large “public” monasteries (*shifang* 十方). In both instances, all applicants were considered, and the selection—necessitated by the economic limitations of Quanzhen institutions—was based not on financial contributions but on individual will and endurance. This entailed very harsh trials. In addition, lay Quanzhen groups developed in the early nineteenth century in the Jiangnan and Guangdong areas. These groups ran spirit-writing shrines devoted to Lü Dongbin, who received lay disciples as Quanzhen practitioners (see under \**fuji*).

*Original institutions for a Taoist renewal.* Most of Quanzhen's institutions can be explained as an opening of the Taoist tradition to society at large. The early urge to proselytism gave way to a more restrained style of predication. Yet Quanzhen's literary production of all periods is characterized by both its conservative nature (it does not attempt to reinterpret or add to previous revelations) and its self-avowed function to spread Taoist values and practices to the laity (Quanzhen texts are pedagogical rather than doctrinal). It seems, moreover, that only a small number of Quanzhen texts were added to the edition of the Canon published in 1244. The present Canon contains a large number of Quanzhen texts only because its editors compensated for the irretrievable losses suffered in 1281 with newer Song, Jin and Yuan works. It is important to consider that these texts are not canonical at all. With the possible exception of a few forged “scriptures”—especially the *Taigu jing* 太古經 (Scripture of Great Antiquity) and the *Chiwen donggu jing* 赤文洞古經 (Scripture of Cavernous Antiquity in Red Script)—Quanzhen did not avail itself of any written revelation. The Canon contains sixty Quanzhen works, not including those by Taoists claiming a Quanzhen descent but mainly belonging to the Southern Lineage (\*Nanzong) of *neidan*. Besides these, one can retrieve from various sources eighty-one titles of lost Quanzhen works of the Yuan period, apparently confirming a similar pattern: mainly poetry, gathered either in individual or collective anthologies (the \**Minghe yuyin* being the most famous), as well as hagiographies, commentaries and didactic

works (such as rules and methods).

All these texts were in general circulation and entirely exoteric. Moreover, Quanzhen produced neither ritual nor *neidan* works during the Yuan period. Modern Quanzhen ritual, with the exception of the daily morning and evening services in temples, and the monastic ordination, does not differ much from non-Quanzhen ritual. The major departure is the Quanzhen musical style, which emphasizes Buddhist-influenced choral recitations (see \*[songjing](#)). This does not mean that Quanzhen masters were not interested in such topics: they were actually very active in ritual activities, and their liturgical titles show that they recited all major liturgies current during the Yuan. The same holds for *neidan*: the masters read and commented on the classical works in this genre and did not deem it necessary to create new texts. They rather chose to condense their message and make it available to all, with no changes, through their poetry. Its prevalent themes are conversion and the wonders of inner transmutation through *neidan*.

Whereas most believers simply took part in the rituals, the cult to the immortals, and perhaps meditation classes, others chose to join the order. An adept who converted to Quanzhen took up celibate life. After a novitiate (fixed at three years in late imperial times, but probably of variable length in the Yuan period), he or she was ordained and took the monastic precepts (*chuzhen jie* 初真戒 or “initial precepts for perfection”). A Quanzhen ordination certificate dating from 1244 found at the \*Yongle gong shows that Quanzhen actually used the Tang text of these precepts without substantial changes. Only the Longmen school later slightly modified it. If one stayed in a monastery, one also had to abide by the rules (see \*MONASTIC CODE), but these changed from place to place and in general were not different from those of other Taoists. Quanzhen education was standard in some respects, although emphasis on practical skills (medicine, carpentry, management, and so forth) seems to have been important, especially in Yuan times. Liturgical skills were acquired on an individual basis.

The most prestigious part of Quanzhen pedagogy, and the main reason that many Taoists of other schools came to spend time in Quanzhen communities, is self-cultivation. Quanzhen disciples were given alchemical poems to meditate on, rather in the fashion of a question to be mulled over (*niantou* 念頭) until enlightenment arose. The reading and discussion of *neidan* treatises does not seem to have played an important role during the Yuan, but it did so from the Ming onward, when the scriptures of the more speculative Southern

Lineage were adopted within Quanzhen as the ultimate reference. Quanzhen education also developed specific techniques to help its adepts concentrate on self-cultivation. One was the *\*huandu*, which involved enclosed meditation in a cell for a long period of time, helping adepts to sever links with the mundane world. Quanzhen also developed a communal practice of alchemical meditation (see under *\*zuobo*).

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 64–68 and 123–28; Chen Yuan 1962, 1–80; Goossaert 1997; Goossaert 2001; Goossaert 2004; Hachiya Kunio 1998; Kohn 2003c; Kubo Noritada 1967; Marsone 2001a; Marsone 2001b; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: passim and 4: 280–329; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 170–82; Yao Tao-chung 1980; Yao Tad 2000

※ *yulu*; Longmen; MONASTIC CODE; MONASTICISM; TAOIST LAY ASSOCIATIONS; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.8 (“Quanzhen”)

Rao Dongtian

饒洞天

fl. 994

Rao Dongtian was one of the two original founders of the \*Tianxin zhengfa tradition, second in this capacity only to \*Tan Zixiao, from whom he is said to have learned the practical methods of priesthood. According to the preface to the *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法 (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart of the Highest Clarity; CT 566) by \*Deng Yougong, Rao was a scholar in retirement (*chushi* 處士), living on Mount Huagai (Huagai shan 華蓋山) in central Jiangxi. Deng Yougong reports that one night in 994 Rao saw a multicolored light shining all the way up to heaven from one of the summits, and the following morning when he dug into the ground at the spot from which the light had emitted, he found an encasement of books containing a set of “the secret formulas of the Celestial Heart” (*Tianxin bishi* 天心祕式). Still not knowing how to put the “rubrical instructions” (*juemu* 訣目) and the “precious models” (*yuge* 玉格) into practice, he met a divine person who advised him to become a disciple of Tan Zixiao. Tan transmitted his teaching to Rao and further referred him to the Benevolent and Holy Emperor of Mount Tai, Equal to Heaven (Taishan tianqi rensheng di 泰山天齊仁聖帝), from whom Rao obtained the soldiers of his “army of spirits” (*yinbing* 陰兵). Thus equipped with a complete tradition, he became the “first patriarch of the Tianxin tradition” (CT 566, preface, 1a–b).

The tradition established by Rao Dongtian was transmitted on Mount Huagai, where it reached Deng Yougong through the successive transmissions of four masters. Deng appears to have been active in the late eleventh and the early twelfth centuries and was the editor of the *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, one of the main early compilations of the methods of the Tianxin tradition. He also edited the *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü* 上清骨髓靈文鬼律 (Devil's Code of the Spinal Numinous Script of the Highest Clarity; CT 461), the so-called “devil's code” (i.e., the religious code) of the



tradition. In the preface to this work Deng attributes the creation of the code to Rao, the “founding immortal” (*zuxian* 祖仙), identifying its method with the “secret text” (*biwen* 祕文) unearthed by Rao on Mount Huagai. He states that Rao elaborated the code on the basis of a comparison with the laws and regulations of the worldly administration (see \**Shangqing lingbao dafa*, CT 1223, 43.17a, where Jin Yunzhong 金允中 advances a similar view). It appears that the text was widely diffused among the Taoists of northern Jiangxi, because Deng relates that he searched for copies in monasteries in Hongzhou 洪州 (Jiangxi), Nankang 南康 (Jiangxi), on Mount Lu (\*Lushan, Jiangxi), and in Shuzhou 舒州 (south-western corner of Anhui). He says that in this way he obtained “five versions of the Highest Clarity code,” and that he edited the present version on the basis of a collation of these five versions, arranging the entries in accordance with the original form (CT 461, preface 3a). It would stand to reason, in light of these accounts, that Rao's main contribution to the Tianxin tradition consisted of the religious code, and that furthermore his codification of the institutional forms of the Tianxin tradition was widely influential in the whole region.

*Poul ANDERSEN*

▣ Andersen 1991, 14–17 and 81–96; Andersen 1996; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 33; Drexler 1994, 24; Hymes 2002, 26–48 and 271–80; Qing Xitai 1999

※ Tan Zixiao; Tianxin zhengfa

Rong Cheng

容成

Rong Cheng is an ancient master of esoteric techniques, especially known for sexual practices (\**fangzhong shu*). His hagiography in the \**Liexian zhuan*; trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 55–60) refers to him as the teacher of the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi), King Mu of Zhou (Muwang, r. 956–918 BCE), and Laozi. These references are elaborated in other early texts such as the \**Zhuangzi* (trans. Watson 1968, 112 and 283). Several sources identify him with \*Guangcheng zi; a comparison of the latter's teachings and terminology in *Zhuangzi* 4 to *Daode jing* 6, suggests that—as long as the identification

between them is correct—Rong Cheng's teachings may indeed be an early source for Laozi (Rao Zongyi 1998).

The fourth of the ten interviews between mythical rulers and sages contained in the \*Mawangdui manuscript, the *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions; trans. Harper 1998, 385–411), is between the Yellow Emperor and Rong Cheng who expounds on breathing techniques and preservation of pneuma (\**qi*). Another mythical cluster identifies Rong Cheng as an ancient ruler (*Zhuangzi* 4), lording over a paradisiacal era when men and animals lived in harmony (\**Huainan zi* 8).

At least five Han \**fangshi* are said to have practiced Rong Cheng's methods of sexual cultivation: \*Zuo Ci, Gan Shi 甘始, Dongguo Yannian 東郭延年, Feng Junda 封君達, and Ling Shouguang 冷壽光 (*Hou Hanshu*, 82B.2740 and 2750; *Bowu zhi* 博物志 7). These practices were specifically condemned by the early Celestial Masters in the \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing* (Bokenkamp 1997, 43–44).

Gil RAZ

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 43, 87, and 125; Campany 2002, 358–59; Kaltenmark 1953, 55–60; Li Ling 2000b, 350–93; Ngo 1976, 126–27; Rao Zongyi 1956, 12, 38, and 74–75; Rao Zongyi 1998

※ *fangzhong shu*; HAGIOGRAPHY

### *Ruyao jing*

#### 入藥鏡

#### Mirror for Compounding the Medicine

Attributed to the Sichuan master Cui Xifan 崔希范 (ca. 880–940), this dense ancient-style poem of 246 characters, divided into eighty-two three-character lines, lays out the basic elements of \**neidan*. The title refers to mixing healing medicines, here meant as a metaphor for compounding the inner elixir. In the millennium or so since it began circulating in the world, the text has produced much controversy and commentary, usually focused on whether it advocates sexual practices. Zeng Zao 曾糙 strongly criticized sexual

interpretations of the text (*\*Daoshu*, j. 3.4b–7b, j. 37). An annotated poetic version included in Xiao Tingzhi's 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260–64) *\*Jindan dacheng ji* (Anthology on the Great Achievement of the Golden Elixir), which is now in the *\*Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection, 13.1a–9b) together with a different prose edition (21.6b–9b), is also critical of these interpretations. The poetic version annotated by *\*Wang Jie* (?– ca. 1380) found in the *Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie* 崔公入藥鏡注解 (Commentary and Explications to the *Ruyao jing* by Sir Cui; CT 135) was later combined with the commentaries of the Ming scholars Li Panlong 李攀龍 (1514–70; DMB 845–47 and IC 545–47) and *\*Peng Haogu* (fl. 1597–1600) as the *Ruyao jing hejie* 入藥鏡合解 (Collected Explications of the *Ruyao jing*; *\*Daozang jiyao*, vol. 11).

This is one of the earliest texts to clearly distinguish the vital energies said to exist before the phenomenal unfolding of the cosmos (*\*xiantian*) from the vital energies circulating in the phenomenal world (*\*houtian*). A thorough study of the text's versions, commentaries, and uses would be most welcome.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 234, 236

※ *neidan*

*ruyi*

入意

### Reading the Document of Intention

The Document of Intention (*yiwén* 意文) is read during individual rites within a Taoist ritual. It states who is performing the ritual and for what purpose, based on the notion that if this were omitted, the deities would not know whom to help or how, and the ritual would be ineffective.

Memorials and other documents sent to the deities are burned during individual rites. The Taoist priest (*\*daoshi*) uses the Document of Intention throughout the entire ritual, however, and it is read out by the assistant cantor (*fujian* 副講) whenever the liturgical manuals say it is necessary, for

example during the rite for Lighting the Incense Burner (*\*falu*). Essential information in the Document of Intention includes the Taoist name and rank of the priest performing the ritual, the names of the sponsors and their functions in the ritual, the type of ritual being performed, and its time, place, and program. For those who have commissioned the ritual, it is important that their names and those of their relatives are spelled and pronounced correctly. Sometimes the list of names grows to remarkable proportions, and it may take several priests a long time to recite them all. For scholars, the analysis of the Document of Intention is valuable for the sociological study of Taoist ritual.

*MARUYAMA Hiroshi*

📖 Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 213–14

※ *gongde; jiao; shu; zhai*

## Sa Shoujian

薩守堅

fl. 1141–78?; *hao*: Fenyang Sa ke 汾陽薩客 (Stranger Sa of Fenyang); also known as Sa Jian 薩堅

The provenance of Sa Shoujian remains uncertain. Yuan and Ming *zaju* 雜劇 (variety plays) feature a protagonist by this name, as does a long episodic narrative compiled in 1603 by Deng Zhimo 鄧志謨. The roots of Deng's work, *Sa zhenren zhouzao ji* 薩真人咒棗記 (Record of Spellbinding Jujubes and the Perfected Sa), rest in well-established hagiographic lore.

Two anthologies in the Taoist Canon contain the story of Sa Shoujian. The shorter version in the *\*Soushen ji* (In Search of the Sacred) of 1593 is clearly derivative of the account in the *\*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (*Xubian* 續編), compiled by Zhao Daoyi 趙道 (fl. 1294–1307). Sa's place of origin is given as either Nanhua 南華 (Shandong) or Xihe 西河 (Shanxi). The *Soushen ji* and later hagiographies locate the latter site in Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) but Sa's *hao* establishes an association with Fenyang 𠄎<sup>±</sup><sub>3</sub>/<sub>4</sub>陽 (Shanxi). He apparently served as a physician in Shu because he is said to have left that region when one of his patients died after taking medicine he had prescribed. This loss led Sa to abandon medical practice and set out in search of celebrated experts in Taoist ritual. He was not aware that the three men he encountered en route to Xinzhou 信州 (Jiangxi) were avatars of precisely those with whom he sought to study, the thirtieth Celestial Master *\*Zhang Jixian* (1092–1126), and *\*Shenxiao* specialists *\*Lin Lingsu* (1076–1120) and *\*Wang Wenqing* (1093–1153). One gave him a letter of introduction to the Celestial Master headquarters at Mount Longhu (*\*Longhu shan*, Jiangxi) and magical jujubes that with the proper incantation would produce cash sufficient for daily needs. From his companions Sa received gifts of *\*leifa* (Thunder Rites) and a fan guaranteed to cure illness. After presenting the letter, Sa realized that he had already succeeded in his quest and thereafter made great use of the instruction he had received.

The second episode common to hagiographic accounts testifies to the exalted level of ritual practice for which Sa became known. It is the story of how he overcame a wayward city god who eventually submitted to Sa's superior authority and then came to be recognized as \*Wang lingguan, paramount guardian of Taoist abbeys. Sa himself is said to have expired seated in meditation in Zhangzhou 漳州 (Fujian).

Writings on Thunder Rites ascribed to Sa are recorded in the \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual). Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451), a renowned Taoist Master from Qiantang 錢塘 (Zhejiang), was so successful in his application of rituals in the name of Wang lingguan that the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403–24) established a shrine just outside the imperial compound. The Xuande Emperor (r. 1426–35) elevated this shrine to the status of an abbey and authorized entitlements for both Wang and Sa, designating the latter as Chong'en zhenjun 崇恩 真君 (Perfected Lord of Lofty Compassion). The popularity of Sa in theatrical and narrative works is presumably due in part to continued imperial sanction of his enshrinement during the Ming. Adherents of the Xihe pai 西河派, a branch of the Shenxiao school of ritual practice, have also kept his memory alive.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 47–48, 187; Boltz J. M. 1993a, 284–85; Ono Shihei 1982

※ *leifa*

*sanchao*

三朝

Three Audiences

The “three audiences” are the Morning Audience (*zaochao* 早朝), the Noon Audience (*wuchao* 午朝), and the Evening Audience (*wanchao* 晚朝). In the classical Taoist \**jiao* liturgy, transmitted for instance by \*Zhengyi priests in major cities of continental China, such as Shanghai and Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian), as well as in many parts of Taiwan, the audiences are the core rituals performed on the central day (or days) of the ceremony, through which the

main goal of communication with the supreme celestial deities is achieved. They are referred to as rituals of *\*xingdao* (“walking [or: practicing] the Way”), both in references within the ritual texts themselves, and in classifications found in ritual compendia from as early as the Six Dynasties. The tradition of holding three audiences in one day is attested in the writings of *\*Du Guangting* (850–933), who further describes the more complete programs of nine rituals of *xingdao*, performed on three consecutive days (see *Huanglu zhaiyi* 黃籙齋儀, CT 507, j. 1–9).

The audiences always include the presentation of offerings to the supreme deities, and in some regional traditions in modern times this aspect is given special emphasis. Thus, for instance, in the *jiao* ceremonies of Changzhou 長州, Hong Kong, a regular daily rhythm is set by the “three audiences and three repentances” (*sanchao sanchan* 三朝三懺; see *\*chanhui*), which focus on displays of vegetarian offerings on outdoor tables, as well as on expressions of repentance for sins committed, and on praying for forgiveness on behalf of the people of the community (see Choi Chi-Cheung 1995, and Tanaka Issei 1989b). In the classical form of the audiences, the presentations of offerings are central elements of the ritual performed inside the closed sacred area, and they consist of triple presentations of incense and tea to the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*), followed by hymns and dancing. The ritual also focuses on the transmission of a document, which in the Morning Audience is termed Transmitting the Declaration (*chengci* 呈詞), and differently in the other audiences, depending on the specific designation of the document used. On especially important occasions the transmission of the document comprises the complex meditational or “ecstatic” practices of the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see *\*daozhang*), referred to as *fuzhang* 伏章, “submitting the petition,” through which he performs a journey to heaven in order to deliver the document to the Most High. The audiences thus not only define the central parts of the program, but also in a sense—that is, from the perspective of the priests—represent the high point of the liturgy, in terms of the inner realization of the encounter with the gods, and the effective delivery of the supplication that describes the overall purpose of the service.

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Andersen 1990; Andersen 1995; Lagerwey 1987c, 106–9 and passim; Lü and Lagerwey 1992, 39–44; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 297–332; Saso 1975, 1481–1628, 2223–2354, and 3191–3322; Saso 1978b,

208–14 and passim; Schipper 1975c, 8–11; Schipper 1993, 91–99; Zhang Enpu 1954

※ *xingdao; jiao*

*sandong*

三洞

Three Caverns

See entry in “Taoism: An Overview,” p. 00.

*Sandong jingshu mulu*

三洞經書目錄

Index of Scriptures and Writings of the Three Caverns

This listing of Taoist scriptures, the earliest comprehensive canonical list known to modern scholarship, was presented to the throne on imperial command by the Taoist \*Lu Xiuqing in 471. While Lu's work does not survive, its listing of the \*Lingbao scriptures is cited in the *Tongmen lun* 通門論 (Comprehensive Treatise on the Doctrine) of Song Wenming 宋文明 (fl. 549–51; see \*[Lingbao jingmu](#)). From later Taoist works and Buddhist polemical treatises, we can gain some idea of the structure of the catalogue.

Lu's catalogue originally comprised 1,228 *juan* of texts, of which 138 had not yet been revealed on earth. The texts were divided into three “caverns” or “comprehensive collections”: *Dongzhen* 洞真 (Cavern of Perfection), *Dongxuan* 洞玄 (Cavern of Mystery), and *Dongshen* 洞神 (Cavern of Spirit). All subsequent Taoist Canons were organized into these Three Caverns (\*SANDONG).

The Three Caverns contained, respectively, the \*Shangqing, Lingbao, and the \**Sanhuang wen* scriptural collections. The Caverns were also associated with specific heavens, deities, and the successive revelation of their contents in previous *kalpa*-cycles. The Caverns are listed in descending order, from the highest and most exalted, Shangqing, to the lowest, Sanhuang. This



grading of deities, heavens, and practices seems to accord with the dispositions of the original Lingbao scriptures, which held that while the doctrines of the Shangqing scriptures were the most exalted, they were correspondingly difficult and perhaps should not have been revealed in the human realm and that the *Sanhuang wen* contained lesser practices.

Buddhist polemics state that the catalogue listed 186 *juan* of Shangqing scriptures, of which sixty-nine were unrevealed, and thirty-six *juan* of Lingbao scriptures, of which fifteen were unrevealed. They go on to point out that these “unrevealed” texts were later supplied by writers of the fifth and sixth centuries. They further complain that subsequent Taoist Canons contained the works of philosophers such as \*Zhuangzi and \*Liezi, *zhiguai* 志怪 literature (“records of the strange”), such as the \**Liexian zhuan* and \**Shenxian zhuan*, as well as technical works on hygiene, geomancy, medicine, dietetics, fortune telling and the like—none of which were listed in Lu's catalogue.

Given that we have no information on five-sixths of the catalog's contents — Did it contain, for instance Celestial Master writings? If so, where were these placed?—scholars have devoted the majority of their efforts to exploring the history of the Three Caverns concept itself. The most influential opinion is that the tripartite division of Lu's catalogue was influenced by the Three Vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘, Skt. *triyāna*) of Buddhism. These are, in descending order, those of the bodhisattvas, the pratyekabuddhas, and the auditors. As presented, for instance, in the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*), invocation of three vehicles was always intended to highlight the superiority of the Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) bodhisattva path. In that the Three Caverns are a ranking of practice, the Three Vehicles may have played some role in their formulation, though specific Taoist comparisons of their Three Caverns with the Three Vehicles appear only in the Tang. The early Lingbao scriptures, on which Lu based his catalogue, on the other hand, claim that all three Caverns are the “greater vehicle,” while comparing the three to the “three mounds” (*sanfen* 三墳), an expression used in Han and later Confucian writings to designate the writings attributed to the three ancient sage-kings, the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi), the Divine Husbandman (Shennong 神農), and Fu Xi 伏羲. As the Three Caverns can be traced to the Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures, it is more accurate to see the origin of Lu's organization of his “canon” as growing naturally from indigenous concepts such as the three ages of antiquity,

together with early Taoist cosmological notions of the Three Heavens.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

■ Bokenkamp 2001; Chen Guofu 1963, 1–2 and 106–7; Kohn 1995a, 130–38 and 218–19; Ōfuchi Ninji 1974; Ōfuchi Ninji 1979; Ozaki Masaharu 1983b, 75–88; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 543–46

※ Lu Xiujing; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS; SANDONG

*Sandong qionggang*

三洞瓊綱

Exquisite Compendium of the Three Caverns

Writings on the history of the Taoist Canon commonly apply this title to the canon compiled during the Kaiyuan reign period (713–41). Most primary sources, however, give *Sandong qionggang* as the title of the catalogue for what later generations referred to as the *Kaiyuan daoze* 開元道藏 (Taoist Canon of the Kaiyuan Reign Period). The first component of this title alludes to the conventional threefold division of the Taoist Canon into Three Caverns (\*sandong). Some accounts refer to this compilation by the alternative title of *Qionggang jingmu* 瓊綱經目 (Catalogue of the Scriptures of the Exquisite Compendium). Like the catalogue \*Yin Wencao (622–88) compiled in connection with the first Tang canon of 675, the Kaiyuan catalogue is no longer extant. The text of a \*Dunhuang ms. of 718 (P. 2861) traced to the *Sandong qionggang* (Maspero 1981, 314–15) is actually a fragment of a sixth-century anthology (Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 337).

Sources not only differ on the title but also on the size of both the text and canon it accompanied. \*Du Guangting wrote in 891 that Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) author[iz]ed a *Qionggang jingmu* accounting for altogether 7,300 *juan*. This imperial enterprise allegedly arose in response to a proliferation of scriptures and teachings during the Kaiyuan reign period. A somewhat larger perspective is conveyed in an extant postface from a bibliographic unit of the lost *Sanchao guoshi* 三朝國史 (State History of Three Reigns) of 1030, documenting the years 960–1022 of Song Taizu, Taizong, and Zhenzong. As preserved in the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (General Study of Literary Submissions) by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1325), this postface claims that a canon resulted during the Kaiyuan reign period from sorting through a range of Taoist teachings that started coming into prominence after the Later Han. Here the catalogue is titled *Sandong qionggang* and is said to have accounted for a collection totalling 3,744 *juan*. The same title given by Du Guangting but a different tally of the canon is recorded in a historical outline appended to the *\*Daozang quejing mulu* (Index of Scriptures Missing from the Taoist Canon). This outline, dated 1275, credits Xuanzong with authorizing the compilation of a *Qionggang jingmu* accounting for 5,700 *juan* rather than 7,300 *juan*. The preceding statement in the outline gives the latter sum as the size of the canon catalogued by Yin Wencao.

The *Daozang quejing mulu* itself lists a *Sandong qionggang* in 5 *juan* as missing. Three Song bibliographies make note of a *Sandong qionggang* in 3 *juan*. It is already marked as a missing text in the 1144 list reconstructed from the lost Song imperial library catalogue, the *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 (Complete Catalogue [of the Institute] for the Veneration of Literature). The entry in the bibliography of the *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang) compiled under Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72) ascribes a *Sandong qionggang* in 3 *juan* to “Taoist Master Zhang Xianting” 道士張仙庭 (van der Loon 1984, 74). This attribution may very well have been drawn from the original *Chongwen zongmu* that Ouyang helped see to completion in 1042. An identical entry is incongruently recorded in the subdivision on talismanic registers in the inventory of Taoist texts within the *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Monographs) by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–62; SB 146–56). Largely derived from earlier bibliographies, this inventory includes within the subdivision on catalogues an entry for a *Kaiyuan daojing mu* 開元道經目 (Catalogue of Taoist Scriptures of the Kaiyuan Reign Period) in 1 *juan*. The provenance of this apparent counterpart to Zhang Xianting's compilation is

unclear.

The significance of the *Sandong qionggang* and *Kaiyuan daoze* it served cannot be overestimated. In 749 Xuanzong established a precedent by assigning the Institute for the Veneration of the Mystery (Chongxuan guan 崇玄館) the task of making copies of the canon for dispersal throughout the empire. Just how many copies were actually completed and distributed is not known. There is evidence to suggest that copies held in the major temple compounds did survive subsequent uprisings and the fall of the Tang. In any case, later generations working on recom compilations of the canon seem to have had recourse to at least some vestige of the canon and its catalogue.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 1.114–27; Chen Jinhong 1992; van der Loon 1984, 4–10, 15–17, 37, and 74; Maspero 1981, 314–15

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

### *Sandong qunxian lu*

#### 三洞群仙錄

#### Accounts of the Gathered Immortals from the Three Caverns

The *Sandong qunxian lu* (CT 1248) is an anthology of selections from biographies of immortals, compiled by 1154 by Chen Baoguang 陳葆光, with a preface written by Lin Jizhong 林季仲 (fl. 1121–57) dating from that year. Chen was a \*Zhengyi Taoist from present day Jiangsu, and the preface claims that he compiled this anthology to argue that immortality was a state that could be attained by any person, given sufficient study, and did not require that someone be fated to attain it. Like the \**Xianyuan bianzhu* (Paired Pearls from the Garden of Immortals) it is an important source for lost biographies or portions of biographies and it follows the pattern established in that anthology for citing a pair of biographies in each entry. At twenty chapters it is, however, much longer and its range of source texts is broader, encompassing texts composed as late as the Song. This very breadth presents its own difficulties as the attributions sometimes lack credibility with the biographies of some figures cited from works complete before they were

born, or with the same entry cited from different source texts. In addition, some selections are cited from texts that are themselves anthologies.

*Benjamin PENNY*

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 59; Chen Guofu 1963, 241–42; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 194

✂ HAGIOGRAPHY

### *Sandong zhunang*

#### 三洞珠囊

#### The Pearl Satchel of the Three Caverns

The *Sandong zhunang* (CT 1139) is a ten-juan collection of excerpts from scriptures, biographies, and other texts dating from the second through the sixth centuries. All that is known of the author, Wang Xuanhe 王懸和, is that he was the calligrapher for two inscriptions of imperial texts carved on stelae in Sichuan in 664 and 684. This suggests that he may have served the Tang court in some capacity during the reign of Emperor Gaozong (649–83) and could have compiled this work at the behest of the throne.

Wang organized the materials of his compendium under thirty-three rubrics that covered roughly nine subjects:

1. Salvation, including not only the attainment of immortality, but also the healing of the ill (*juan* 1).
2. Priestly vocation: asceticism (2.1a–4a); eremitism (2.4a–5a); and service to the state (imperial summons, 2.5a–8a).
3. Longevity and immortality: diet (*juan* 3); abstention from eating cereals (4.1a–5b); elixirs (4.5b–9a); and alchemical furnaces and incense braziers (4.9a–11a).
4. Meditation (5.1a–5a) and long fasts (5.5a–11b).
5. Rituals: Retreat assemblies (*zhaihui* 齋會, 6.1a–2a); casting dragon tablets (*\*tou longjian*) in rivers and off mountains (2.8a–12a); rules governing the transmission of scriptures, registers, precepts, etc. (6.3a–4b); penalties for forsaking or losing the same (6.2a–3a); the rites for transmitting and maintaining the eight

precepts (6.13b–14a); taboos concerning the performance of rites for establishing merit (6.4b–13a); and clacking teeth and swallowing saliva (*juan* 10).

6. Cosmology: the twenty-four parishes (\**zhi*, 7.1a–15a); the twenty-four pneumas (\**qi*, 7.15a–16b); the twenty-four hells (7.16b–17b); the twenty-four parish offices (*zhi* 職, 7.17b–19b); the twenty-four signs of divine grace (green dragons, white tigers, phoenixes, etc., 7.19b–21b); the twenty-four authentic charts (*zhentu* 真圖, 7.21b–22a); the twenty-eight lunar lodges (7.25a–26a); the thirty-two heavens (\**sanshi'er tian*) as well as their gods and corresponding hells (7.26a–35a); and the division and conversion of paradises (8.32a–34a).
7. Divinities: the twenty-seven ranks of saints, perfected, immortals, etc. (7.22a–24b); and the physical appearance of the gods and immortals (8.1a–24a).
8. Time: celestial era titles and important dates (8.24a–32a); figures for *kalpas* (\**jie*, 9.1a–5b) and sacred hours and holy days (9.20b–22a).
9. The hagiography of Laozi: his role as a preceptor to emperors (9.5b–8a) and his “conversion of the barbarians” (*huahu* 化胡, 9.8b–20b).

The *Sandong zhunang* is one of the most important works in the *Daozang* for several reasons. First, it preserves passages from works that are no longer extant. For example, it contains some ninety-five citations from the lost \**Daoxue zhuan* (Biographies of Those who Studied the Dao, originally twenty scrolls) compiled by Ma Shu 馬樞 (522–81) in the second half of the sixth century; it was these materials that enabled Chen Guofu (1963, 454–504) to partially reconstruct Ma's collection. Second, in cases where Taoist texts have survived more or less intact, passages in Wang's collection serve as a basis for authenticating them. Finally, the compendium serves as a measure of what scriptures and liturgies were available to Taoists of the seventh century.

*Charles D. BENN*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 228; Chen Guofu 1963, 240; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 118–35 (list of texts cited); Reiter 1990a

*sanguan*

三官

Three Offices

The Three Offices of Heaven, Earth, and Water are recorded in the earliest historical accounts of the Celestial Master movement (\*Tianshi dao). There we read that sinners and criminals would seek absolution from the Three Offices by writing our three confessions and sending them off by placing the petition to the Heaven Office high on a mountain, burying the petition to the Earth Office in the ground, and throwing the petition to the Water Office into a body of water.

The early Celestial Master scripture \**Chisong zi zhangli* (Master Red-Pine's Almanac of Petitions) records that it is the Three Offices who will choose the “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*) destined to survive the apocalypse and repopulate the world of Great Peace. Later Taoist scriptures like the *Taishang sanyuan cifu shezui jie'e xiaozai yansheng baoming miaojing* 太上三元賜福赦罪解厄消災延生保命妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Most High Three Primes that Confers Happiness, Liberates from Faults, Eliminates Dangers, Dispels Disasters, Extends One's Life, and Preserves One's Destiny; CT 1442) associate the Three Offices with the festivals of the Three Primes (held on the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth lunar month for Heaven, Earth, and Water, respectively; see under \**sanhui*), and associate the offices with different functions: the Office of Heaven is said to be in charge of distributing blessings, whereas the Earth Office pardoned those guilty of transgressions and the Water Office eliminated any disasters or misfortunes that might have become associated with the individual.

Despite this positive interpretation, Taoist scriptures often identify the Three Offices as a place of posthumous torture and interrogation and some sources associate the Three Offices with the Taoist hell of \**Fengdu*. It is clear that officials in the Three Offices have as their primary duty the maintenance on a registers recording both good and evil acts and the correlation of these records with the actual fates of both the living and the dead. They employ torture to ascertain relevant facts and as a form of punishment, and on that basis assign punishments that can affect not only the individual in question but his or her ancestors in the other world and his descendents yet to be born. Conversely, positive notations in their records can result in similar good

fortune for the individual and his or her entire family. It does not seem that officials of the Three Offices are directly responsible for observing and record human actions; one passage mentions that the gods of the body perform this function and we might assume that the Stove God (\*Zaoshen) worshipped in every household and local Gods of Soil and Grain (Sheji 社稷) fulfilled this function as well.

Within Taoism, the Three Offices seem to have been displaced by the system of hells centering on Fengdu and by the popular system of Ten Kings of Hell, but they are still the object of popular veneration and their temples are found throughout China. There are various popular traditions concerning the identity of the heads of the Three Offices, including one that identifies them as the sage kings Yao 堯 (Heaven), Shun 舜 (Earth), and Yu 禹 (Water) and one that identifies them as villainous officials who served evil King You (“Benighted”) of Zhou (Youwang 幽王, r. 781–771 BCE).

*Terry KLEEMAN*

📖 Little 2000b, 233–36; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 35–36

✂ Tianshi dao; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

*sanguan*

三關

Three Passes

The three stages of *\*neidan* practice are often represented as an initiatory path symbolized by the crossing over of three Passes. These Passes represent barriers along the Control Channel in the phase of yangization, and along the Function Channel in the phase of yinization (see *\*dumai* and *renmai*; on “yangization” and “yinization,” see *\*huohou*.) Located along the spinal column, they mark the ascension of pneuma (*\*qi*) or the progression of Yang Fire (*yanghuo* 陽火), also known as Martial Fire (*wuhuo* 武火), to the upper Cinnabar Field (*\*dantian*) in the summit of the head, followed by the descent of the Yin Fire (*yinfu* 陰符), also known as Civil Fire (*wenhuo* 文火), to the lower Cinnabar Field at the level of the navel.



The first pass, at the level of the coccyx, is called *weilü* 尾閭 (Caudal Funnel). This term refers to a mythical place mentioned in *\*Zhuangzi* 17, an orifice in the ocean where water endlessly leaks away without ever being exhausted. In the human body, this place is located in the “aquatic region” of the hip basin that forms the base of the trunk. It represents the pivot of energy presided over by the kidneys, which are the sanctuary of the essence (*\*jing*) and organs of water. According to some texts, the *weilü* is located at the level of the third vertebra above the coccyx and is called by various names such as *changqiang* 長強 (Long and Powerful), or *sancha lu* 三岔路 (Three-Forked Road), *heche lu* 河車路 (Path of the River Chariot).

The second pass, located in the middle of the spinal column where it joins the ribs at chest level (at the shoulder blades), is called *jiaji* 夾脊 (Spinal Handle). The two characters *jia* and *ji* are also found in *Zhuangzi* 30, where they are separately employed to describe the sword of the Son of Heaven that “pierces the floating clouds above and penetrates the weft of the earth below.” Expanding on the image of the celestial sword, this Pass is qualified as “dual” (*shuangguan* 雙關) as it is not only physically inserted between the heart and the verte-brae but also represents the interstice between Earth (Yin, Lead) and Heaven (Yang, Mercury). Some texts therefore emphasize that it is located exactly in the middle of the twenty-four vertebrae. From this center, the pneuma can ascend or descend, climbing to Heaven or plunging again into the abysses.

The third pass is at the level of the occipital bone and is called *yuzhen* 玉枕 (Jade Pillow). It is also referred to as *tiebi* 鐵壁 (Iron Wall), as it is regarded as the most difficult barrier to overcome.

Within the three-stage process of *neidan*, the first Pass is the locus of the sublimation of essence into pneuma, and is connected to the lower Cinnabar Field. The second Pass is the place where pneuma is sublimated into spirit (*\*shen*); it plays the role of the Center, and is the middle Cinnabar Field linked to the heart. This Pass is also related to the lower Cinnabar Field, however, as it represents the moment of transition from the lower to upper Fields. The third Pass is the place where the final sublimation of *shen* takes place with its return to Emptiness. In a general way, this designates the part of the upper Cinnabar Field where the spiritual embryo (*\*shengtai*) is realized at the end of the alchemical work.

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Despeux 1994, 80–87; Esposito 1993, 65–73; Esposito 1997, 51–63; Robinet 1993, 80–82

※ *dumai* and *renmai*; *huohou*; *xuanguan*; *neidan*

*sanhuang*

三皇

Three Sovereigns

While the Three Sovereigns are generally considered to be mythical emperors of ancient times, there is no consensus among different sources as to their identity. In the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents) they are Fu Xi 伏羲, Shennong 神農, and \*Huangdi (the Yellow Emperor). In the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; *j.* 6), they are given variously as the Sovereign of Heaven (Tianhuang 天皇), the Sovereign of Earth (Dihuang 地皇), and the Great Sovereign (Taihuang 泰皇), or as the Sovereigns of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. In the *Baihu tongyi* 白虎通義 (Comprehensive Accounts from the White Tiger [Hall]) they are Fu Xi, Shennong, and Zhu Rong 祝融 (the fire god). In an apocryphon on the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites) they are Suiren 燧人, Fu Xi, and Shennong, and in an apocryphon on the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals) they are Fu Xi, Shennong, and Nü Gua 女媧.

In Taoist sources, the Three Sovereigns are usually regarded as the Sovereigns of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Fragments of the now-lost *Sanhuang jing* 三皇經 (Scripture of the Three Sovereigns; see \*[Sanhuang wen](#)) preserve this tradition. According to a quotation from this text in the \**Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials; 6.5b), “the Sovereign of Heaven rules over pneuma (\**qi*), the Sovereign of Earth rules over spirit (\**shen*), and the Sovereign of Humanity rules over life (*sheng* 生). Together, these three give rise to virtue (\**de*) and transform the ten thousand things.” The same text states that “the Three Sovereigns are the Venerable Gods of the Three Caverns (*sandong zhi zunshen* 三洞之尊神) and the Ancestral Pneuma of Great Being (*dayou zhi zuqi* 大有之祖氣)” (6.5a). One can see here an attempt by followers of the *Sanhuang jing* to contest the low rank assigned to the Cavern of Spirit (*dongshen* 洞神, to which belong the *Sanhuang* texts) among the Three Caverns (\*SANDONG), by assigning the

*Sanhuang jing* a higher status with authority over the other two Caverns. A related source, the *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 太上洞神三皇儀 (Highest Liturgy for the Three Sovereigns of the Cavern of Spirit; CT 803), states that “the Highest Emperor Sovereign of Heaven governs life, the Highest Emperor Sovereign of Earth deletes [your name from] the registers of death (*siji* 死籍), and the Highest Emperor Sovereign of Humanity abolishes misfortune due to sin.”

Rituals addressed to the Three Sovereigns are found in *Wushang biyao* 49 (Lagerwey 1981b, 152–56) and in \*Lu Xiuqing's (406–77) *Wugan wen* 五感文 (Text on the Five Commemorations; CT 1278). While in Lu's work the Retreat of the Three Sovereigns (*sanhuang zhai* 三皇齋) is performed to obtain immortality, the early-eighth-century \**Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching, 2.21a) places the same ritual at the head of a list of seven *zhai*, stating that its purpose is also to “protect the nation.”

YAMADA Toshiaki

▣ Andersen 1994; Chen Guofu 1963, 71–78; Robinet 1984, 1: 27–29

※ *Sanhuang wen*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

### *Sanhuang wen*

#### 三皇文

#### Script of the Three Sovereigns

The *Sanhuang wen*, also known as *Sanhuang neiwen* 三皇內文 (Inner Script of the Three Sovereigns) and *Sanhuang jing* 三皇經 (Scripture of the Three Sovereigns), is the main scripture of the Cavern of Spirit (Dongshen 洞神) division of the Taoist Canon. The original text, which is not extant, appears to have contained talismans (\*FU) and explanatory texts. It was so named because it was revealed by the Sovereigns of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity (see \*[sanhuang](#)).

While there is no reliable evidence to tell us exactly when the scripture first appeared, the earliest record of its existence is in chapter 19 of the \**Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity). Here \*Ge Hong

(283–343) emphasizes its value, writing: “I heard my master \*Zheng Yin say that among the important writings on the Dao none surpasses the *Sanhuang neiwen* and the \**Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks).” In Ge's time, the *Sanhuang wen* was in three scrolls and was believed to be related to the writings revealed to Bo He 帛和. It could not be transmitted even by a master, and only those who entered a mountain with sincere intentions could see it. Moreover, the scripture was deemed to have the power to quell demons and banish misfortune: “If a household possesses this scripture, one can keep away evil and noxious demons, quell unhealthy pneumas (\**qi*), intercept calamities, and neutralize misfortunes.” In the same chapter of his work, Ge Hong also writes: “If a master of the Dao wishes to search for long life and enters a mountain holding this text, he will ward off tigers, wolves, and mountain sprites. The five poisons (*wudu* 五毒) and the hundred evils (*baixie* 百邪) will not dare to come near him.” After a period of purification and fasting lasting a hundred days, one could command the celestial deities, the Director of Destinies (\**Siming*), and various other major and minor gods. In Ge Hong's time, therefore, the *Sanhuang wen* was primarily seen as a protective talisman.

*History of the text.* Both the *Erjiao lun* 二教論 (Essay on the Two Teachings), by the Northern Zhou Buddhist priest Dao'an 道安 (312–85; Lagerwey 1981b, 21–28), and the \**Xiaodao lun* (Essays to Ridicule the Dao), by Zhen Luan 甄鸞 (fl. 535–81), report that the *Sanhuang wen* had been created by \*Bao Jing (?–ca. 330, Ge Hong's father-in-law), and that when this was discovered he was sentenced to death. Later, the “*Sanhuang jingshuo*” 三皇經說 (Explanation of the *Scripture of the Three Sovereigns*; YJQQ 1) states that when Bao was fasting and meditating in a cavern, the scripture appeared spontaneously on its walls. This version of the *Sanhuang wen* is the one that was later transmitted to Ge Hong, and is known as the “Ancient Script of the Three Sovereigns” (“*Gu Sanhuang wen*” 古三皇文).

Not long after these alleged events, the “*Tianwen dazi*” 天文大字 (Celestial Script in Great Characters) was added to the text, and according to the \**Xuanmen dayi* (Great Meaning of the School of Mysteries), when \*Lu Xiuqing (406–77) transmitted it to his student \*Sun Youyue (399–489), it consisted of four scrolls. By the mid-sixth century it was expanded to ten scrolls and then to eleven scrolls. This version of the text appears to be the one known as the *Dongshen jing* 洞神經 (Scripture of the Cavern of Spirit),

consisting of the three-scroll *Sanhuang wen* and the eight-scroll *Badi jing* 八帝經 (Scripture of the Eight Emperors).

Three other liturgical and ritual texts were later added to make a fourteen-scroll *Dongshen jing*. Its content is described in the *Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi* 太上洞神三皇儀 (Highest Liturgy for the Three Sovereigns of the Cavern of Spirit; CT 803). The first three scrolls contain the *Sanhuang wen* and the talismans and charts relating to them, organized as one scroll for each Sovereign. The following eight scrolls are the *Badi jing*. The final three scrolls give liturgies for the Retreat (\**zhai*) and the Audience (*chao* 朝) of the Three Sovereigns and details of the transmission of the scripture. This appears to represent the form in which the *Dongshen jing* was incorporated into the Taoist Canon as the lowest of its Three Caverns (\*SANDONG).

This work was, however, an expansion of the original *Sanhuang wen*. Already in the \**Zhengao* (Authentic Declarations), \*Tao Hongjing (456–536) remarks that “although the *Script* is said to be in the world, this is not its true form” (5.4a). It is clear therefore that the *Sanhuang wen* to which Tao refers is not the same *Sanhuang wen* that existed in olden times. The connection between the two is unclear, but what had come to be called *Sanhuang wen* must have incorporated other, different talismans and scriptures. In this form, the *Sanhuang wen* was popular during the Tang dynasty, and Taoist priests were required to know it well. In 646, however, the *Sanhuang wen* was proscribed as deceptive, and its importance declined thereafter.

YAMADA Toshiaki

▣ Andersen 1994; Chen Guofu 1963, 71–78; Fukui Kōjun 1958, 170–204; Liu Zhongyu 1993; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 219–96 (= 1964, 277–343); Ren Jiyu 1990, 124–27; Schipper 1965, 28–29; Seidel 1983a, 325–27

※ *sanhuang*

*sanhui*

三會

Three Assemblies

The *sanhui* are gatherings of the Taoist community, priests and laymen, in the first, seventh, and tenth lunar months. Early sources give the dates as the seventh (one source gives the fifth) day of the first lunar month, the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, and the fifth day of the tenth lunar month, but later observances were held on the fifteenth day of each of these lunar months and referred to as the Three Primes (*\*sanyuan*). On these occasions, believers assembled at their local parish (*\*zhi*) to report any births, deaths and marriages to the local priest or libationer (*\*jijiu*), so that the population registers could be corrected. It was believed that divine representatives of the Three Offices (*\*sanguan*, of Heaven, Earth, and Water) also attended and emended their sacred registers on the basis of the updated profane counterparts held by the libationers, thus assuring that fates would be dispensed accurately. Parishioners would offer contributions to the church, including pledges of faith (*xin* 信) and the annual tithe in grain. Those who had reason to celebrate on these occasions would host a feast or “cuisine” (*\*chu*) for other members of the community in proportion to the significance of their auspicious event and their means.

Accounts of these “cuisines” emphasize both the sharing of food and the affirmation of the unique, religious merit-based social order of the Taoist community. The Three Assemblies thus took the place of the biannual community festivals to the Gods of Soil and Grain (Sheji 社稷) in promoting cohesion within the community and reproducing the local social structure, but they also permitted the church to keep track of its members and to reinforce its moral strictures with public readings of its codes of conduct and the public confession of sins. Once the primary festivals had been moved to the fifteenth, the day of the full moon, the two sets of dates were sometimes explained by claiming that the Three Officers update their records on the dates of the Three Assemblies but submit them to Heaven on the Three Primes. A late popular interpretation identifies the Three Primes as the birthdays of the Three Officers.

*Terry KLEEMAN*

☞ Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 334–42 and 367–76; Stein R. A. 1979, 69–72

※ *chu*; Tianshi dao

*sanqing*

三清

Three Clarities; Three Purities; Three Pure Ones

The *sanqing* are originally three superior heavens, called Yuqing 玉清 (Jade Clarity), Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity), and Taiqing 太清 (Great Clarity; see [table 18](#)), located immediately below the \*Daluo tian (Great Canopy Heaven). Divine beings and immortals reside in each of the three heavens, guarding scriptures and sacred instructions that they reveal on occasion for the sake of suffering humanity. The most famous texts associated with one of the heavens are the materials of the \*Shangqing revelations, transmitted to earth in 364–70. But materials from Taiqing, too, made it to the planet and appear in a tradition of al-chemical works and instructions known by this name (see under \*Taiqing).

Table 18

THREE CLARITIES (* <i>sanqing</i> 三清)	Jade Clarity (Yuqing 玉清)	Highest Clarity (Shangqing 上清)	Great Clarity (Taiqing 太清)
THREE ORIGINS (* <i>sanyuan</i> 三元)	Chaotic Cavern ( <i>hundong</i> 混沌)	Red Chaos ( <i>chihun</i> 赤混)	Dark and Silent ( <i>mingji</i> 冥寂)
THREE TREASURE LORDS ( <i>san baojun</i> 三寶君)	Celestial Treasure (Tianbao jun 天寶君)	Numinous Treasure (Lingbao jun 靈寶君)	Divine Treasure (Shenbao jun 神寶君)
THREE HEAVENS ( <i>santian</i> 三天)	Pure Tenuity (Qingwei tian 清微天)	Leftovers of Yu's Food (Yuyu tian 禹餘天)	Great Scarlet (Dachi tian 大赤天)
THREE PNEUMAS ( <i>sanqi</i> 三氣)	Inaugural (Green) ( <i>shiqing</i> 始青)	Original (Yellow) ( <i>yuanhuang</i> 元黃)	Mysterious (White) ( <i>xuanbai</i> 玄#x767D;)
THREE CAVERNS (* <i>sandong</i> 三洞)	Reality (Dongzhen 洞真)	Mystery (Dongxuan 洞玄)	Spirit (Dongshen 洞神)
THREE CELESTIAL WORTHIES ( <i>san tianzun</i> 三天尊)	Original Commencement (Yuanshi 元始)	Numinous Treasure (Lingbao 靈寶)	Way and Virtue (Daode 道德)

The Three Clarities (\**sanqing*) and their associations with heavens, deities, pneumas, etc. Based on *Daojiao sandong zongyuan* 道教三洞宗元 (Lineal Origins of the Three Caverns of the Taoist Teaching), in YJQQ 3.4b–5a. For the full names of the Three Origins, see the entry \**sanyuan*.

*Heavens and deities.* The three heavens are further associated with the three highest deities of the Taoist pantheon, and with specific sets of scriptures classified as the Three Caverns (\*SANDONG). The identification of heavens, gods, and scriptures is first apparent in the \**Shengshen jing* (Scripture of the Life-Giving Spirits), a mixture of Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) and \*Lingbao materials dated to the early fifth century. According to this text, when the cosmos was first created the three basic energies—Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), Original (*yuan* 元), and Inaugural (*shi* 始)—combined to form a heavenly sound. The sound coagulated into the numinous writings of the heavens, which took shape as the Three Elders (Sanlao 三老) who in turn brought forth the three superior lords and three major heavens of Taoism.

Once established in this combination, the Three Clarities became predominantly known as the gods associated with the three major Caverns or schools of the medieval religion. They were identified as the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊) who represents Jade Clarity, the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊) of Highest Clarity, and the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Virtue (Daode tianzun 道德天尊), the highest god of Great Clarity (see [fig. 64](#)).



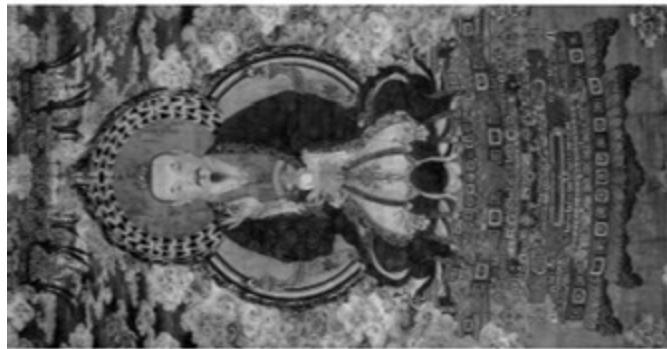


Fig. 64. The Three Clarities (*sanqing*). (a) Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure). (b) Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 (Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement). (c) Daode tianzun 道德天尊 (Celestial Worthy of the Way and its Virtue). \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), Beijing. See Little 2000b, 228, 229, and 230.

The three different gods were yet understood to be ultimately one in their symbolization of the Dao. They are therefore correctly described as a trinity and not merely a triad of gods.

*The three major gods.* The first among the three gods, the Celestial Worthy of

Original Commencement, represents the cosmic and creative aspect of the Dao and is usually presented in full divine regalia in the center of the group. He first appears with his full title around the year 485 in Yan Dong's 嚴東 commentary to the *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation; CT 87). The expression *yuanshi* 元始 can be traced back to a term for cosmic origination found in the *\*Huainan zi*; the title *tianzun* 天尊 is an adaptation of an epithet of the Buddha, known as the “Worldly Worthy” or World-Honored One (*shizun* 世尊).

The second god of the group, the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure, is also known as the Most High Lord of the Dao (Taishang daojun 太上道君) or simply as the Most High (Taishang 太上). Seated to the left of the Celestial Worthy, he functions as his mouthpiece and serves as the revealer of sacred scriptures. He appears most prominently, and with an extensive biography, in the Lingbao scriptures, where he is characterized as the disciple and messenger of the Celestial Worthy. The relationship between the two deities is patterned on Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) Buddhism, with the Celestial Worthy residing above the known universe and the Lord of the Dao, his disciple and follower, begging for instruction to help suffering humanity.

The third god, seated to the right of the central deity, is the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Virtue, who is Lord Lao (*\*Laojun*). He is described as the disciple of the Lord of the Dao, with whose help he becomes a Perfected. His main function is to maintain close contact with humanity; as such, for instance, he serves as the ancestor of the Tang dynasty and appears in various visions and miracles. Again, this echoes Buddhist models, in which the third divinity is the savior bodhisattva concerned most closely with human fate.

The first scriptural description of the three gods is found in the *\*Fengdao kejie* (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao) of the early Tang. It lists the gods with their formal titles (2.1a):

1. Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement, Supreme King of the Law (Wushang fawang Yuanshi tianzun 無上法王元始天尊)
2. Great Dao of Jade Dawn, Highest Sovereign of Emptiness (Taishang xuhuang Yuchen dadao 太上虛皇玉晨大道)
3. Celestial Worthy of the Great One, Most Exalted Laozi (Gaoshang Laozi Taiyi tianzun 高上老子太一天尊)

Even earlier, however, are several stelae depicting three deities described as the Three Worthies (*sanzun* 三尊), the first of which dates from 508 and was found at the Shihong si 石泓寺 (Monastery of the Stone Pool) in Fuzhou (Fujian), with further works following in 515, 521, 567, and 572, and many more produced under the Tang (Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1998, 68–69). These records suggest an active effort at Taoist integration throughout the sixth century, which eventually resulted in the establishment of the standard trinity of three gods who are ultimately one.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1993; Kohn 1998b, 121–27; Lagerwey 1981b, 33–38 and passim; Little 2000b, 228–32; Pontynen 1980; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 523–30; Pregadio 2006b, 152–55; Robinet 1984, 1: 130–33; see also bibliography for the entry \*SANDONG

※ DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; SANDONG

*sanshi and jiuchong*

三尸·九蟲

three corpses and nine worms

The three corpses and the nine worms (see [fig. 65](#)) are two sets of parasites said to live inside the human body. The three corpses, also known as the three worms (*sanchong* 三蟲), attack their host in several ways. They cause disease, invite other disease-causing agents into the body, and report their host's transgressions to heaven so as to shorten his life span. The nine worms, some of which may correspond to parasites such as roundworms or tapeworms, weaken the host's body and cause a variety of physical symptoms. These parasites were expelled by means of drugs, visualization techniques, or cutting off consumption of the grains that provide their sustenance (see under \*bigu).

In his *Lunheng* 論衡 (Balanced Discussions; trans. Forke 1907–11, 2: 363), Wang Chong 王充 (27–ca. 100 CE) compares the three worms to leeches that attack the body from the inside. According to the \**Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals; trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 177–78), the

Taoist master Ruan Qiu 阮丘 and his disciple Zhu Huang 朱璜 of the three corpses by means of a combination of seven drugs administered over a period of a hundred days. According to the *Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 115–16), the three corpses report a person's transgressions on the *gengshen* day (the fifty-seventh of the sixty-day cycle) to the Director of Destinies (\*Siming), who deducts a certain number of days from the person's life for each misdeed. One way of stopping this report is to stay awake for the entire *gengshen* day, thus preventing the corpses from leaving one's body.

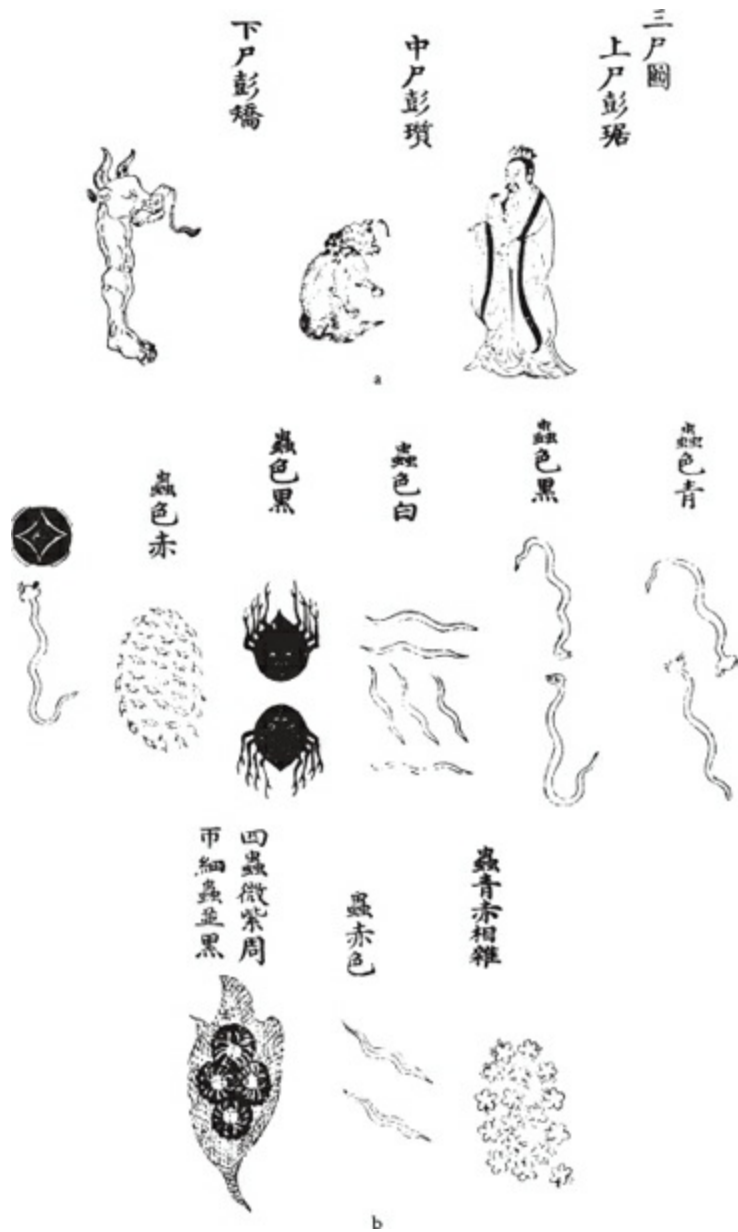


Fig. 65. (a) The “three corpses” (*sanshi*). (b) The “nine worms” (*jiuchong*). *Chu sanshi jiuchong*

*baosheng jing* 除三尸九蟲保生經 (Scripture on Expelling the Three Corpses and Nine Worms to Protect Life; CT 871), 7a–8b and 9b–13a.

The *Chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing* 除三尸九蟲保生經 (Scripture on Expelling the Three Corpses and Nine Worms to Protect Life; CT 871), probably dating to the ninth century, gives the names of the corpses and the worms, and describes the symptoms they cause. The three corpses are:

1. The upper corpse, Peng Ju 彭琚, lives in the head. Symptoms of its attack include a feeling of heaviness in the head, blurred vision, deafness, and excessive flow of tears and mucus.
2. The middle corpse, Peng Zhi 彭瓚, dwells in the heart and stomach. It attacks the heart, and makes its host crave sensual pleasures.
3. The lower corpse, Peng Jiao 彭矯, resides in the stomach and legs. It causes the Ocean of Pneuma (*qihai* 氣海, an area corresponding to the lower \**dantian*) to leak, and makes its host lust after women.

The nine worms are:

1. The “ambush worm” (*fuchong* 伏蟲) saps people's strength by feeding off their essence and blood.
2. The “coiling worm” (*huichong* 蛔蟲) infests the body in pairs of male and female that live above and below the heart, consuming their host's blood.
3. The “inch-long white worm” (*cun baichong* 寸白蟲) chews into the stomach, weakening the inner organs and damaging the digestive tract.
4. The “flesh worm” (*rouchong* 肉蟲) causes itching and weakens the sinews and back.
5. The “lung worm” (*feichong* 肺蟲) causes coughing, phlegm buildup, and difficulty in breathing.
6. The “stomach worm” (*weichong* 胃蟲) consumes food from its host's stomach, causing hunger.
7. The “obstructing worm” (*gechong* 膈蟲) dulls the senses, induces drowsiness, and causes nightmares.
8. The “red worm” (*chichong* 赤蟲) causes stagnation of the blood

and pneuma, heaviness in the waist, and ringing in the ears.

9. The “wriggling worm” (*qiaochong* 躑蟲) causes itching sores on the skin and tooth decay.

The text contains illustrations and descriptions of the three corpses and the nine worms, and methods for expelling them from the body.

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▣ Benn 2002, 216–17, 222–24; Kohn 1993–95; Lévi 1983; Maspero 1981, 331–39; Robinet 1993, 139; Strickmann 2002, 77–78; Yamada Toshiaki 1989b, 107–8 and 109–12

✕ TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

*sanshi'er tian*

三十二天

Thirty-two Heavens

The system of thirty-two heavens, along with those of eight, ten, and thirty-six heavens (*\*sanshiliu tian*), appears throughout the \*Lingbao scriptures. Formed at the beginning of the cosmos from the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣; see *\*santian* and *liutian*), the Thirty-two Heavens are visualized in Lingbao meditation and ritual. While the Thirty-six Heavens of the \*Shangqing tradition are situated vertically in space, the Thirty-two Heavens of Lingbao are located horizontally in the four directions, encircling the Jade Capitol Mountain (Yujing shan 玉京山) in the Great Canopy Heaven (*\*Daluo tian*). (For the names of these heavens, see [table 19](#).)

The system of thirty-two heavens reveals Indian Buddhist influence. In such texts as the *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation) and the *Miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* 滅度五鍊生尸妙經 (Wondrous Scripture on Salvation through Extinction and the Fivefold Refinement of the Corpse; CT 369), the Thirty-two Heavens often appear along with the Great Canopy Heaven, recalling at least in numerical terms the thirty-three heavens (*trāyastriṃśa*) of Indian Buddhist cosmology, which are the second lowest set of heavens situated at the summit of Mount Sumeru.

Like the heavens of Indian Buddhism, the Thirty-two Heavens of Lingbao are divided among the Three Realms (*sanjie* 三界) of desire (*yu* 欲, six heavens), form (*se* 色, twelve heavens) and formlessness (*wuse* 無色, ten heavens). (For another subdivision of the Three Realms into six, eighteen, and four heavens, respectively, see [table 20](#).) Four heavens beyond the world of formlessness are added to reach the number thirty-two. Several Lingbao scriptures also use a pseudo-Sanskrit language in *dhāraṇa*-like phrases attached to the various heavens and the names of their rulers (see \*[dafan yinyu](#)).

Amy Lynn MILLER

▣ Bokenkamp 1983, 462–65; Bokenkamp 1997, 383–84; Lagerwey 1981b, 34–38; Robinet 1984, 1: 131–33; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 283–301; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 119–22; Zürcher 1980, 121–29

※ *sanshiliu tian; jiutian; Lingbao*

Table 19

HEAVENS	SECRET NAMES OF RULERS
<i>East</i>	
1 Taihuang huangzeng 太黃皇曾	Yujian yuming 鬱鑑玉明
2 Taiming yuwan 太明玉完	Xu'a natian 須阿那田
3 Qingming hetong 清明何童	Yuanyu qijing 元育齊京
4 Xuantai pingyu 玄胎平育	Liudu neixian 劉度內鮮
5 Yuanming wenju 元明文舉	Chou falun 醜法輪
6 Shangming qiyao moyi 上明七曜摩夷	Tianhui yan 恬德延
7 Xuwu yueheng 虛無越衡	Zheng dingguang 正定光
8 Taiji mengyi 太極濛翳	Quyu jiuchang 曲育九昌
<i>South</i>	
1 Chiming heyang 赤明和陽	Lijin shangzhen 理禁上真
2 Xuanming gonghua 玄明恭華	Kongyao chouyin 空謠醜音
3 Yaoming zongpiao 耀明宗飄	Chong guangming 重光明
4 Zhuluo huangjia 竺落皇笳	Moyi miaobian 摩夷妙辯
5 Xuming tangyao 虛明堂曜	Ajia lousheng 阿婁生
6 Guanming duanjing 觀明端靜	Yumi luoqian 鬱密羅千
7 Xuanming gongqing 玄明恭慶	Longluo puti 龍羅菩提
8 Taihuan jiyao 太煥極瑤	Wanli wuyan 宛離無延
<i>West</i>	

1 Yuanzai kongsheng 元載孔昇	Kaizhen dingguang 開真定光
2 Tai'an huangya 太安皇崖	Polou a'tan 婆婁阿貪
3 Xianding jifeng 顯定極風	Zhaozhen tong 招真童
4 Shihuang xiaomang 始黃孝芒	Saluo louwang 薩羅婁王
5 Taihuang wengzhong furong 太黃翁重浮容	Minba kuang 閔巴狂
6 Wusi jiangyou 無思江由	Ming fanguang 明梵光
7 Shangye ruanle 上樸阮樂	Bobo lan 勃勃藍
8 Wuji tanshi 無極曇誓	Piaonu qionglong 飄弩穹隆

*North*

1 Haoting xiaodu 皓庭宵度	Huijue hun 慧覺昏
2 Yuantong yuandong 淵通元洞	Fanxing guansheng 梵行觀生
3 Taiwen hanchong miaocheng 太文翰籠妙成	Nayu chouying 那育醜瑛
4 Taisu xiule jinshang 太素秀樂禁上	Longluo juechang 龍羅覺長
5 Taixu wushang changrong 太虛無上常融	Zongjian guishen 總監鬼神
6 Taishi yulong tengsheng 太釋玉隆騰勝	Miaomiao xingyuan 眇眇行元
7 Longbian fandu 龍變梵度	Yunshang xuanxuan 運上玄玄
8 Taiji pingyu jiayi 太極平育賈奕	Daze famen 大擇法門

The Thirty-two Heavens (*sanshi'er tian*). Source: *Duren shangpin miaoqing sizhu* 度人上品妙經四注 (Four Commentaries to the Wondrous Scripture of Highest Rank on Salvation; CT 87), 2.43a–54b.

*Sanshiliu shuifa*

三十六水法

Methods of the Thirty-Six Aqueous Solutions

The *Sanshiliu shuifa* describes methods for preparations often used in *\*waidan* practices at intermediate stages during the compounding of elixirs. These methods are frequently referred to in the early *\*Taiqing* texts and in their commentaries. Traditionally attributed to the Eight Sirs (Bagong 八公, a group of *\*fangshi* who are also said to have taken part in the compilation of the *\*Huainan zi*), the text was known to *\*Ge Hong*, who cites a *Sanshiliu shuijing* 三十六水經 (Scripture of the Thirty-Six Aqueous Solutions) in his *\*Baopu zi*.

The present version (CT 930) contains fifty-nine methods for the solution of forty-two minerals. Internal evidence shows that the methods for the last seven minerals were appended to an earlier version containing those for the



first thirty-six (one of which is missing in the present version). Quotations from both the original and appended portions in the commentary to the \**Jiudan jing* (*Huangdi jiuding shendan jingju* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣; CT 885, 19.2a) indicate that the text had assumed its present form by the mid-seventh century. A short final section (11b–12b) describes ritual rules and lists days on which the compounding of the elixir should not take place.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Meng Naichang 1993a, 91–96; Needham 1980, 167–210; Ts'ao, Ho, and Needham 1959 (trans., omits the section on ritual)

※ *waidan*

*sanshiliu tian*

三十六天

Thirty-six Heavens

The Thirty-six Heavens belong, in one of their enumerations, to the \*Shangqing tradition of Taoism. The locus classicus for their enumeration is the *Waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen* 外國放品青童內文 (Inner Script of the Azure Lad on the Distribution of the Outer Realms; CT 1373), a later Shangqing text influenced by \*Lingbao Taoism and Buddhist cosmology (Robinet 1984, 2: 97–100). In this scripture, cosmology is based on the Nine Heavens (\**jiutian*), each of which contains three additional heavens for a total of thirty-six. Although the Nine Heavens have Buddhist names, this system is derived from earlier Chinese notions.

Table 20

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1 *Daluo tian 大羅天	
<i>Three Clarities</i> (*sanqing 三清, 3 heavens)	
2 Yuqing 玉清	4 Taiqing 太清
3 Shangqing 上清	
<i>Seed-people</i> (*zhongmin 種民, 4 heavens)	
5 Pingyu jiayi 平育賈奕	7 Yulong tengsheng 玉隆騰勝

6 Longbian fandu 龍變梵度

8 Wushang changrong 無上常融

*Realm of Formlessness* (wuse jie 無色界, 4 heavens)

9 Xiule jinshang 秀樂禁上

11 Yuantong yuandong 淵通元洞

10 Hanchong miaocheng 翰籠妙成

12 Haoting xiaodu 皓庭霄度

*Realm of Form* (sejie 色界, 18 heavens)

13 Wuji tanshi 無極曇誓

22 Xuanming gongqing 玄明恭慶

14 Shangdie ruanle 上揲阮樂

23 Guanming duanjing 觀明端靜

15 Wusi jiangyou 無思江由

24 Xuming tangyao 虛明堂曜

16 Taihuang wengzhong 太黃翁重

25 Zhuluo huangjia 竺落皇笳

17 Shihuang xiaomang 始黃孝芒

26 Yaoming zongpiao 曜明宗飄

18 Xianding jifeng 顯定極風

27 Xuanming gonghua 玄明恭華

19 Tai'an huangya 太安皇崖

28 Chiming heyang 赤明和陽

20 Yuanzai kongsheng 元載孔昇

29 Taiji mengyi 太極濛翳

21 Taihuan jiyao 太煥極瑤

30 Xuwu yueheng 虛無越衡

*Realm of Desire* (yujie 欲界, 6 heavens)

31 Qiyao moyi 七曜摩夷

34 Qingming hetong 清明何童

32 Yuanming wenju 元明文舉

35 Taiming yuwan 太明玉完

33 Xuantai pingyu 玄胎平育

36 Taihuang huangzeng 太皇黃曾

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The Thirty-six Heavens (*sanshiliu tian*). Source: YJQQ 21.

In contrast to the Thirty-two Heavens (*\*sanshi'er tian*) of Lingbao, which are located horizontally in the four directions, the Thirty-six Heavens are situated in a pyramid shape and correspond to thirty-six subterranean countries, the latter of which are divided among the six directions. On the eight nodal days of the year (*bajie* 八節, namely, equinoxes, solstices, and the first day of each season), the kings of the Thirty-six Heavens tour the universe.

Later Taoist texts attempted to create a synthesis of these different cosmological representations. During the Tang dynasty, in particular, the *\*Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching, 7.5b) links the systems of the Three Heavens and the Nine Heavens to arrive at thirty-six heavens. Other later texts tried to reconcile the Thirty-two Heavens of Lingbao with the Thirty-six Heavens of Shangqing, and to link the Three Realms (*sanjie* 三界, i.e., desire, form, formlessness) of Buddhism with the Heavens of the Three Clarities of Taoism. The main codification (see [table 20](#)) enumerates: 1. the supreme Great Canopy Heaven (*\*Daluo tian*); 2. the

Heavens of the Three Clarities (*\*sanqing*); 3. the Four Heavens of the Seed-People (*si zhongmin tian* 四種民天); 4. the heavens of the Three Realms (*sanjie* 三界) of desire (*yu* 欲, six heavens), form (*se* 色, eighteen heavens), and formlessness (*wuse* 無色, four heavens).

Amy Lynn MILLER

▣ Lagerwey 1981b, 34–38; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 426–28; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 342–45 and 4: 119–22; Robinet 1984, 1: 131–33; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 283–301; Zürcher 1980, 121–29

※ *sanshi'er tian*; *jiutian*; Shangqing

*santian* and *liutian*

三天·六天

Three Heavens and Six Heavens

The term *santian* or Three Heavens first appears in the *\*Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure), a fourth-century text based on ideas and practices of Han dynasty *\*fangshi*. Here the Three Heavens are mentioned most commonly in the names of specific talismans (*\*FU*), and may refer to the highest of the Nine Heavens (*\*jiutian*), frequently mentioned in early literature (see Maspero 1924).

In organized Taoism, the notion of Three Heavens becomes central in the doctrine of the southern Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*) of the fifth century, in which they designate the original realms of the Dao generated from the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣): Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), Original (*yuan* 元), and Inaugural (*shi* 始). Texts of this period, notably the *\*Santian neijie jing* (Scripture of the Inner Explication of the Three Heavens), claim that *\*Zhang Daoling* in the second century established the benevolent and pure Three Heavens after abolishing the demonic and evil Six Heavens, which people had supposedly worshipped until then.

The idea of the Six Heavens first arises in the Western Jin period (265–316), when the realm of the dead is associated with a mountain called *\*Fengdu* (or *Luofeng* 羅酆). Since in the scheme of the *\*wuxing* death is

associated with the north and the north in turn with the number six, the idea developed of Six Palaces (*liugong* 六宮) of the dead situated in the north. Found first in \*Ge Hong's \**Baopu zi*, the concept is then employed in \*Shangqing cosmology where, as described in the *Tianguan santu jing* 天關三圖經 (Scripture of the Three Heavenly Passes; CT 1366), each pavilion is given a name, an overseeing divine official, and a specific administrative role (Robinet 1984, 2: 163–69; Kohn 1993b, 257–67; Mollier 1997, 359–61). Only after the Six Heavens have been integrated into the \*Lingbao scriptures at the end of the fourth century do they become part of the cosmology of the Celestial Masters, who until then had located the realm of the dead at Mount Tai (\*Taishan, Shandong) in the east.

The contrast between the Three Heavens and the Six Heavens in Taoism stands for the distinction between the pure gods of the Dao, who emanate directly from the original energy of creation and are representative of the pure powers of life, and the impure demons and spirits of popular religion who, according to Taoists, represent the vengeful powers of the dead.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 188–94; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 482–510; Wang Zongyu 1999

※ *Santian neijie jing*

*Santian neijie jing*

三天內解經

Scripture of the Inner Explication of the Three Heavens

The *Santian neijie jing*, in two *juan* (CT 1205), is a text of the southern Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) that can be dated to around the beginning of the Liu Song dynasty (mid-fifth century). Its first *juan* expounds the basic worldview of the group, outlining the creation of the universe by the Dao and Lord Lao (\*Laojun), the unfolding of the three major world religions—Taoism (east), Buddhism (west), and Yin-Yang practice (south)—and the development of the organization of the Celestial Masters. In terms of the latter, it emphasizes the replacement of the corrupt and despicable Six

Heavens (the cosmology of the Confucian ritual system) with the pure and eminent Three Heavens of the Dao (see under *\*santian* and *liutian*), made up of the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣): Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), Original (*yuan* 元), and Inaugural (*shi* 始). The three pneumas also give rise to Lord Lao, who then creates his own mother, the Jade Woman of Mysterious Wonder (Xuanmiao yunü 玄妙玉女), from cosmic energies, and then orchestrates his own birth and life. At the end of the latter, he moreover orders *\*Yin Xi* to become the Buddha and thereby deliver the pure Dao to the western “barbarians.” The text provides an integrated worldview and represents a justification of Celestial Masters’ beliefs for the benefit of the Liu Song court.

The second *juan* deals more specifically with moral rules and theoretical doctrines, associates the Dao with non-action (*\*wuwei*) and outlines details of *\*zhai* or Retreats. It also presents a discussion of Taoism versus Buddhism in terms of greater and lesser vehicles, again contrasting the purity and eminence of the Dao with the more primitive and simple practices of Buddhists.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 186–229 (trans. of *j.* 1); Lai Chi-tim 1998b; Robinet 1997b, 67–69; Schipper 1999b (part. trans.); Seidel 1969, 82–84; Wang Zongyu 1999

※ *santian* and *liutian*; Tianshi dao

*sanwu*

三五

Three and Five; “Three Fives”

The expression *sanwu* is deemed to sum up the whole world and the connections between its multiple levels. The number 3 (*san*) refers, for instance, to the three celestial bodies (sun, moon, and stars), the three minerals (pearl, jade, and gold), and the three corporeal organs (ears, nose, and mouth); the number 5 (*wu*) refers to the Five Agents (*\*wuxing*) and various related sets of entities, such as the five planets (*wuxing* 五星), the

five peaks (*\*wuyue*), and the five viscera (*\*wuzang*). Most often, however, these two numbers refer to the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the cosmos: Heaven, Earth and Humanity, or Yin, Yang and their harmony, on one hand, and the four cardinal points plus the center, on the other. In physiology, they correspond to the three vertical parts of the body (head, chest, and abdomen) and the five viscera. They also stand in hierarchical relationship with each other: Three is celestial while Five is terrestrial, and many texts accordingly number the heavens by three or multiples of three, while five or multiples of five is the number are associated with the earth.

In cosmogony, the Three comes before the Five. The Three refers to the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣; see *\*santian* and *liutian*), the Three Primes (*\*sanyuan*), the Three Sovereigns (*\*sanhuang*), or the Three Heavens (*santian*; see *\*santian* and *liutian*). The Five refers to the Five Agents, the five directions (*wufang* 五方), or the five virtues (*wude* 五德). Similarly, the Three Pneumas precede the five precosmic geneses called Five Greats (*wutai* 五太; see *\*cosmogony*). Three and Five are often related to Eight: for instance, the three kinds of precosmic Chaos plus five gives the eight luminous spirits (the “eight effulgences,” *\*bajing*).

As it is used in the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi*, the expression *sanwu* is especially important in *\*neidan*. Here the number 5 is seen as the addition of the numbers assigned to Wood-East (3) and Fire-South (2) on one hand, and to Metal-West (4) and Water-North (1) on the other (see [table 25](#)). With Soil, the Center (5), these three sets form the “Three Fives” that must be merged into the One. In particular, these emblems are equated with inner nature (*xing* 性) and spirit (*\*shen*) with regard to the mind, and with emotions (*qing* 情) and essence (*\*jing*) with regard to the body. Together with intention (*\*yi*), these are the three entities that *neidan* adepts join with each other to return (*\*fan*) to the One.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Robinet 1994a, 100–101

※ NUMEROLOGY; COSMOGONY; COSMOLOGY

*sanyi*

## Three Ones; Three-in-One

The Three Ones, or Three-in-One, emerge when the original Oneness (\**yi*) of the cosmos first divides into Yin and Yang, and then rejoins these forces in a new harmony. In this way a set of three is created that recovers a renewed original Oneness. The notion of the Three Ones also applies to the three fundamental powers (*sancai* 三才) of the universe—Heaven, Earth, and Humanity—and to the basic factors of human life—essence, pneuma, and spirit (\**jing*, *qi*, *shen*).

In \*Shangqing Taoism, the Three Ones are deities who reside in the Cinnabar Fields (\**dantian*), the main energy centers of the body. They are the Emperor One (Diyi 帝一), the Feminine One (Ciyi 雌一), and the Masculine One (Xiongyi 雄一), also known as the Upper, Middle, and Lower Ones. Each is further linked with a specific sacred text, the \**Dadong zhenjing*, the \**Ciyi jing* (or the \**Taidan yinshu*), and the \**Suling jing*, respectively. Born originally through the fusion of primordial energy, they arise first in the Northern Dipper (\**beidou*), the central constellation in the sky, from which they manifest on all levels in the cosmos.

According to a method transmitted by Xuanzi 玄子 (the Mysterious Master, also known as Juanzi 涓子) and recorded in the *Suling jing* (CT 1314, 27a–38b), an adept who wants to visualize the Three Ones should first select the proper time, prepare the meditation chamber (\**jingshi*), and purify himself through bathing and fasting. Once in the holy room, he burns incense (see \**jinxiang*), grinds his teeth, and sits down facing east. Closing his eyes, he begins with the Upper One, first imagining a red energy in the Palace of the Muddy Pellet (*niwan gong* 泥丸宮) in the head, the upper Cinnabar Field (see \**niwan*). Within this ball of energy, he then sees a red sun, about 9 cm in diameter, whose radiance makes him fall into oblivion. When this is achieved, the ruler of this Palace, known as the Red Infant (*chizi* 赤子), appears in his head. The Red Infant holds the Talisman of the Divine Tiger (*shenhu fu* 神虎符) in his hand and is accompanied by an attendant who holds the *Dadong zhenjing* and is the deity of the teeth, the tongue, and the skull.

The Middle One resides in the Crimson Palace (*jianggong* 絳宮) of the heart, the middle Cinnabar Field. His energy is also red but measures only 7

cm in diameter. He also appears once the adept has entered a state of deep absorption. Known as the Sovereign Lord of Original Cinnabar (Yuandan huangjun 元丹皇君), he holds the Most Exalted Talisman of the Feminine One (*Ciyi gaoshang fu* 雌一高上符) in his right hand and the planet Mars in his left hand. His attendant holds the *Ciyi jing* and is the deity of the essences of the five inner organs.

The Lower One is the master of the Gate of the Vital Force (*\*mingmen*), the lower Cinnabar Field. To make him appear, adepts visualize a white sun 5 cm in diameter, then see him as the god Ying'er 嬰兒 (Infant), the Original King of the Yellow Court (Huangting yuanwang 黃庭元王) in the lower center of the body. He holds a copy of the *Suling jing* and the planet Venus in his hands. His attendant, master over the subtle essences of the body, is the deity of the extremities, senses, blood, and intestines.

The Three Ones with their attendants thus control the entire body. They are present in all human beings but seldom display their immortal powers because ordinary people are likely to ignore or even harm them. As one neglects this power of cosmic purity within, one's body becomes weaker and sicker and eventually dies.

*Livia KOHN*

■ Andersen 1979; Kohn 1989a; Kohn 1993b, 204–14; Li Ling 2000b, 239–52; Maspero 1981, 364–72; Robinet 1984, 1: 30–32 and 80–82; Robinet 1993, 124–31; Robinet 1994a; Robinet 1995c

※ Taiyi; yi [oneness]; INNER DEITIES; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*sanyuan*

三元

Three Primes; Three Origins

### 1. The term

The term Three Primes refers to the original, precosmic pneumas of the world that prefigure its tripartition and also exist on the theological and human levels. In their most fundamental role, they represent three modes of



emptiness, called Chaotic Cavern, Great Emptiness Origin (*hundong taiwu yuan* 混沌太無元), Red Chaos, Great Emptiness Origin (*chihun taiwu yuan* 赤混太無元), and Dark and Silent, Mysterious Pervasive Origin (*mingji xuanton yuan* 冥寂玄通元). These are transformed into three divinities (also called *sanyuan*) that rule over the Three Caverns (\*SANDONG). In a related meaning, *sanyuan* also denotes the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣), namely, Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), Original (*yuan* 元), and Inaugural (*shi* 始), and the Three Original Pure Ladies (Sansu yuanjun 三素元君) who are mothers of the Five Gods (*wushen* 五神) of the registers of life (*shengji* 生籍; see under \*Taidan yinshu).

On the physiological level, *sanyuan* has various meanings. It refers to the three Cinnabar Fields (\**dantian*) and their guardian divinities; to head, heart, and kidneys; or to head, abdomen, and feet. In \**neidan* texts, *sanyuan* alludes to the three components of the human being, namely, essence, pneuma, and spirit (\**jing*, *qi*, *shen*), in their original (*yuan*) or precosmic state. Finally, in ritual *sanyuan* designates three Retreats (\**zhai*) addressed to Heaven, Earth, and Water, held on the fifteenth day of the first, seventh, and tenth lunar months.

Isabelle ROBINET

## 2. The pneumas

According to early Taoist cosmogony, the fundamental One Pneuma (*yiqi* 一氣) divides into three: Mysterious (*xuan* 玄), Original (*yuan* 元), and Inaugural (*shi* 始). From these Three Pneumas, the Three Heavens (*santian* 三天) and the Three Caverns (\*SANDONG) of the Taoist Canon are formed (\**Yebao yinyuan jing*, sec. 26). The relations among the Three Pneumas, the Three Heavens, the realms of the Three Clarities (*sanqing jing* 三清境; see \**sanqing*), and the Three Treasure Lords (*san baojun* 三寶君) are shown in [table 18](#).

In the \**Shengshen jing*, the Three Pneumas are referred to as the Three Primes. The “Daojiao sandong zongyuan” 道教三洞宗元 (Lineal Origins of the Three Caverns of the Taoist Teaching; YJQQ 3.4a–7b), however, distinguishes them by outlining a sequence that leads from Non-being (\**wu*) to Wondrous Oneness (*miaoyi* 妙一), then to the Three Primes, the Three Pneumas, and finally the Three Powers (*sancai* 三才, i.e., Heaven, Earth, and Humanity). This text says that the three Treasure Lords are “generated by

transformation” (*huasheng* 化生) from each of the Three Primes, and associates the Three Pneumas with the colors green, yellow, and white, respectively.

*MIURA Kunio*

### 3. The days

Three great feast days came to be associated with the Three Primes: the fifteenth days of the first lunar month (*shangyuan* 上元), seventh lunar month (*zhongyuan* 中元), and tenth lunar month (*xiayuan* 下元), respectively the birthdays of the Officer of Heaven, the Officer of Earth, and the Officer of Water (see \**sanguan*). The Lantern Festival was held on the fifteenth of the first lunar month, while the fifteenth of the seventh lunar month coincided with the highly popular Buddhist *yulanpen* 盂蘭盆 (*avalambana*) festival.

Opinion varies concerning which rituals in the *zhongyuan* and *yulanpen* observances originated first, but certainly there was a considerable amount of mutual influence between Buddhism and Taoism; furthermore, the fifteenth of the seventh lunar month was of great importance as the day when offerings were made to the ancestral spirits and sins were remitted. Both religious traditions conducted rituals to destroy sin, observed almsgiving, and performed the rites of Universal Salvation (\**pudu*, Taoist) and Oblation to the Hungry Spirits (*shi egui* 施餓鬼, Buddhist) for the repose of the souls of the dead, and to ensure that harmful forces did not interfere with the world of the living.

*YAMADA Toshiaki*

▣ Akizuki Kan'ei 1961; Akizuki Kan'ei 1965; Maspero 1981, 158–59; Lagerwey 1987c, 20–22; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 407–36; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 316–19; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1959–76, 1: 369–77; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1970a

※ *dantian*; *sanhui*; *sanyi*; COSMOGONY; SANDONG; SEASONAL OBSERVANCES

Shangqing

上清

## Highest Clarity

The term Shangqing initially denoted a corpus of scriptures revealed to \*Yang Xi (330–86) between 364 and 370 (see [table 21](#)). With later “apocryphal” texts, these scriptures were adopted by the southern Chinese aristocracy in the fifth and sixth centuries and were assigned the highest rank within the Three Caverns (\*SANDONG) of the Taoist Canon. Later, the same term also designated a religious movement, whose actual founder was \*Tao Hongjing (456–536), with its own patriarchs (see [table 22](#)), holy places, liturgy, and a large number of other texts.

As a body of doctrines and practices, Shangqing developed in southeastern China after the imperial court and the upper classes fled from the north, which had been invaded by non-Chinese peoples, and settled in the Jiangnan 江南 region. Here they were confronted by a local Chinese aristocracy of long standing that sought to reaffirm its own traditions over those imported from the north. Shangqing thus marked a revival of the religious legacy of southern China. Claiming to be on a higher level than its forerunners, it consists of a synthesis of the native ecstatic tradition, the late-Zhou and Han traditions of immortality seekers, and the religion of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) imported from the north. Besides a few local cults, Shangqing also incorporated—in a superficial way, but for the first time in Taoism—some features borrowed from Buddhism, and its sources show traces of the debates on \*wu and you (Non-being and Being) that had engaged the \*Xuanxue (Arcane Learning) thinkers. All these elements were blended into a coherent whole, imbued with reminiscences of old Chinese myths and of the literary tradition represented by the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985) and by Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (ca. 179–117 BCE; Hervouet 1972). This gave the Shangqing texts a remarkable poetic and literary quality, and secured them success among the Chinese intelligentsia.

*History.* The revelations received by Yang Xi were addressed to the Xu family, especially Xu Mi 許謐 (303–76) and his son Xu Hui 許翽 (341–ca. 370), of whom

Table 21

NO.	RECEIVED TEXT	TITLE
1	CT 5, 6, 7,	* <i>Dadong zhenjing</i> 大洞真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern)

- 2 CT 1378 *Jinzhen yuguang bajing feijing* 金真玉光八景飛經 (Winged Scripture of the Jade Radiance of Golden Truth and of the Eight Effulgences)
- 3 CT 426, 1323 \**Basu jing* 八素經 (Scripture of the Eight Pure Ladies)
- 4 CT 1316 *Bu tiangang niexing qi yuan jing* 步天綱躡星七元經 (Scripture of the Seven Primes on Pacing the Celestial Guideline and Treading the Stars)
- 5 CT 1376, 1377 \**Jiuzhen zhongjing* 九真中經 (Central Scripture of the Nine Real Men)
- 6 [lost] *Bianhua qishisi fang jing* 變化七十四方經 (Scripture on the Methods of the Seventy-four Transformations)
- 7 [lost] *Santian zhengfa jing* 三天正法經 (Scripture of the Orthodox Law of the Three Heavens)
- 8 CT 33 *Huangqi yangjing sandao shunxing jing* 黃氣陽精三道順行經 (Scripture on Following the Course of the Three Paths of the Yellow Pneuma [=Moon] and the Yang Essence [=Sun])
- 9 CT 1373 *Waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen* 外國放品青童內文 (Inner Script of the Azure Lad on the Distribution of the Outer Realms)
- 10 CT 179, 255, 442, 639 \**Lingshu ziwén* 靈書紫文 (Numinous Writings in Purple Script)
- 11 CT 1332 *Zidu yanguang shenyuan bian jing* 紫度炎光神元變經 (Scripture on the Transformation of the Fiery Radiant Divine Origin, Written on Purple [Tablets])
- 12 CT 1315 *Qingyao zishu jingen zhongjing* 青要紫書金根眾經 (Collected Scriptures of the [Lord of ?] Qingyao on the Golden Root, Written on Purple [Tablets])
- 13 CT 1327 *Sanjiu suyu yujing zhenjue* 三九素語玉經真訣 (Authentic Instructions on the Jade Scripture of the Pure Words of the Three [Primes] and the Nine [Old Lords])
- 14 CT 354 *Sanyuan yujian sanyuan bujing* 三元玉檢三元布經 (Scripture on the Distribution of the Three Primes, Jade Seal of the Three Primes)
- 15 [lost] *Shijing jinguang cangjing lu* [recte: *lian?*] *xing jing* 石精金光藏精錄鍊形經A (Scripture on the Essence of Stone and the Radiance of Metal for Hiding One's Shape and Refining [?] One's Form)
- 16 CT 1359 *Danjing daojing yindi bashu jing* 丹景道精隱地八術經 (Scripture on the Effulgence of Cinnabar and the Essence of the Dao and on the Eight Arts to Conceal Onself within the Earth)
- 17 CT 1331 *Shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing* 神州七轉七變舞天經 (Scripture of the Divine Continent on the Dance in Heaven in Seven Revolutions and Seven Transformations)
- 18 CT 1330 \**Taidan yinshu* 太丹隱書 (Concealed Writ of the Great Cinnabar [Palace])
- 19 CT 1317 *Kaitian santu qixing yidu jing* 開天三圖七星移度經 (Scripture on Crossing through the Three [Celestial] Passes and the Seven Stars to the Opening of Heaven)
- 20 CT 1382 *Jiudan shanghua taijing zhongji* 九丹上化胎精中記 (Central Records of the Essence of the Embryo and the Upper Transformation of the Ninefold Elixir)
- 21 CT 1329 *Jiuchi banfu wudi nei zhenjing* 九赤班符五帝內真經 (Scripture of the Nine Red Bundled Talismans and the Inner Authenticity of the Five Emperors)

- 22 CT 1334 (?) *Shenhu shangfu xiaomo zhihui jing* 神虎上符消魔智慧經 (Scripture of Wisdom on the Superior Talismans of the Divine Tigers and on [the Drugs for] Subduing the Minor Demons)
- 23 CT 1372 *Gaoshang yuchen fengtai qusu shangjing* 高上玉晨鳳臺曲素上經 (Superior Scripture of the Most Exalted Jade Dawn and the [Eight] Pure [Ladies] of the Palace of the Phoenix Terrace)
- 24 CT 83, 1351 *Baihu heihe feixing yujing* 白羽黑翮飛行羽經 (Winged Scripture on Flying with the White-Winged and the Black-Feathered [Phoenixes])
- 25 CT 84, 1391 *Qionggong lingfei liujia zuoyou shangfu* 瓊宮靈飛六甲左右上符 (Superior Talismans of the Left and the Right of the Six *Jia* for the Numinous Flight to Exquisite Palace)
- 26 CT 56 *Yupei jindang Taiji jinshu shangjing* 玉佩金璫太極金書上經 (Superior Scripture of the Jade Pendant and the Golden Ring Written on Golden [Tablets] in the Great Ultimate)
- 27 CT 1393 *Jiuling taimiao Guishan xuanlu* 九靈太妙龜山玄錄 (Mysterious Register of the Turtle Mountain from the Great Wonder of [the Palace of] the Nine Numina)
- 28 CT 1361, 1369 *Qisheng xuanji huitian jiuxiao jing* 七聖玄紀迴天九霄經 (Scripture of the Mysterious Records of the Seven Saints for the Return to the Nine Celestial Empyreans)
- 29 CT 1380 *Taishang huangsu sishisi fang jing* 太上黃素四四方經 (Most High Scripture of the Forty-four Methods Written on Yellow Silk)
- 30 CT 55 *\*Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang* 太霄琅書瓊文帝章 (Precious Writ of the Great Empyrean on the Exquisite Text of the Imperial Statement)
- 31 CT 1357 *Gaoshang miemo dongjing jinxuan yuqing yinshu* 高上滅魔洞景金玄玉清隱書 (Most Exalted Concealed Writ of the Jade Clarity of Cavernous Effulgence and Golden Mystery for the Extermination of Demons)
- 32 CT 1336, 1337 *Taiwei tian dijun jinhu zhenfu* 太微天帝君金虎真符 (Authentic Talismans of the Golden Tigers of the Imperial Lord of the Heaven of Great Tenuity)
- 33 CT 1333 *Taiwei tian dijun shenhu yujing zhenfu* 太微天帝君神虎玉經真符 (Authentic Talismans of the Jade Scripture of the Divine Tigers of the Imperial Lord of the Heaven of Great Tenuity)
- 34 — *Taishang huangting neijing yujing Taidi neishu* 太上黃庭內景玉經太帝內書 (Most High Jade Scripture of the Inner Effulgences of the Yellow Court, Inner Writ of the Great Emperor) [see \*[Huangting jing](#)]

The Shangqing textual corpus. See Robinet 1984, 2: 15–22 and passim. Some titles are given in abbreviated form, and some translations are tentative. The received *Santian zhengfa jing* (CT 1203; cf. no. 7 above) is not a Shangqing text.

Table 22

- |                             |                                 |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 *Wei Huacun (251–334) 魏華存 | 24 Mao Fengrou 毛奉柔              |
| 2 *Yang Xi (330–86) 楊羲      | 25 *Liu Hunkang (1035–1108) 劉混康 |
| 3 Xu Mi (303–76) 許謐         | 26 Da Jingzhi (1068–1113) 笮淨之   |

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 4 Xu Hui (341–ca. 370) 許翽         | 27 Xu Xihe (?–1127) 徐希和         |
| 5 Ma Lang 馬朗                      | 28 Jiang Jingche (?–1146) 蔣景徹   |
| 6 Ma Han 馬罕                       | 29 Li Jinghe (?–1150) 李景合       |
| 7 *Lu Xiuqing (406–77) 陸修靜        | 30 Li Jingying (?–1164) 李景暎     |
| 8 *Sun Youyue (399–489) 孫游嶽       | 31 Xu Shoujing (?–1195) 徐守經     |
| 9 *Tao Hongjing (456–536) 陶弘景     | 32 Qin Ruda (?–1195) 秦汝達        |
| 10 *Wang Yuanzhi (528–635) 王遠知    | 33 Xing Rujia (?–1209) 邢汝嘉      |
| 11 *Pan Shizheng (585–682) 潘師正    | 34 Xue Ruji (?–1214) 薛汝積        |
| 12 *Sima Chengzhen (647–735) 司馬承禎 | 35 Ren Yuanfu (1176–1239) 任元阜   |
| 13 *Li Hanguang (683–769) 李含光     | 36 Bao Zhizhen (?–1251) 鮑志真     |
| 14 Wei Jingzhao (694–785) 韋景昭     | 37 Tang Zhidao (?–1258) 湯志道     |
| 15 Huang Dongyuan (698–792) 黃洞元   | 38 Jiang Zongying (?–1281) 蔣宗瑛  |
| 16 Sun Zhiqing 孫智清                | 39 Jing Yuanfan 景元範             |
| 17 Wu Fatong (825–907) 吳法通        | 40 Liu Zongchang 劉宗昶            |
| 18 Liu Dechang 劉得常                | 41 Wang Zhixin (?–1273) 王志心     |
| 19 Wang Qixia (882–943) 王棲霞       | 42 Zhai Zhiying (?–1276) 翟志穎    |
| 20 Cheng Yanzhao (912–90) 成延昭     | 43 Xu Daoqi (1236–1291) 許道杞     |
| 21 Jiang Yuanji (?–998) 蔣元吉       | 44 Wang Daomeng (1242–1314) 王道孟 |
| 22 Wan Baochong 萬保沖               | 45 Liu Dabin (fl. 1317–28) 劉大彬  |
| 23 *Zhu Ziying (976–1029) 朱自英     |                                 |

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The forty-five Shangqing patriarchs. Source: \**Maoshan zhi* (Monograph of Mount Mao; CT 304), *j.* 11–12.

Yang Xi was a client. The Xus, who had been related for many generations to \*Ge Hong's family, were based in Jurong 句容 (near Nanjing, Jiangsu). Xu Mi's grandson, Xu Huangmin 許黃民 (361–429), disseminated the Shangqing manuscripts when he moved further south to Zhejiang, and upon his death bequeathed them to the Ma 馬 and Du 杜 families. These events marked the first dispersion of the original manuscripts, which was to be followed by several others. In the early fifth century, Wang Lingqi 王靈期 and Xu Huangmin's son, Xu Rongdi 許榮弟 (fl. 431–32), produced many forgeries.

Before Tao Hongjing, several medieval Taoists—notably \*Lu Xiuqing (406–77) and \*Gu Huan (420/428–483/491)—tried to reassemble the original texts, but Tao's effort was by far the most successful. Also thanks to his work, the school became the foremost Taoist tradition between the sixth and tenth centuries. Emperors interested in the Shangqing scriptures bestowed their favors upon the patriarchs of the school, including \*Sun Youyue (399–489),

Tao Hongjing, \*Wang Yuanzhi (528–635), \*Pan Shizheng (585–682), \*Sima Cheng-zhen (646–735), and \*Li Hanguang (683–769). Shangqing texts were the main sources of Taoist encyclopedias of that time (especially the \**Wushang biyao* and the \**Sandong zhunang*), and served as inspiration to \*Wu Yun (?–778), Li Bai 李白 (Li Bo, 701–62), and many other poets. In Song times, patriarchs like \*Zhu Ziying (976–1029) and \*Liu Hunkang (1035–1108) initiated emperors and their families into the Shangqing mysteries. The Taoist section of the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period), a major encyclopedia published in 983, and the ritual collections compiled in that period, such as the *Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 (Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin; CT 220), contain significant portions of Shangqing materials. From the thirteenth century, the Shangqing school lost much of its authority as the Celestial Masters gained ascendancy. The Shangqing registers (\*LU), however, still ranked above all others.

*Salvation and immortality.* As a religion, Shangqing reconciles different ideas about salvation based on a threefold conception of the human being:

1. A human being is a complex individual: immortality implies the unification of the spirits and entities that compose and animate the person.
2. A human being is linked to his ancestors whose sins and merits fall on him, and his salvation cannot be separated from theirs.
3. Salvation involves a cosmicization and is thus universal, in the sense that the adept inwardly becomes one with the universe.

In Shangqing, immortality is a private pursuit, without the intervention of human intermediaries. The ultimate goal of the adept's quest is illustrated by the image of the cosmic saint (\**shengren*), which is rooted in the \**Zhuangzi*, the \**Liezi*, and the \**Huainan zi*, and integrates features drawn from popular imagery. Once an adept has obtained immortality, he will dwell in Emptiness and his body will emanate a supernatural radiance. He will enjoy eternal youth, have supernatural powers, and become one with the great forces of the universe. The terms used to describe this state indicate a transcendence of the dualism of life and death; for instance, the adept asks to “take his pleasure far away, where there is no round or square, deeply beyond phenomena, where

Non-being and Being blend in Darkness,” and to be born and die with the Void.

Immortality is no longer as evidently physical as it was in Ge Hong's tradition; if it is a bodily immortality, it involves the achievement of a spiritual body through meditation. Shangqing adepts aim at having their names written in the registers of life (*shengji* 生籍) held by divinities, or at unraveling the mortal knots that human beings are born with (Robinet 1993, 139–43). Salvation can also be obtained after death: an adept can ascend from the state of an “underworld governor” (*dixia zhu* 地下主, an immortal of inferior rank) to that of a celestial immortal. The Shangqing idea of rebirth as a way of salvation is very different from the Buddhist notion of reincarnation, and is an innovation that heralds *\*neidan*.

Human beings have three main possibilities for rebirth. One of them is based on a new view of *\*shijie* (release from the corpse) as a stage of Taoist asceticism: when purification during life has remained incomplete, the body awaits purification in an intermediary realm such as the Great Yin (Taiyin 太陰). The adept may also be reborn in paradises where he undergoes purification by fire and is revived as an immortal. Finally, rebirth can also occur during one's lifetime, through experiencing again one's embryonic development. The latter method is called “nine transmutations” (*jiuzhuan* 九轉) or “ninefold elixir” (*jiudan* 九丹), two terms that relate rebirth to alchemy but on a purely spiritual level.

*Gods and spirits.* In their relationships with divine beings, adepts strive to become one with them, sometimes with a touch of chaste love. Divinities are intercessors who appear to the believer and help him on his way to salvation, giving him the keys to celestial palaces, revealing their names and toponymy to him, and nourishing him with cosmic or celestial effluvia. The gods descend into the adept and guide him to the celestial kingdoms, hand in hand, where they share their pastimes with him. This relationship is remarkably different from the one described in the scriptures of the Celestial Masters. It is expressed in numerous hymns blending bliss, exaltation, and mystical joy that appear for the first time in a Taoist movement.

The various gods are all different forms of the Primordial Beginning, and can take many appearances. Among the highest are the Celestial King of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianwang 元始天王, see *\*sanqing*); the Most High Lord of the Dao (Taishang daojun 太上道君); the Imperial Lord



(Dijun 帝君); the Imperial Lord of the Golden Portal (\*Jinque dijun), who is also known as the Saint of the Latter Age (\**housheng*) and is identified with \*Li Hong (Laozi's appellation as the messiah); the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu); and her companion \*Qingtong (Azure Lad). Their primary role is to serve as mediators, and they are at the source of major revealed texts.

Shangqing inherits the Taoist vision of humanity as embodying many spirits, which is first found in the Han “weft texts” or *weishu* 緯書 (see \*TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA; the names of several spirits are the same or similar in both corpora). Cosmic deities, including the gods of the stars, the planets, and the five sectors of space, play a fundamental role in visualizations. They descend into the believer's body to make it luminous. Many live simultaneously in the heavens and within the human being, regularly inspecting the lives of adepts and updating the registers of life and death. Shangqing also maintains the earlier notions of the three Cinnabar Fields (\**dantian*) and the Three Corpses (*sanshi*; see \*[sanshi](#) and *jiuchong*). In contrast to the Three Palaces of earlier times, however, Shangqing texts imagine that the brain is divided into Nine Palaces (\**jiugong*), which became a standard feature of Taoist subtle physiology. In addition, twenty-four effulgent gods dwell in the body, divided into three groups of eight known as the \**bajing* (Eight Effulgences), each of which is governed by one of the Three Pure Ladies (Sansu 三素). These spirits play a key role in unraveling the mortal knots of the body. The Five Gods (*wushen* 五神) of the registers of life, who live in the brain, lungs, liver, heart, and lower abdomen, are directed by the Great One (\*Taiyi) in the brain (see \*[Taidan yinshu](#)).

*Cosmology and cosmography.* Shangqing cosmology follows the traditional Chinese pattern based on the numbers 3 and 5 (see \*[sanwu](#)): a vertical threefold division into Heaven, Earth, and Humanity corresponds to a horizontal fivefold division into the \**wuxing*. There are Nine Great Primordial Heavens created from pure cosmic pneuma, each of which in turn gives rise to three heavens for a total of thirty-six heavens (\**sanshiliu tian*). Another series is formed by eight heavens arranged horizontally. The Heavens of the Three Clarities (\**sanqing*) are superior stages in the adept's progress. Other paradises are the stations of the sun, moon, and other astral bodies (planets, constellations, and the Northern Dipper or \**beidou*), as well as the far ends of the earth, sometimes designated after ancient myths. The

Southern Paradise is a place of purification and rebirth.

Besides the traditional Five Peaks (*\*wuyue*), Shangqing cosmography includes other sacred mountains corresponding to the Grotto-Heavens and the Blissful Lands (*\*dongtian* and *fudi*). The axis of the world is Mount \*Kunlun, also called Xigui shan 西龜山 (Turtle Mountain of the West) or Longshan 龍山 (Dragon Mountain). Other mountains, such as the Renniao shan 人鳥山 (Mountain of the Bird-Men), play an analogous role.

The underworld is a counterpart of the Dipper. Located in the mountain-city of \*Fengdu, its administration is governed by the Northern Emperor (\*Beidi) and is organized into six courts that judge the dead (six is a Yin number, related to obscurity and death). The end of the world, often evoked in Shangqing scriptures, is described in the *Santian zhengfa jing* 三天正法經 (Scripture of the Orthodox Law of the Three Heavens; CT 1203; Ozaki Masaharu 1974), in a way reminiscent of ideas already found in the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han). The end of a cosmic cycle comes when the Yin and Yang pneumas reach their point of exhaustion. A lesser cycle ends after 3,600 celestial Yang or 3,300 terrestrial Yin revolutions, while a greater cycle ends after 9,900 celestial Yang or 9,300 terrestrial Yin revolutions. The Mother of Water (Shuimu 水母), a “celestial horse” (*tianma* 天馬), a “great bird” (*daniao* 大鳥), and Li Hong are the judges who, at that time, descend to earth to judge humanity.

*Practices.* Unlike the communal rites of the Celestial Masters, the Shangqing practices are individual and emphasize \*meditation and visualization. The bureaucratic and theurgic aspects of the Celestial Masters’ relationship to their gods are ignored: the celestial beings are not summoned with petitions but are invoked with prayers or chants, and there are no warlike struggles with demonic spirits. Physiological techniques and the ingestion of drugs and herbs are considered as minor; sexual practices are condemned or are interiorized and sublimated. The ritual aspect of the practices is flexible, and one is not impelled to observe the formal rules if it is impossible to do so.

The great variety of Shangqing practices can be categorized as follows:

1. Charms, recitations (*\*songjing*), and hymns, usually accompanied by visualizations (*\*cun*), whose purpose is to exterminate demons, summon spirits, or obtain salvation.
2. Visualization of spirits, some celestial and some corporeal (often

both), who come to animate and spiritualize the body (see \*[Huangting jing](#) and \*[Dadong zhenjing](#)). The adept blends them all into one, and unites himself with them. Often at the end of these visualizations everything in the world and outside of it becomes effulgent. This group also includes the method of the Three Ones (\*[sanyi](#)) described in the \*[Ciyi jing](#), the \*[Suling jing](#), and the \*[Jiuzhen zhongjing](#).

3. Ecstatic metamorphoses (see \*[bianhua](#)).
4. Methods aiming at having one's name inscribed in the “registers of life” ([Ciyi jing](#), \*[Basu jing](#), and [Taidan yinshu](#)).
5. Methods for loosening the mortal knots of the embryo ([Basu jing](#), [Jiuzhen zhongjing](#), and [Taidan yinshu](#)).
6. Ecstatic excursions (\*[yuanyou](#)) and absorption of astral efflorescences ([Basu jing](#) and [Jiuzhen zhongjing](#)).

Interiorization is the major innovative feature of Shangqing, and its main legacy for Taoism. It consists of actualizing (*cun*), i.e., giving existence to entities pertaining to an imaginative and mystical world that lies between spiritual and physical existence (see \*[xiang](#)). The adept has direct access to the sacred: the role of intermediary is not played by priests or other ritual officiants but by the scriptures themselves, which organize and codify relations between humanity and the gods, and between ordinary and sacred life. The importance of the written texts is emphasized to such a degree that the master's role consists only in certifying their legitimate transmission. The Shangqing scriptures are divine and precosmic, a token bestowed by the deities that promises salvation.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 7–62; Esposito 2004b; Ishii Masako 1980; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 15–297; Kohn 1992a, 108–16; Ozaki Masaharu 1983d; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 336–77 and 2: 125–41; Ren Jiyu 1990, 133–42; Robinet 1984; Robinet 1993; Robinet 1997b, 114–48; Robinet 2000; Strickmann 1977; Strickmann 1981; Sun Kekuan 1968, 75–155

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.4 (“Shangqing”)

*Shangqing dao leishi xiang*

上清道類事相

Classified Survey of Shangqing Taoism

Wang Xuanhe 王懸和 (fl. 664–84) compiled the *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* (CT 1132) in four *juan*. The text consists entirely of citations from works that date to the Six Dynasties and has six divisions: “Immortal Observatories” (“Xianguan 仙觀”); “Lofts and Pavilions” (“Louge 樓閣”); “Immortal Chambers” (“Xianfang 仙房”); “Jeweled Terraces” (“Baotai 寶臺”); “Elegant Chambers” (“Qiongshi 瓊室”); and “Dwellings and Spirit Shrines” (“Zhaiyu lingmiao 宅宇靈廟”). As its rubrics indicate, the compendium concerns Taoist edifices—celestial, terrestrial and subterranean.

There are citations from over one hundred texts in this compendium. Despite the title they concern not only \*Shangqing works, but also sources of other categories, including *Zhengyi* 正一 (\*Tianshi dao scriptures), *Taixuan* 太玄 (the *Daode jing* and related texts), *Dongshen* 洞神 (\**Sanhuang wen*), and *Dongxuan* 洞玄 (\*Lingbao scriptures), as well as hagiographies and other unaffiliated writings. Some of the quotations derive from texts now lost or passages missing from extant works in the present-day Taoist Canon. Others supply variant readings to surviving scriptures. The title of Wang's anthology is not suggestive of its contents and there is no preface. This may indicate that the surviving chapters are a fragment of a larger work, like Wang's \**Sandong zhunang*, that covered a greater range of topics than it now does.

For the most part, the contents of the *Shangqing dao leishi xiang* is devoted to the edifices of the otherworld: the palaces of celestial rulers, the archives where scriptures are stored waiting for an auspicious moment when they can be revealed to an anointed saint, heavenly sites where the immortals and perfected cultivated the Dao, and the like. As such it provides a handy guide for reconstructing the cosmography of medieval Taoism. Perhaps more importantly, Wang cites a number of passages, mainly from the \**Daoxue zhuan* in the first section, on the establishment of mundane abbeys during the fifth and sixth centuries. This is probably the only survey of that sort of activity and an invaluable source for the growth of Taoism and imperial patronage for it. On the whole, however, the text is far less important than Wang's *Sandong zhunang*.

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 228; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 136–49 (list of texts cited); Reiter 1992

※ Shangqing

### Shangqing gong

上清宮

Palace of Highest Clarity (Mount Longhu)

The Shangqing gong is the central temple on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), the seat of the Celestial Masters' \*Zhengyi institution since about the ninth century. Mount Longhu became covered with temples during the Song and Yuan periods; they are described in a partly extant Yuan gazetteer, the *Longhu shanzhi* 龍虎山志 (Monograph of Mount Longhu), and in a more detailed 1740 edition of the same work, authored by one of the most prestigious *faguan* 法官 (lit., “officers of the [exorcistic] ritual”) ever, \*Lou Jinyuan (1689–1776). Some of these temples had disappeared by Ming and Qing times, but the regular income of the institution (landed property, ordination fees, donations) and occasional liberalities of the court for large-scale restorations ensured that the major temples were kept in excellent condition until the destruction of many by the various revolutionary armies during the 1930s. Longhu shan is now operating again, on a more modest scale.

Ever since the Song, the central temple on the mountain has been the Shangqing gong (a title granted in 1113 to a temple that was probably founded a few centuries earlier). All major rituals, including ordinations, were held there. Also noteworthy is the Zhengyi guan 正一觀 (Abbey of Orthodox Unity), devoted to \*Zhang Daoling. Equally important was the Celestial Master's residence, the Zhenren fu 真人府 (Bureau of the Real Man; Tianshi fu 天師府 or Bureau of the Celestial Master before the Ming), located about one kilometer from the Shangqing gong. These were the offices where the Celestial Master and his *faguan* attended to the bureaucratic work of ordaining priests and canonizing local gods, and corresponded with Taoists

and officials all over China. Twenty-four residences or *\*daoyuan* around the Shangqing gong housed both the permanent Taoist staff and visiting priests from all over China, some coming just for ordination, others spending several years on the mountains for comprehensive training. It would seem that these *daoyuan* were divided according to lineage, and perhaps also by geographical origin of the resident priests. Longhu shan was quite ecumenical and even had a small *\*Quanzhen* community.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Hachiya Kunio 1990, 1: 278–79, 2: 265–66; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 248–250; Zhang Jintao 1994

※ Longhu shan; Zhengyi; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

*Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*

上清黃書過度儀

Liturgy of Passage of the Yellow Writ of Highest Clarity

The *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* (CT 1294) contains ritual prescriptions for “passing and crossing” (*guodu*) difficulties in the context of a detailed ritual involving the union of Yin and Yang *\*qi*, and of male and female participants. This text may date from the second through the fifth centuries CE, and reflects the integration of ritualized visualization, invocation, and sexual techniques.

The title of the text reflects the diverse influences on its origin. The term *huangshu* 黃書 (Yellow Writ) indicates its connection to the *fangzhong* 房中 (arts of the bedchamber) tradition (see *\*fangzhong shu*). The term *guodu* 過度 suggests a connection with the correlative prescriptions for daily activities ubiquitous in the Warring States and early imperial periods. The fourth-century composite *\*Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss) notes that if people use the *huangshu* without *guodu*, they will have many illnesses, agricultural and sericultural failures, and ultimately fail to live out their full life span (see Mollier 1990, 150). In alchemical contexts, *guodu* refers to the correlation of the measurement of reagents to the periods of the day. Thus, while the form of the text is

indicated by the term *yi* 儀 (ceremony, or liturgy), indicating it is part of the genre of *\*keyi* (ritual codes), the references to the twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支; see *\*ganzhi*), five directions, and the spirits of the sexagesimal cycle show its sources in the genre of correlative prescriptions, and its instructions on the union of Yin and Yang show its sources in sexual cultivation literature.

The *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* details a ritual wherein a couple moves through different activities, or “passes” (*guo* 過), guided by a master. In the first stage, *rujing* 入靖 (entering the purification chamber), the couple stand and take part in a scripted dialogue with the master. They then proceed through passes involving the visualization of different spirits and kinds of *qi*, recitations, breathing exercises, touching and massaging, invocations and apotropaic spells, and at one point penetration with the *yuyue* 玉籥 (“jade flute,” i.e., penis). These different activities are interspersed with each other, and the position, direction and movement of the participants is all carefully choreographed. The correlation of the parts of the body and the ritual space with the spirits of the Nine Palaces (*\*jiugong*), the sexagesimal cycle, their combination in the Three Primes (*\*sanyuan*), and the five viscera (*\*wuzang*), implies that an important goal of the ritual was the visualization and the invocation of the spirits as a way of bringing the bodies of the participants in line with the cosmic order.

In the *Daozang*, rites based on the union of *qi* are represented in the *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* and the more theoretical *Dongzhen huangshu* 洞真黃書 (Yellow Writ of the Cavern of Perfection; CT 1343). Differences in the way that male and female participants are referred to, and other factors, indicate that the rites incorporate elements from different sources. According to the *Dongzhen huangshu*, the *huangshu* were presented by Laozi to the first Celestial Master *\*Zhang Daoling* in 142 CE. Parts of the text probably date back to that time, while other parts date to the Wei-Jin period. It was likely that it was this ritual, or rituals like it, that were the object of condemnation by Eastern Jin reformers of the *\*Tianshi dao* tradition like *\*Kou Qianzhi* (365?–448).

Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI

▣ Ge Zhaoguang 1999; Kalinowski 1985; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 357–66; Maspero 1981, 533–41

※ *fangzhong shu; heqi; zhongmin*

*Shangqing lingbao dafa*

上清靈寶大法

Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity

The Taoist Canon contains two thirteenth-century texts with this title that present two very different views of the \*Lingbao dafa tradition. Both rely on the \**Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* (Great Rites of the Superior Scripture of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation) or a close cognate text. While both show signs of additions and changes over the years, the earlier of the two (CT 1223, with table of contents in CT 1222) was likely compiled by the strident liturgical purist and critic of the innovations in Southern Song Taoist ritual, Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25). In this work he stresses the continued centrality of canonical \*Lingbao rituals whose simple liturgies and scriptures derive from the Highest Clarity (*shangqing* 上清) Heaven. Codified by such figures as \*Lu Xiuqing (406–77), \*Zhang Wanfu (fl. 710–13), and \*Du Guangting (850–933) and passed down without interruption since Tang times to his masters, these ancient Taoist ritual writings from the Central Plains also include the newer \*Tongchu (Youthful Incipience) rituals. From this classicist perspective, he strongly criticizes more recent ritual innovations, elaborate practices, and inner excesses that proponents claim come from heaven, in particular the Lingbao dafa tradition that \*Ning Benli (1101–81) had earlier codified in the \*Tiantai region.

Wang Qizhen's 王契真 (fl. ca. 1250) compendium (CT 1221), by contrast, may be seen as a substantial response to Jin's criticisms. Although often seeming to present the Lingbao dafa as a powerful ritual system apart from the people and places most strongly associated with its origins and evolution, Wang clearly identifies himself as continuing the work of Ning Benli, its earliest codifier. In generalizing the tradition beyond its local sources, the ritual programs of salvation appearing in the chapters of this text seem even more abstract. Wang saw the Yellow Register Retreat (\**huanglu zhai*) as the most flexible of all ritual programs, one that was appropriate for the living and the dead, for elite and ordinary people, and for both women and men. The compilation's twenty-four rubrics include a systematic introduction (*j.* 1)



and account of basic Lingbao dafa practices (j. 2–4), followed by a description of recitation and inner practices (j. 5), and exorcistic practices of talismanic healing (j. 6–7). Longer sections deal with exorcistic practices for accumulating merit, based on the *\*Duren jing* (j. 12–26), rites of transmission and various Retreat rites for the dead, including those for the Yellow Register (j. 39–48), Salvation through Refinement (*\*liandu*, j. 49–53), and traditional Retreat (*\*zhai*) ceremonies. Wang Qizhen's text was expanded in early Ming times (Boltz J. M. 1994, 27).

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 43–44, 45–46; Davis E. 2001, 173–76; Maruyama Hiroshi 1994a

※ Lingbao dafa

*Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao*

上乘修真三要

The Three Principles of the Cultivation of Perfection  
According to the Higher Vehicle

The author of this text (CT 267), indicated as Yuanming laoren 圓明老人 (Old Man of Full Enlightenment), is probably the *\*Quanzhen* master Gao Daokuan 高道寬 (1195–1277). The “three principles” mentioned in the title are inner nature and vital force (*\*xing* and *ming*) and mind (*\*xin*).

The first section deals with inner nature. It is inspired by the Chan allegory of training the ox as found in the ten pictures by Puming 普明 (late eleventh century), which were popular during the Yuan period. Each picture is followed by a poem and a short commentary, also in verse. The commentaries describe the progressive whitening of the horse, which represents the process of purification. The first ten pictures represent the horse training, the eleventh shows a circle containing a man, and the twelfth a circle containing an infant. This part of the text ends with the picture of a circle surrounding the Purple Gold Immortal (Zijin xian 紫金仙), i.e., Laozi. The second section focuses on vital force, and describes the *\*neidan* practice in the tradition of the *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* with several illustrations.

The horse symbolizes creative thought (or Intention, \**yi*), as opposed to the ox which represents the mind. The metaphor of the horse's training was not unknown in Taoist literature and had been used at an early date in \**Huainan zi* 14: “Settle your mind and fix your thoughts (*pingxin dingyi* 平心定意), . . . ride the mind and attune yourself to the horse (*yuxin tiao hu ma* 御心調乎馬).” However, its appearance in the present text should be seen in the context of the controversies between Buddhism and Taoism in the mid-thirteenth century. In the *Shuogua* 說卦 (Explanation of the Trigrams) appendix to the \**Yijing*, the horse corresponds to *qian* 乾 1 (Pure Yang) and the ox corresponds to *kun* 坤 5 (Pure Yin). The use of the horse thus alludes to the superiority of the Taoist adept, who is able to create an immortal body of Pure Yang, while the Buddhist follower reaches liberation without having entirely eliminated the Yin.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1981a

※ *neidan*; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*shanshu*

善書

morality books

The term *shanshu* has been used in China since the Song dynasty to refer to a variety of works (also known as *quanshi wen* 勸世文 or “books to exhort the age”) with the pronounced didactic intent to exhort people to practice virtue and eschew evil. Taoist sources were particularly important to some of the oldest and most imitated examples of *shanshu*, and Taoist teachings have been an important component of the variously weighted mix of Taoist, Buddhist, Confucian, and regional ideas used in these works to reach as broad an audience as possible. Generally, *shanshu* share some form of belief in the law of cause and effect, that is, the cosmic process of retribution by which good and bad actions have consequences for this life, subsequent lives, and even the lives of one's descendants. These consequences might include the realization of Taoist immortality, punishment in the hells of the

underworld (*diyu* 地獄, the “earth prisons”), or the attainment of this-worldly tangibles such as long life, social position, wealth, and male progeny. Typically, contributions to the dissemination of *shanshu* were also thought to earn merit and became a conventional form of religious piety and social morality.

*Genres and definition.* The term *shanshu* does not designate a formal genre and many types of texts have been labelled *shanshu*. Based on recent scholarship alone, *shanshu* can include revealed sectarian scriptures such as precious scrolls (*\*baojuan*), ledgers of merit and demerit (*gongguo ge* 功過格), family instructions (*zhijia geyan* 治家格言), collections of miracle tales (*lingyan ji* 靈驗記 and *yingyan ji* 應驗記), stories of virtuous behavior (such as the *Ershisi xiao de gushi* 二十四孝的故事 or *Twenty-Four Stories of Filiality*), daily-use encyclopedias, almanacs, children's primers, community contracts, the imperially-issued Sacred Edicts (*shengyu* 聖語), popular operas, spirit-writing texts (see *\*fuji*), revealed tales of “cause and effect across three incarnations” (*sanshi yinguo* 三世因果), guides to self-examination, and twentieth-century moralistic self-help books. While some of these texts were imperially sponsored and widely used in educational settings, others were apt to be confiscated due to their association with illegal sectarian groups. Many *shanshu* in the past, and in Taiwan today, appear to be the products of small cult groups that gather to receive spirit-writing revelations from a particular deity, who may descend into a medium or a writing device. Others are beheld in dreams or are records of visionary journeys. Transcriptions are written up, sometimes given commentary to explain their essential meaning, and donations are solicited to fund the printing of copies to distribute freely at temples, bookstores, and religious restaurants.

The current tendency is to use the term *shanshu* to designate those works not associated with doctrinal, sectarian followings, although continued investigation seems destined to emphasize the fluidity of moral and religious concerns. In this regard, some scholars look to morality books for evidence of a pan-Chinese “popular” religion; others see *shanshu* as a major vehicle by which fundamental Taoist ideas diffused throughout Chinese culture. Technically, traditional use of the term *shanshu* would evoke associations with more educated social circles, but such associations were part of the wider appeal of this literature. In fact, *shanshu* were usually written in either

the vernacular or very accessible classical Chinese. While commentary and citations from the classics might be provided by editors from the scholar-official class, the frequent inclusion of entertaining stories, illustrations, lists of merit-earning sponsors, and instructions to disseminate freely all suggest that such works were idealistically intended to go beyond any one religious or social group.

*History.* Historically, morality books were particularly widespread in the late Ming and early Qing, but evidence for their popularity goes back to the Song dynasty and extends down to the present day. Key conceptual and linguistic elements can be found in the \**Yijing*, Han dynasty cosmological texts, the \**Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), as well as later Taoist and Buddhist works. While the basic idea of cosmic retribution for one's actions has been described as the fundamental belief of Chinese religion since the beginning of its recorded history, the more narrowly-defined Taoist contributions were also significant, especially the orchestration of merit accumulation from good deeds, self-examination, practices for nourishing life (\**yangsheng*) and cultivating perfection (*xiuzhen* 修真) with a vast otherworldly bureaucracy of spirits—residing both in the heavens and the body—who watch over human activity. While these ideas can be found in the \*Huang-Lao, Great Peace (Taiping dao 太平道; see \*Yellow Turbans) and Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) teachings of the Later Han dynasty, notably the \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing*, they are most developed by \*Ge Hong (283–343), whose \**Baopu zi* specifies how much accumulated merit is needed to become a celestial immortal as opposed to an earthly immortal (trans. Ware 1966, 66–67, 115–19). Buddhist concepts of *karma*, transmigration, universal salvation (\**pu*du), and the imagery of the hells of the underworld were increasingly joined to Taoist ideas of retribution for virtue and vice, forming the context for such early *shanshu* as the famous \**Taishang ganying pian* (Folios of the Most High on Retribution). The influence of local cults of the Tang and Song dynasties also led to *shanshu* in which deities like the \*Wenchang, the Stove God (\*Zaoshen) and Guandi 關帝 (\*Guan Yu) assumed more Taoist features to become identified with overseeing human behavior and dispensing revelations about retribution, morality, and fated life span. Alongside the *Taishang ganying pian*, the (*Wenchang dijun*) *Yinzhi wen* 文昌帝君陰騭文 (Essay [of Imperial Lord Wenchang] on Secret Virtue; trans. Suzuki and Carus 1906b, and Kleeman 1996, 70–71) and the (*Guansheng dijun*) *Jueshi zhenjing* 關聖帝君覺世真經 (Authentic Scripture [of Imperial Lord Guan] to

Awaken the World) are the most frequently cited examples of traditional *shanshu*. Sponsors often proclaimed a desire to spread the message of these tracts even to the illiterate, and these texts appear to have spanned many social levels but may not have had the visual impact of yet another ubiquitous tract, the *Yuli chaozhuan* 玉曆鈔傳 (Transcribed Annals of the Jade Calendar; eleventh century), which described the ten courts of the underworld where retribution was exacted for human misdeeds.

While early morality books were a vehicle for the dissemination of Taoist internal and external cosmological ideas, there is also evidence that popular concern with moral retribution influenced in turn the shape of Taoist institutions and teachings in the late Song and after. For example, the \*Quanzhen order, founded in the twelfth century, focused as much on moral exhortations and disciplines as inner alchemical (\**neidan*) and meditational techniques for immortality. The legendary immortal and *neidan* adept \*Lü Dongbin, worshipped in Quanzhen Taoism, was associated with a number of *shanshu*. Similarly, a ledger of merits and demerits that originated in the twelfth-century Taoist sect of \*Xu Xun became particularly popular among many members of the educated class in the late Ming and early Qing. Their emphasis on the individual's responsibility to assume the task of scrutinizing and recording merits and demerits may have helped to bring Neo-Confucian concerns with determining one's own fate to bear on older Taoist *neidan* traditions.

Besides those noted above, the Ming-dynasty Taoist Canon includes the *Taiwei xianjun gongguo ge* 太微仙君功過格 (Ledger of Merit and Demerit of the Immortal Lord of Great Tenuity; CT 186) and several Stove God texts (CT 69, 208, and 364). The \**Daozang jiyao* contains commentaries on the *Taishang ganying pian* (vol. 6), other ledgers (vol. 23), and several texts associated with Wenchang and Lü Dongbin that many would call *shanshu*. In 1936, the Leshan she 樂善社 (Love of Virtue Society) published a large number of *shanshu* in a collection entitled *Fushou baozang* 福壽寶藏 (Precious Treasury of Happiness and Longevity; Shanghai: Daozhong shuju), also known as *Zhenben shanshu* 珍本善書 (Precious Morality Books). *Shanshu* are still being written, printed and distributed today in China and quite prolifically in Taiwan.

Catherine BELL

■ Bell 1996a; Brokaw 1991, 3–64; Cai Maotang 1974–76; Chen Xia 1999; Eberhard 1967; Kubo Noritada 1977, 361–68; Qing Xitai and Li Gang 1985; Sakai Tadao 1960; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1952, 70–192; You Zi'an 1999; Zheng Zhiming 1988b

※ *baojuan*; ETHICS AND MORALS; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

Shao Yizheng

邵以正

?–1462; *hao*: Chengkang zi 承康子 (Master Who Bears Well-being),  
Zhizhi daoren 止止道人 (The Taoist Who Stills Stillness)

For reasons that remain unclear, Shao Yizheng's parents left their ancestral home in Gusu 姑蘇 (Jiangsu) and relocated in Kunming 昆明 (Yunnan) during the Hongwu reign period (1368–98). It was there that Shao's birth is said to have followed in response to a prophetic dream of a jade peach. When he reached adulthood, Shao became the preeminent disciple of \*Liu Yuanran (1351–1432), patriarch of the \*Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way). In 1425 Liu was summoned to take charge of the Taoist affairs of state and Shao accompanied him to the capital where he served as Taoist Registrar and ultimately inherited Liu's post. He is best known for being the person given the authority to oversee the completion and printing of the *Da Ming daoze jing* 大明道藏經 (Scriptures of the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming), popularly known as the \**Zhengtong daoze jing* (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period). A collection of his master's teachings that Shao compiled, the *Changchun Liu zhenren yulu* 長春劉真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Liu Changchun), may be found in the *Gezhi congshu* 格致叢書 (Collectanea of Commensurate Exempla) of 1603. A variant version of the \**Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* (Complete Writings of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Loyalty and Filiality) edited by Shao is in the library of Naikaku bunko in Tokyo.

The restoration of a hall in the main temple compound at Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu), undertaken from 1449 to 1453, is among the building projects for which Shao was able to secure funding. He was himself personally responsible for establishing a shrine honoring Liu at the Longquan

guan 龍泉觀 (Abbey of the Dragon Springs) in Kunming. In 1476, Shao's most renowned disciple Yu Daochun 喻道純 in turn oversaw the erection of a stele at his master's own shrine in the same temple compound, engraved with a tribute composed by the literatus Shang Lu 商輅 (1414–86; DMB 1161–63).

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Chen Yuan 1988, 1253–66 passim; Oyanagi Shigeta 1934, 22–23

※ Liu Yuanran; *Zhengtong daoze*; *Jingming dao*

Shao Yong

邵雍

1012–77; *zi*: Yaofu 堯夫

Shao Yong was a famous Song philosopher and poet who was later called one of the Five Masters of the Northern Song dynasty (*Bei Song wuzi* 北宋五子). A native of Fanyang 範陽 (Hebei), in his youth he followed his father to Gongcheng 共成 (Henan), where he studied the doctrines related to the *\*Yijing* under Li Zhicai 李之才. In his thirties, he relocated to Luoyang, where he styled his home the Den of Peace and Bliss (Anle wo 安樂窩) and maintained close contacts with Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–86) and other scholars. During the Jiayou reign period (1056–63), Shao was repeatedly recommended to Song Renzong (r. 1022–63) but declined any official appointment on the grounds of his poor health. In his later years he lived as a recluse at Hundred Springs (Baiyuan 百源) on Mount Sumen (Sumen shan 蘇門山, Henan), and was therefore posthumously called the Elder from Hundred Springs (Baiyuan xiansheng 百源先生).

As attested by his *Huangji jingshi* 皇極經世 (Supreme Principles that Rule the World), which is included in the *Daoze* (CT 1040), Shao was an expert in the cosmology of the *Yijing* and the teaching of “images and numbers” (*xiangshu* 象數). In this and other writings he proposes to explain natural phenomena and human affairs by drawing on the changes and transformations, the waning and waxing of the images and numbers themselves in the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*). Shao Yong's knowledge of the

\**xiantian* (“prior to heaven”) interpretation and the images and numbers was based on the teachings of \*Chen Tuan, the eminent Taoist of the Northern Song. According to Zhu Zhen's 朱震 biography in the *Songshi* (History of the Song; 349.12907–8), “Chen Tuan transmitted the *Xiantian tu* 先天圖 (Diagram of the Noumenal World; see \**Taiji tu*) to Zhong Fang 種放, Zhong Fang transmitted it to Mu Xiu 穆修, Mu Xiu transmitted it to Li Zhicai, and Li Zhicai transmitted it to Shao Yong.” Shao Yong held Chen Tuan in high esteem, and in one poem he writes:

I read Chen Tuan's writings  
And then I saw his portrait  
Now I know the present and the past  
Man's long presence on earth.

The *Daozang* also includes the *Yichuan jirang ji* 伊川擊壤集 (Anthology of Beating on the Ground at Yichuan; CT 1042), which contains more than 1,400 poems and songs by Shao (on the title of this text see Birdwhistell 1989, 259 n. 25). His poetry, based on reasoning and refined with rhetorical skill, initiated the practice of philosophical poetry that was to become fashionable among Song literati. Shao also secretly practiced \**neidan*. In a poem dedicated to his home in Luoyang, the Den of Peace and Bliss, he writes:

I half remember that I do not remember my dream after I wake  
I feel like grieving without feeling sadness in times of leisure  
Wrapped up, I lie on my side and try to recall—no desire to get up  
Outside the window-screens, flowers are falling—disorder begins.

These lines were greatly praised by Sima Guang and other literati.

Shao Yong's thoughts on the *Yijing* are different from those of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; SB 282–90) and other Song literati. Nevertheless, according to the *Song Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案 (Documents on Scholarship in the Song and Yuan), “it was none other than Zhu Xi who held Shao Yong's arrangement of the eight trigrams according to the *xiantian* interpretation in highest esteem.” In his “Liu xiansheng huaxiang zan” 六先生畫像贊 (“Eulogy on the Portraits of Six Elders”), Zhu Xi praises Shao Yong with the following words: “Heaven makes brave men, and the brave ones overshadow the age.”



▣ Birdwhistell 1989; Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 2: 451–76; Sattler 1976; Wyatt 1996; Smith K. et al. 1990, 100–135; Yu Dunkang 1997

※ TAOISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM

## Shao Yuanjie

邵元節

1459–1539; *zi*: Zhongkang 仲康; *hao*: Xueya 雪崖 (Snowy Cliff)

Shao Yuanjie was a Taoist priest trained in the \*Zhengyi tradition on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). After he entered the mountain at the age of fourteen *sui*, his understanding of the Way became so superb that it was thought to exceed that of the Celestial Masters themselves. He was eventually summoned to court in 1524 by the Jiajing Emperor (r. 1522–66). Much to the latter's appreciation, Shao presented Taoism as supplementary to the models provided by the rulers of antiquity. In 1539, the emperor planned a journey to the south, but Shao was too ill to accompany him and instead recommended his confidant \*Tao Zhongwen. Shao died shortly thereafter in the same year.

Both Shao Yuanjie and his successor Tao Zhongwen served the emperor as specialists in rites to produce rain and snow, imperial progeny, cosmic harmony, and so forth. Shao's elaborate rituals to procure a male heir to the throne were successful, a significant achievement when we consider that the Jiajing Emperor himself was not the natural son of his predecessor. This matter was also at the root of fierce discussions within the bureaucracy throughout the Jiajing reign about appropriate forms of imperial ancestor worship. These debates further inspired the emperor's trust in figures such as Shao and Tao Zhongwen, rather than in overly critical bureaucrats. After this feat, Shao was charged with overseeing the bureaucracy of Taoist monasteries and the proper ordination of monks and priests. He received the highest honors, including the title of Perfected (\**zhenren*) and the official degree of First Rank usually reserved for the Celestial Master (\**tianshi*) and the foremost imperial bureaucrats. As further rewards for his services he was given valuable items attesting to his ritual legitimacy, as well as land and

administrative posts for his descendants.

When we compare the biographies of Shao Yuanjie and Tao Zhongwen that were written shortly after their deaths (rather than the later critical writings), we find significant differences between them. Shao's biographers emphasize his intellectual and ritual abilities, and show that his efforts to procure male imperial progeny consisted of extensive classical rituals for establishing cosmic harmony (\**jiao*). Tao's biographers instead stress his ability to deal with the emperor's specific life crises through a (probably more vernacular) type of ritual using “talismanic water” (*fushui* 符水).

Most of the personal post-mortem honors bestowed upon Shao Yuanjie were recalled immediately after the enthronement of the Jiajing Emperor's successor, the Longqing Emperor (r. 1567–72). This reversal was part of a radical, Confucian-inspired overturning of Jiajing ritual policies, not limited to those supported by Taoist specialists but also including state rituals. Shao's practices at court are an example of the close relation between these two sets of religious practices. First of all, his activities as recorded in the *Shilu* 實錄 (Veritable Records) and in his posthumous biographies were ordinary Taoist rites; second, many state rituals based themselves on notions of the ritual management of cosmic processes very similar to those underlying classical Taoist ritual.

*Barend ter HAAR*

▣ Berling 1998, 966–70; Fisher 1990; Liu Ts'un-yan 1976c; Lü Xichen 1991, 361–83; Shi Yanfeng 1992; Zhuang Hongyi 1986, passim

※ Tao Zhongwen; Zhengyi; TAOISM AND THE STATE

*shen*

神

spirit

See \**jing*, *qi*, *shen* 精·氣·神.

*shengren*

聖人

saint; saintly man; sage

Although Taoist texts distinguish the *shengren* or saint from the *\*xianren* or immortal, the two figures are close to each other. Both the *Daode jing* and the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, a portion of the *\*Yijing*) often allude to the saint only by the term *shengren*. In the *\*Zhuangzi*, the first source to describe the saint in detail, he is called *shengren*, *\*zhenren* (Real Man), *\*shenren* (Divine Man), or *zhiren* 至人 (Accomplished Man). These descriptions, which combine metaphysical and fantastic features, are one of the main links between the *Zhuangzi* and the later Taoist tradition. The saint plays a positive role in them, complementary to his negative or apophatic aspect; he is the answer to all the questions that *Zhuangzi* asks and leaves unanswered.

In the second century BCE, the basic features of the Taoist saint are outlined in the *\*Huainan zi*. Despite some differences, the image drawn in this text and those mentioned above, as well as in the *Guanzi* 管子 (Rickett 1993), the *\*Baopu zi*, the *\*Shangqing* scriptures, and the Taoist hagiographies, is similar. Moreover, the saint is close to the Great Man (*daren* 大人) praised by poets influenced by Taoist thought, such as Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (ca. 179–117 BCE; Hervouet 1972) or Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–63 ce; Holzman 1976). The saint is one and anonymous and cannot be manifold, which is the main distinction between him and the immortal.

The Taoist saint also shares some skills with the magicians, and yet is different from them. Although his image is tricked out with details springing from popular imagery, he is a metaphysical and cosmological character, the human incarnation of the Dao, similar to a limiting line between the Dao and humanity, or between the universe and humanity. Unlike the Confucian sage, moreover, the Taoist saint is not characterized by moral qualities but by an active and mystical participation in the natural workings of life and the world. Usually he is not involved in the government of the state, with the exception of the saint of the *Daode jing* and the *Huainan zi* who reconciles the spiritual and metaphysical spheres with the function of cosmic ruler and guide for humans. In the *Shangqing* texts, where the saint is constantly present, he represents the goal of the adept's practices and hence the most powerful motivator of the Taoist quest, as his divine powers are said to be a result of

his Taoist practices. Paradoxically, therefore, the saint justifies these practices by transcending them.

The saint is evanescent, unpredictable, dynamic, flexible, and ubiquitous. He is forever unchanged and centered in the Dao, but is as elusive as the Dao and emptiness itself. He can die and be reborn. He flies through the air and goes beyond the world. He is master of the elements and of space and time, and commands demons and spirits. He hides himself at a distance from the world or lives in the very midst of it, for example in the marketplace. \*Ge Hong says that “he is so high than no one can reach him, so deep that no one can penetrate to his depth” (*Baopu zi* 1). The saint accommodates himself so well to his environment as to pass unnoticed: ordinary people cannot see him. Alone and unique, “he remains in Unity and knows no dualism” (*Huainan zi* 7), yet can be both here and there and multiply himself. His sight and hearing are sharp and penetrating; knowing the secrets of time, he can predict the future. He is “dark and obscure, and as brilliant as the sun and the moon” (*Huainan zi* 2), and is “a mirror of Heaven and Earth” (*Zhuangzi* 13). He can make himself invisible because he knows how to recover the subtle, ethereal state. Returning to the Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*) and the original darkness, he can become no longer perceptible.

As a mediator, the saint measures and discloses the distance that divides Heaven and Earth and gives rise to the world. He dominates Yin and Yang, and stands above, below, and beyond the world, yet is in its center. He animates the universe, whose vivid signification he embodies, organizes, and harmonizes, and whose unity he bears witness to and guarantees. He joins the visible and the invisible and all other polarities. His magical powers are symbolic of the animating creativity of the Dao; as all symbols do, he simultaneously hides and unveils the secret of life and the world.

For those who reject the devotional and religious aspect of Taoism, the saint plays the same mediating role that a god does in religion. He is the model of perfect and complete humanity and its inspired guide, a cosmic figure who embodies emptiness or the Dao in an abstract, anonymous, yet vivid way. He transcends the opposition of life and death and embraces all immortals and gods.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Kohn 1993b, 281–90; Larre 1982, 145–53; Robinet 1993, 42–48; Robinet

1996a, 48–51 and 137–53; Robinet 1997b, *passim*

※ *shenren*; *xianren*; *zhenren*; TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMORTALITY

*Shengshen jing*

生神經

Scripture of the Life-Giving Spirits

The nine hymns that form the core of this early fifth-century \*Lingbao scripture (found in the Taoist Canon as the *Ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing* 自然九天生神章經; CT 318) are those which the spirits of the body chant during the critical ninth month of foetal development, after the fetus has been nurtured with the pneumas (\**qi*) of the Nine Heavens (\**jiutian*). Containing the hidden names of the body's spirits, these stanzas might be recited by the living to reverse the dissolution of the body's spirits and thereby achieve salvation.

The text describes the pneumas of the Nine Heavens as deriving from the three primal pneumas that emanate from the Dao at the beginning of each new *kalpa*-cycle. In the *kalpa*-cycles of the distant past, the three crystallized to govern in the form of the lords Tianbao 天寶 (Celestial Treasure), Lingbao 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure), and Shenbao 神寶 (Divine Treasure), the revered spirits of the Great Cavern (Dadong 大洞), Cavern of Mystery (Dongxuan 洞玄), and Cavern of Spirit (Dongshen 洞神), respectively (see \*SANDONG). During their impossibly long tenures, each of these deities (in fact but different names of a single spirit) promulgated “writings” (*shu* 書), primeval forms of the Lingbao scriptures. The text also includes stanzas for each of these three original heavens and a concluding pair of encomia composed by the Perfected of the Great Ultimate, Xu Laile 徐來勒.

In that this early account of the Three Caverns, which appears to be an elaboration of an account first found in the \**Sanhuang wen* (at least as recorded in the \**Wushang biyao*; Lagerwey 1981b, 104), seems to directly prefigure \*Lu Xiuqing's tripartite division of Taoist texts, this aspect of the scripture has attracted the most scholarly attention. In addition to its possible connections with the *Sanhuang wen*, this scripture also represents a reworking of the early Celestial Master concept of the Three Pneumas (*sanqi*

三氣), \*Shangqing ideas concerning cosmology and the form of the human body, and Buddhist doctrine regarding *kalpa*-cycles and the Buddhas of successive ages. While Buddhist-sounding names are here given to each of the Nine Heavens, descriptions of Nine Heavens, sometimes with esoteric names, are found in such early works as the \**Huainan zi*.

The practice proposed in this text is arduous, but simple. Adepts are to recite the text in their chambers nine times a day over a period of 1,000 days, during which they observe the laws of ritual purity and do not involve themselves with mundane affairs. Those who complete this practice are promised the hope of joining the 1,112,000 “seed-people” (\**zhongmin*) who will avoid the coming disasters of the *jiashen* 甲申 year (the twenty-first of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#)) and fill the depleted ranks of celestial officials. As part of rituals for the dead, this scripture remained current in later Taoist practice, as attested in Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Heard and Written by Yijian). Commentaries found in the Taoist Canon include those of Wang Xichao 王希巢 (fl. 1205; CT 397), \*Dong Sijing (fl. 1246–60; CT 396), and Zhang Shouqing 張守清 (fl. 1332; CT 398).

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Bokenkamp 1983, 480; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 211–14; Fukui Kōjun 1958, 187–204; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 217–40; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 19 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang ms.) and 2: 8–9 (reprod. of the Dunhuang ms.); Robinet 1984, 1: 131 and 2: 173–74; Zürcher 1980, 125–26

※ Lingbao

# 圖形現兒嬰



Fig. 66. Generation of the inner Infant (*ying'er* 嬰兒).  
 \**Xingming guizhi* 性性命圭旨  
 (Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature  
 and Vital Force).

*shengtai*

聖胎

Embryo of Sainthood; Sacred Embryo

In *\*neidan*, the term *shengtai* denotes the achievement of the elixir of immortality. Among its synonyms are Mysterious Pearl (*xuanzhu* 玄珠), Spiritual Pearl (*shenzhu* 神珠), Infant (*ying'er* 嬰兒), and Embryo of the Dao (*daotai* 道胎). This embryo represents a new life, true and eternal in its quality, generated by the inner alchemical practice. The *\*Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*) and many later texts compare its formation to the growth of a fetus inside the mother's womb; the birth of the spiritual embryo is usually connected with its transcendence of the mortal body.

In the practices aimed at transforming the body's energies, the formation of the embryo is closely related to the purification and merging of essence, energy, and spirit (*\*jing, qi, shen*). Beyond this, texts of different dates define the embryo and explain its formation in various ways. The embryo as the perfected elixir can denote the real energy (*zhenqi* 真氣) or original energy (*\*yuanqi*) which, according to *\*Zhong-Lü* sources, achieves fullness after three hundred days of transformation. The *\*Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection) defines the embryo as the energy of the One. In this text, the embryo also represents the female within the male, i.e., the Yin of the human being that is enclosed and transformed by the Yang.

Comparing the development of the embryo to the revelation of Buddhahood is typical of *neidan* texts of the Ming period. For instance, the *\*Xingming guizhi* (Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force) uses Body of the Law (*fashen* 法身, *dharmakāya*) as a synonym for *shengtai*. The birth of the embryo represents the appearance of the original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神) or Buddhahood and is understood as enlightenment. The process leading to the birth of the embryo consists of the purification of inner nature and vital force (*\*xing* and *ming*). Thus the true inner nature and vital force come into being, which in turn is equated to the return to emptiness. The embryo also indicates the unity of body (*shen* 身), heart (*\*xin*), and intention (*\*yi*) in a state of quiescence without motion.

Finally, the embryo is related to the practice of “embryonic breathing” or “breathing of the embryo” (*\*taixi*), which denotes breathing like a child in the womb. References to this technique date from the fourth century onward. Various methods of embryonic breathing have been developed but all of them share the fundamental idea that breath nourishes the body by circulating through its vital centers.

*Martina DARGA*

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1984, 233–34; Darga 1999, 141, 159, 184; Despeux 1979, 68–71; Despeux 1994, 75; Engelhardt 1987, 109–10; Homann 1976, 9; Katō Chie 2000; Katō Chie 2002; Robinet 1995a, 217 and 236

※ *jindan; neidan*



*shenren*

神人

divine man; spirit man

Midway between man and deity, the *shenren* transcends human existence. The clearest picture of him is found in the first chapter of the \**Zhuangzi*.

There is a divine man living in the distant Gushe 姑射 mountains. His skin and flesh are like ice and snow and his body is as supple as a girl's. He does not eat the five grains, but sucks the wind and drinks the dew. He rides the pneuma of the clouds and has the dragon as his steed, roaming beyond the Four Seas (*sihai* 四海, i.e., the bounds of the universe). With his spirit coagulated (*ning* 凝, i.e., concentrated and unmoving), he protects all things from injury and every year he causes the five grains to ripen. (See also trans. Watson 1968, 33)

The *Zhuangzi* adds that the *shenren* does not drown if a flood comes, nor is he burned by heat that melts metal and stone, and that even the dust and grime of his body could produce saintly rulers such as Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 (Watson 1968, 34).

Elsewhere the *Zhuangzi* mentions the *shenren*, though in less detail: “The accomplished man (*zhiren* 至人) is selfless; the divine man takes no credit for his deeds; the saint (\**shengren*) is nameless” (chapter 1; see Watson 1968, 32). “The celestial man (*tianren* 天人) does not depart from the source (*zong* 宗); the divine man does not depart from the essence (\**jing*); the accomplished man does not depart from reality (*zhen* 真). The saint makes Heaven his source, virtue (\**de*) his root, and the Dao his gate, and he is able to see through change” (chapter 33; see Watson 1968, 362).

The concept of *shenren* in Taoism is mediated by the views of the *Zhuangzi*. The term is often used in the sense of “divine immortal” (*shenxian* 神仙) and also constitutes a category within the hierarchy of celestial beings. While in the *Zhuangzi* terms like “divine man,” “accomplished man,” “saint,” and “real man” (\**zhenren*) may not imply ranking, in the \**Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace; j. 71), for instance, the Real Man rules on earth and the Divine Man in heaven, and there is a clear hierarchy with the *shenren* ranked first, the *zhenren* second, and the \**xianren* (immortal) third. The *Taiping jing* (j. 40) also describes the ascent from *xianren* through *zhenren* to *shenren*. In the \**Dingguan jing* (Scripture on Concentration and Observation; Kohn 1987a, 141), those who have attained the Way are ranked in seven stages. After one obtains concentration, health, and longevity, the spiritual

states of *xianren*, *zhenren*, and *shengren* appear as the fourth to the sixth stages, with the *Zhuangzi*'s “accomplished man” (*zhiren*) graded as the highest ranking.

MIURA Kunio

▣ Robinet 1993, 42–48; Yamada Toshiaki 1983b, 338–40

※ *shengren*; *xianren*; *zhenren*; TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMORTALITY

*Shenxian kexue lun*

神仙可學論

An Essay on How One May Become a Divine Immortal  
Through Training

This essay is now to be found only in the literary anthology of its author, \*Wu Yun (?–778), the *Zongxuan xiansheng wenji* 宗玄先生文集 (Collected Works of the Elder Who Takes Mystery as His Ancestor; CT 1051, 2.9b–16a), and in YJQQ 93, or in later compilations drawing on these sources. Until the Southern Song dynasty, however, it circulated independently, to judge by its appearance in bibliographies of that period. Although some of Wu's other short pieces are also listed independently, the *Shenxian kexue lun* stands out for its clear invitation to a form of Taoism trenchantly distinguished from rival systems yet acceptable to cultured persons like Wu Yun himself. The essay explicitly challenges \*Xi Kang's (223–62) notion that immortals are always differently constituted from us, and outlines seven steps that take us further away from the goal of immortality, plus seven steps whereby we may approach it. The former cover wrong conceptions of religion, tacitly including not only Buddhism and Confucianism but also some pharmacological and alchemical approaches to Taoism as well. The positive steps embody mental self-cultivation of a type that is reconcilable, for example, with official duties. In the final part of the essay it is conceded that some familiarity with the technical literature of Taoism and its physiological exercises will be required, but Wu Yun does not go into details: the essay is a call to a way of life, not a complete description.

▣ Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 249–53

※ Wu Yun

*Shenxian zhuan*

神仙傳

Biographies of Divine Immortals

The *Shenxian zhuan* is generally regarded as the second collection of immortals' biographies to have survived after the \**Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals), although it is much longer and the biographies it contains are more detailed in terms of the stages in the immortals' life and transcendence. Its biographies also present more rounded narratives of their subjects' lives. There is no complete version of it in the Taoist Canon. Early references to the *Shenxian zhuan* generally refer to it being divided into ten chapters, a structure followed by surviving editions—which all postdate the destruction of the Song Canon. Liang Su 梁肅 (753–93; IC 562–63), a Buddhist scholar of the Tang, reports in his *Shenxian zhuan lun* 神仙傳論 (On the *Shenxian zhuan*; *Quan Tang wen*, Zhonghua shuju repr. of the 1814 edition, 519.10a–11a) that the *Shenxian zhuan* had 190 biographies but modern versions have only ninety or so.

The *Shenxian zhuan* is traditionally ascribed to \*Ge Hong (283–343). Ge himself claims credit for compiling a text by this name in his autobiographical essay which has become attached to the \**Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 17), as well as in a preface to the *Shenxian zhuan*, although the attribution of this preface to Ge is dubious. However, both Pei Songzhi 裴松之 in his commentary to the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms, completed before 429) and biographies of \*Tao Hongjing (456–536) also note Ge as responsible for *Shenxian zhuan*. Thus, within one hundred years after Ge's death there is credible external evidence linking his name to the *Shenxian zhuan*.

From the point of view of the modern student of Taoism, the difficulty that remains is that there is no sound method of reconstructing the original

*Shenxian zhuan*. All we can do is to determine, at any particular date, which biographies had been in circulation by that time. For instance, in the early to mid-Tang (736 to be precise) some sixty-nine biographies had been cited. Interestingly, of these sixty-nine, there are already some that no longer appear in modern versions such as those of Gaoqiu gong 高丘公 and Kangfeng zi 康風子 and there are some famous biographies such as those of Mozi 墨子 and Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 that do not appear. Thus, we should bear in mind that the modern versions of the text leave out some of the biographies of the original and quite possibly also contain whole biographies that may date from as late as the Song.

On the other hand, when we compare the texts that have come down to us with early quotations from them, they appear to be remarkably well-preserved. There is some evidence of miscopying or minor textual emendation, and in a few cases parts of biographies have disappeared, but by and large the texts themselves appear to have been granted editorial respect.

The *Shenxian zhuan* has many of the first biographies of important figures found in the Taoist tradition: \*Zhang Daoling, the founder of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao), receives his first biography here as do \*Ge Xuan and \*Maojun, pivotal in the \*Lingbao and \*Shangqing schools, respectively. Laozi and \*Pengzu, who are both in *Liexian zhuan*, also receive biographies in the *Shenxian zhuan* but of much greater length than in the earlier collection. Wei Boyang, the foundational figure in the alchemical tradition is recorded (although as noted above his biography may be a late insertion). Hugong 壺公, the classic “gourd immortal,” receives a biography as does Liu An 劉安, the author of the \**Huainan zi*—the latter is important as a statement from within the Taoist tradition that counterbalances the Confucian propaganda of his *Shiji* (Records of the Historian) biography. Within each biography the concentration is on the main subject with little or no attention to his or her forebears or followers. This may be simply a characteristic of the biographical genre represented here or, equally, it may be that the particular sectarian importance of these figures was a creation of later times.

The biographies provide a wealth of information about how immortality was viewed in early medieval China, detailing important features of how immortals, and those who sought immortality, lived, their extraordinary abilities, their relationship to other people and society at large, including government at all levels, the way they interacted with other spiritual beings, the drugs they concocted, and how they transformed their environments and

themselves.

There exists no complete edition of the *Shenxian zhuan* in the Taoist Canon. Most scholars refer to the *Longwei bishu* 龍威秘書 edition (1794, reconstructed almost entirely from *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 texts) or to the Ming version included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (1782). Neither of these is entirely satisfactory.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Bumbacher 2000b; Campany 2002 (trans.); Durrant 1986; Fukui Kōjun 1951; Fukui Kōjun 1983 (trans.); Güntsch 1988 (trans.); Kominami Ichirō 1974; Kominami Ichirō 1978; Penny 1996b; Sawada Mizuho 1988

※ Ge Hong; HAGIOGRAPHY

Shenxiao

神霄

Divine Empyrean

The term Shenxiao refers to both an exalted celestial region and a religious movement named after that region which arose during the Song dynasty (960–1279) and proceeded to make a major impact on the development of Taoist beliefs and practices. The factors underlying the appearance and growth of this movement have yet to be fully determined, but appear to have involved patronage by the part of the Northern Song emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125), as well as the ability of Shenxiao leaders like \*Lin Lingsu (1076–1120). to combine their new revelations with elements of popular religion as well as \*Shangqing and \*Lingbao Taoism. For example, the opening mythic sequence of the Shenxiao scripture \**Gaoshang Shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi* (An Exemplar on the Scriptures Received by the Lineal Master of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean) appears to have been inspired by these two venerable Taoist traditions. Another important factor was the impact of Tantric Buddhism, which spread throughout much of China during the Tang-Song era (Xiao Dengfu 1993; Mitamura Keiko 1998; Strickmann 1996). Although most histories of Taoism emphasize the Shenxiao movement's presence at the court of Emperor Huizong, its most lasting

impact on Chinese culture may be found in the rites that Taoist priests (*\*daoshi*) and ritual masters (*\*fashi*) have performed in southern China and Taiwan for at least the past eight centuries and up to the present day.

*History.* The origins of the Shenxiao movement are unclear, but its development reflects the ongoing interaction between the state, organized Taoism, and religious traditions indigenous to south China, including both Han and non-Han rites distinguished by the worship of popular local deities and the performance of so-called Thunder Rites (*\*leifa*). The Shenxiao movement made a sudden and dramatic appearance in the historical record beginning in 1116 with the presentation of Lin Lingsu at the court of Emperor Huizong. Lin, a native of Wenzhou 温州 (Zhejiang), gained great influence at court by convincing the emperor that he (Huizong) was the terrestrial incarnation of a major Shenxiao deity, the Great Emperor of Long Life (*\*Changsheng dadi*). Lin and his allies at court also made a significant contribution to the publication of the Song-dynasty edition of the Taoist Canon (*\*Zhenghe Wanshou daoze*), including the scripture which heads the Ming-dynasty edition of the Canon still extant today, the *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaoqing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation; CT 1). This text, at sixty-one *juan* one of the longest works in the Canon, represents a ritual reworking of the Lingbao movement's *\*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), which Michel Strickmann has convincingly shown was intended to assert the scriptural supremacy of the Shenxiao movement while also propagating a message of salvation for the Song dynasty and paeans of praise for its rulers (Strickmann 1978b, 339, 350–51). Huizong's devotion to the Shenxiao movement prompted him to issue an imperial decree stating that all Taoist (and many Buddhist) temples and monasteries be placed under the control of Shenxiao practitioners, although the extent to which this was enforced remains unclear (Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 605–11; Ren Jiyu 1990, 472–82; Sun Kekuan 1965, 93–122).

*Rituals and cults.* Although Lin Lingsu's influence at court proved to be short-lived (by 1119 he had disappeared under mysterious circumstances), other Shenxiao masters such as Lin's disciple *\*Wang Wenqing* (1093–1153) and later leaders such as *\*Mo Qiyuan* (1226–94) actively spread its teachings, enabling it to become one of the most influential ritual movements of the Southern Song dynasty. These and other individuals gained particular renown

for the exorcistic rituals they practiced, especially Thunder Rites. Such rituals also shaped the careers of non-Shenxiao practitioners, including the famed Southern Taoist \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?), who is said to have authored a number of Thunder Rites manuals in the *\*Daofa huiyuan*, and referred to himself as a “Vagrant Official of the Divine Empyrean” (Shenxiao sanli 神霄散吏; Berling 1993). The popularity of Thunder Rites was not restricted to ritual specialists, for, as Judith M. Boltz has convincingly shown, Southern Song local officials struggling to counter the influence of local cults they considered “heterodox” (*xie* 邪) or “illicit/licentious” (*yin* 淫; see *\*yinsi*) did not hesitate to call on Shenxiao masters, or even study under them as disciples (see the entries \*TAOISM AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES; \*TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS).

Apart from Thunder Rites, the Shenxiao movement shaped the development of Taoism and local cults in other ways as well. Many Shenxiao masters incorporated popular local deities into their ritual traditions, and also helped found or restore temples to these spirits. One example is the plague-quelling deity \*Wen Qiong, also known as Marshal Wen (Wen Yuanshuai 溫元帥), whose earliest known hagiography was composed by the Shenxiao Taoist master Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾 (fl. 1274). Shenxiao masters appear to have played key roles in the construction of some of Wen's oldest temples (Katz P. R. 1995a), and helped popularize his cult through rituals featuring the expulsion of plague boats (often referred to as Plague Offerings or *\*wenjiao*), including one text preserved in *j.* 220 of the *Daofa huiyuan* entitled *Shenxiao qianwen song-chuan yi* 神霄遣儀送船儀 (Divine Empyrean Liturgy for Expelling Epidemics and Sending off the Boats). Wen's cult eventually spread throughout much of south China, and became highly popular in Fujian and Taiwan, where he is worshipped as a Royal Lord (*\*wangye*) known as Lord Chi (Chi Wangye 池王爺). (For more details see the entries \*Wen Qiong, *\*wangye*, and *\*wenjiao*.)

*Shenxiao in the history of Taoism.* The Shenxiao movement was eventually absorbed into Celestial Master Taoism (*\*Tianshi dao*), most likely after Khubilai khan granted the Celestial Masters control over all “Taoist” movements in south China in 1273 prior to his final conquest of the region. However, the Shenxiao movement's influence on Taoism and popular religion persists to the present day. Cults to deities such as Marshal Wen continue to exist and even thrive in south China and Taiwan, and

ethnographers have documented the ongoing popularity in these regions of boat expulsion rituals currently performed by local ritual masters or Celestial Master Taoist priests yet clearly linked to the Shenxiao rites mentioned above (for bibliographic references see the entry *\*wenjiao*). The publication of collections of liturgical texts in works such as the *\*Zangwai daoshu* (Taoist Texts Outside the Canon), as well as the field reports of scholars who continue to study Taoism today (especially the 80-volume *Minsu quyicongshu* 民俗曲藝叢書) promise to shed even further light on the significance of the Shenxiao movement in Chinese religions.

Should the Shenxiao movement as it existed during the Song dynasty be considered “Taoist” or as a part of a “Taoist renaissance” occurring during the Song dynasty? In attempting to answer this question, it might be useful to recall that the Shenxiao movement was not originally a part of institutionalized Taoism but represented one of many local ritual traditions (including *\*Qingwei*, *\*Tianxin zhengfa*, *\*Tongchu*, etc.) which interacted with established Taoist movements during the Song and Yuan dynasties. Song-dynasty Shenxiao masters do not appear to have been ordained as Taoist priests, nor did they worship the First Celestial Master *\*Zhang Daoling* as their movement's patriarch. Moreover, many of the rites performed by Shenxiao ritual masters utilized possession techniques adopted from the practices of local mediums (Boltz J. M. 1993a; Katz P. R. 1995a, 32). It is true that leading Shenxiao masters like Lin Lingsu were not simply religious innovators but also drew on established Taoist traditions, but this appears to have been an attempt to establish the movement's prestige and legitimacy in the eyes of the state and perhaps other religious movements as well. Therefore, one may prefer to treat the Shenxiao movement as a local ritual tradition that should only be considered to be Taoist after its absorption into Celestial Master Taoism at the end of the thirteenth century.

*Paul R. KATZ*

▣ Berling 1993; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 26–33; Boltz J. M. 1993a; Chen Bing 1986; Katz P. R. 1995a, 32–38; Kang Bao 1997; Lagerwey 1987c, 253–64; Matsumoto Kōichi 1982; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 594–670 passim; Ren Jiuyu 1990, 472–82 and 560–65; Skar 1996–97; Skar 2000, passim; Strickmann 1975; Strickmann 1978b; Sun Kekuan 1965, 93–122; Xiao Dengfu 1993

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.7 (“Song,



Jin, and Yuan: Shenxiao”)

*Sheyang zhenzhong fang*

攝養枕中方

Pillow Book of Methods for Preserving and Nourishing Life

The *Sheyang zhenzhong fang*, commonly attributed to the eminent physician \*Sun Simiao (fl. 673), is an important text on \**yangsheng* (Nourishing Life), stressing moral cultivation and mental discipline as fundamental to the quest for longevity and eventually immortality. Except for the last section, consisting of the \**Cunshen lianqi ming* (Inscription on the Visualization of Spirit and Refinement of Pneuma) which either was incorporated into the text by the compilers of the \**Yunji qiqian* (j. 33) or originally existed as an appendix, the *Sheyang zhenzhong fang* concentrates on five main subjects: prudence and attention, prohibitions (\**jinji*), gymnastics (\**daoyin*), circulating breath (\**xingqi*), and guarding the One (\**shouyi*).

The text has come down to us in fragments and with numerous interpolations and distortions. However, comparing the *Sheyang zhenzhong fang* with the anonymous *Zhenzhong ji* 枕中記 (Notes Kept Inside the Pillow; CT 837), and taking other Tang sources and bibliographic records into account, it seems clear that Sun Simiao did write a work called *Zhenzhong ji* or *Zhenzhong fang*, fragments of which are included in the *Sheyang zhenzhong fang* as well as in the present *Zhenzhong ji*.

The five sections of the text are as follows:

1. “Prudence and Attention” (“Zishen” 自慎), explaining that prudence is important for those who nourish their inner nature and that “the basis of prudence is awe.”
2. “Proscriptions and Prohibitions” (“Jinji” 禁忌), including taboos on certain days of the months, dietary prohibitions, advice for daily life, and a clear rejection of sexual practices (\**fangzhong shu*).
3. “*Daoyin*” (“Daoyin” 導引), mainly concerned with techniques of self-massage, but also describing how to practice a *daoyin* exercise for the neck and head.

4. “Circulating Breath” (“Xingqi” 行氣), emphasizing embryonic breathing (*\*taixi*) as the most significant practice: “In the practice of embryonic breathing, neither the nose nor the mouth are used. Instead, one breathes in the manner of an embryo inside the womb: when you have achieved this you have truly attained the Dao” (YJQQ 33.9b).
5. “Guarding the One” (“Shouyi” 守一), describing methods of visualization in the three Cinnabar Fields (*\*dantian*) of the head, chest, and abdomen.

*Ute ENGELHARDT*

📖 Engelhardt 1989, 277–90

※ Sun Simiao; *yangsheng*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

Shi Jianwu

施肩吾

fl. 820–35; *zi*: Xisheng 希聖; *hao*: Dongzhai 東齋 (Eastern Retreat),  
Huayang zhenren 華陽真人 (Perfected of Flourishing Yang)

This noteworthy Tang poet and long-time resident of the Western Hills (*\*Xishan*, Jiangxi) was known as an heir to the teachings of the immortal *\*Xu Xun*, whose cult center was located there. Born to an official family in the Fenshui 分水 district of Muzhou 睦州 (Zhejiang), Shi also had a keen interest in the divine transcendents and ways to attain immortality. Around a decade after becoming a Presented Scholar (*jinshi*) in 820, Shi went into retreat in the Western Hills, where he first met Xu Xun, who passed on “five works of instructions on the Inner Elixir (*\*neidan*) and divine prescriptions on the Outer Elixir (*\*waidan*).” After receiving additional teachings in the “Great Way of inner refinement with the Reverted Elixir of the Golden Liquor (*jinye huandan* 金液還丹)” from *\*Lü Dongbin*—who reputedly received them from *\*Zhongli Quan*—in the Western Hills, Shi remained in retreat there, devoting himself to poetry and contemplation, and earning the name of the Perfected of Flourishing Yang (Huayang zhenren).

Five texts found in the Ming Taoist Canon are tied to Shi Jianwu's name:

1. *\*Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* (Records of the Gathered Immortals and Assembled Perfected of the Western Hills; CT 246), supposedly compiled by Shi.
2. *Taibai jing* 太白經 (Book of the Great White; CT 934), an older text (whose title refers to Original Pneuma, *\*yuanqi*), to which Shi added a summarizing verse.
3. *Yangsheng bianyi jue* 養生辯疑訣 (Instructions on Resolving Doubts in Nourishing Life; CT 853), a short work drafted by Shi.
4. *Yinfu jing jijie* 陰符經集解 (Collected Explications of the *Yinfu jing*; CT 111), to which Shi added his annotations.
5. *\*Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (Anthology of Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Dao to Lü Dongbin; CT 1017, *j.* 39–41, and CT 263, *j.* 14–16), transmitted by Shi.

Few of the above works, however, show clear evidence of having been actually written by Shi Jianwu. Parts of the *\*Daoshu* (Pivot of the Dao) also bear his name. Further study of these materials, together with the more than 200 poems included in literary works of the Tang dynasty, will provide a fuller portrait of this important late Tang figure.

Shi's hagiography and associated writings helped establish deeper southern roots for the new *neidan* traditions that became popular among literati from the tenth century on. Intimate ties to both a venerable southern religious center and elements of the new contemplative alchemy now classed as the *\*Zhong-Lü* tradition made Shi's teachings important to later figures in the *neidan* traditions, such as *\*Bai Yuchan* (1194–1229?) and those in his circle. Although legends praise Shi for his learning, calligraphy, and expertise in laboratory alchemy, he is best known today for his mastery of the cluster of practices and traditions meant to produce the inner elixir and his ties to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin.

Lowell SKAR

☐ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 139–40; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 301–3

※ *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*; *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*; *neidan*; *Zhong-Lü*

## Shi Tai

石泰

?–1158; *zi*: Dezhi 得之; *hao*: Xinglin 杏林 (Forest of Apricots), Cuixuan zi 翠玄子 (Master of Emerald Mystery)

Shi Tai (Shi Xinglin), a native of Changzhou 常州 (Shaanxi), is the second patriarch of the Southern Lineage (\*Nanzong) of \**neidan*. His dates are difficult to ascertain; Chinese scholars often suggest the years 1022 to 1158 based on the assumption that Shi lived 136 years, as stated in his biography in the \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (49.12b–13b).

The account given in that biography mostly derives from the tale of \*Xue Daoguang's encounter with Shi Tai as told in the “Xue Zixian shiji” 薛紫賢事蹟 (Traces of Xue Zixian; in *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sansheng biyao* 悟真直指詳說三乘祕要, CT 143, 16b–24b). Here Shi Tai relates how he met \*Zhang Boduan in Shaanxi. Zhang had been falsely accused of having committed an error in his secretarial duties, and was being taken away in shackles. Shi Tai was acquainted with the local prefect and managed to have Zhang released. Zhang then explained that he had disregarded his master's warning by transmitting his teaching thrice to someone unfit to receive it, and had been struck by adversities each time. His master, however, had also said that he should reveal the doctrine to anyone who helped him in time of need. Thus Shi Tai received teachings from Zhang Boduan as a token of gratitude. He practiced those teachings and attained the Dao, after which he wrote the *Huanyuan pian* 還源篇 (Folios on Reverting to the Source; CT 1091). This tale, based on a passage of Zhang's postface to the \**Wuzhen pian*, clearly was intended to legitimize the lineage of the Nanzong teachings.

Similar in format to the *Wuzhen pian*, the *Huanyuan pian* contains eighty-one pentasyllabic poems on *neidan*, written one year after Shi Tai's alleged encounter with Zhang Boduan. Both the preface and the poems are duplicated in *j. 2* of the \**Xiuzhen shishu*. The *Xiuzhen shishu* (7.9b–10b) also includes a postface written by Shi Tai to a poem by Xue Daoguang. While Zhang Boduan advocates the practice of Taoist techniques followed by Chan meditation, Shi Tai only mentions the Golden Elixir (\**jindan*), and in doing so criticizes the \*Zhong-Lü teachings as being merely composed of “mercury and lead” (*Huanyuan pian*, 8b–9a). He also diverges from the idea of the unity of the Three Teachings by discounting both Confucianism and

Buddhism, although his acceptance of Chan Buddhism emerges in his description of sudden enlightenment (*dunfa* 頓法 or “subitist methods”).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 175; Chen Bing 1985, 36

※ *neidan*; Nanzong

*shijie*

尸解

“release by means of a corpse”; mortuary liberation

Taoist explanations of death were diverse and conflicting. Overall, Taoism seems to have held that death cannot be avoided, and yet death can be transcended. There was no clear or comprehensive explanation of such matters. Yet, beginning with the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals) of Han times, accounts of superlative Taoists often tell the reader, directly or indirectly, that the person involved did not really die. Some great figures simply ascended to heaven, in plain view, like the Yellow Emperor (\*Huangdi; Kohn 1993b, 351–52). Others ascended under less clear circumstances, and such figures were commonly said to have undergone *shijie*, “release from the corpse” or “mortuary liberation.”

*Shijie* was thus a form of “ascension” or “transformation” (Kohn 1993b, 303–4). Since many traditions suggest that bodily death need not entail death of the spirit, especially for the most saintly, it would not surprise us to read of Taoists who ascended to heaven and left behind a body. But accounts of *shijie* are notable for *denying* that the person had left behind a real corpse. The *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 28.1368–69) mentions people who “shed their mortal forms and melted away” (*xingjie xiaohua* 形解銷化). The meaning of that phrase is unclear. But ancient and medieval accounts of extraordinary Taoistic characters often depict a death that was not a real death. One example is the Tang thaumaturge \*Ye Fashan. Accounts of his non-death (e.g., *Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 唐葉真人傳; CT 779) report that at the age of 106, Ye “secretly ingested a divine elixir. . . . At the hour of noon, [Ye] transformed his corpse into a sword. A nebulous chariot called at his

door. . . . All the people of the city saw a column of azure smoke rising . . . directly up to touch the heavens. . . . A year after the funeral, the inner and outer coffins opened by themselves. But when the clothing, cap, sword and shoes were seen, it was only then realized that [Ye] had not died, but had really only ‘arisen lightly.’” Such accounts are deliberately unclear about what, precisely, had occurred, and the various elements cannot be intelligibly reconciled. In \*Huang Lingwei's coffin, only a shroud and a screed appeared; in \*Sima Chengzhen's, a staff and pair of shoes.

Such phenomena indicated that the subject had ascended to heaven at the time of apparent death, and that the body had either been transformed into the objects in question, or had somehow been translated away. In all such cases, there was a set of events that corresponded outwardly to a conventional human death and burial, but the details revealed that the subject had not died a *real* death at all. The concept of *shijie* was thus a product of the religious imagination, designed to suggest a method of transcending mortality that could not otherwise be conveyed. Hence, translating the term is very difficult. The term *shi* denotes “corpse,” so the term *shijie* is commonly translated “liberation by means of a corpse.” But in actuality, most accounts of *shijie* make clear that the subject did not *actually* die, and though all the appearances of death were involved, no corpse was really left behind.

Russell KIRKLAND

▣ Company 1996, 251 and 298–99; Company 2002, 52–60; Lagerwey 1981b, 185–87; Pregadio 2004, 117–27; Robinet 1979b; Robinet 1993, 167–69; Robinet 1997b, 100–103; Strickmann 1979, 130–31; Yoshikawa Tadao 1992b

※ DEATH AND AFTERLIFE; TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMORTALITY

*Shiyao erya*

石藥爾雅

Synonymic Dictionary of Mineral Materia Medica

The *Shiyao erya* (CT 901), compiled by Mei Biao 梅彪 in 806, is the only extant \**waidan* lexicon. The preface says that the work aims not only to

make the understanding of alchemy easier, but also to supplement the *Erya* 爾雅 (Literary Lexicon), a classical dictionary probably dating from the third century BCE that does not contain entries on minerals. Consequently, some Chinese bibliographers of the Qing dynasty classified the text among the Confucian classics.

The work consists of two chapters. The first, which includes the lexicon proper, lists 526 synonyms under 164 headings (or 167, also counting sub-entries). The second contains three lists of names and synonyms of elixirs, a list of alchemical methods, and a bibliography of about one hundred works. Mei Biao does not mention his sources, but many secret names of elixirs are the same as those listed in the *\*Taiqing shibi ji* (2.9a–b and 2.9b–10a). In a valuable study, Chen Guofu (1983, 383–442) has collected references to other possible sources, along with supplementary secret terms of substances, names of elixirs and methods, and titles of lost and extant *waidan* texts.

The lexicon provides a noteworthy overview of the alchemical language, showing that its secret nomenclature largely draws on allusions to the Yin and Yang value of the substances, their relation to the *\*wuxing*, their physical features, and their alchemical or chemical properties.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

📖 Chen Guofu 1983, 383–442; Needham 1976; Pregadio 1986; Wong Shiu Hon 1989

※ *waidan*

*Shizhou ji*

十洲記

Record of the Ten Continents

The *Shizhou ji*, a text of the Six Dynasties, describes a set of terrestrial paradises in the immense seas that surround the known world. Its putative author, *\*Dongfang Shuo*, appears in the introduction and conclusion describing these paradises to Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE), after that ruler concludes his famous meeting with the Queen Mother of the West (*\*Xiwang*

mu) as described in the *\*Han Wudi neizhuan* (Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han). Besides the Ten Continents of the title (which include Yingzhou 瀛洲, one of the three sea isles mentioned in the *Shiji* or *Records of the Historian*), he also describes four island paradises (Canghai dao 藏海島, Fangzhang 方丈, Fusang 扶桑, and *\*Penglai*) and two mountain paradises (mounts *\*Kunlun* and Zhong 種山). Anecdotal passages are added after three of the paradises.

For its anecdotes and descriptions of far-off lands, the *Shizhou ji* is often discussed as a work of *zhiguai* 志怪 or “records of the strange” fiction (Li Jianguo 1984, 167–71; Wang Guoliang 1984, 309–11). However, the core of the text, which describes the positions, vast dimensions, flora, and fauna of the Ten Continents, is formed from omenological literature of the Han dynasty. The rest appears to have been added around the fifth century, with the purpose of making it an integral part of the *\*Shangqing*-based apocryphal vision of the *Han Wudi neizhuan* and the *Han Wudi waizhuan* 漢武帝外傳 (Outer Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han). The descriptions function as background to the “Charts of the Real Forms of the Ten Continents of the Divine Transcendents” (*shenxian shizhou zhenxing tu* 神仙十洲真形圖), which complement the more famous *\*Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks).

Besides the independent version in the Taoist Canon (CT 598), which is the best preserved, there are three other versions of the text: in the *\*Yunji qiqian* (j. 26); in the Song anthology *Xu tanzhu* 續談助 (Sequel to an Aid to Conversation; twelfth century); and the version found in numerous Ming and Qing anthologies. The last few pages of the *Yunji qiqian* version are unfortunately jumbled. The version in the Ming and Qing anthologies differs only slightly from the version in the Canon, which presents the Ten Continents in the same order they are listed in the *Han Wudi neizhuan*. The *Xu tanzhu* version, though abridged, preserves what is probably the pre-*neizhuan* sequence of the ten continents, and it also preserves the description of Daizhou 帶洲, a ribbon-shaped piece of land that separates the pure, freshwater seas around Yingzhou and Fusang from ordinary seas.

Thomas E. SMITH

■ Company 1996, 53–54 and 318–21; Kohn 1993b, 48–55; Li Fengmao 1986, 123–85; Smith Th. E. 1990 (trans.); Smith Th. E. 1992, 196–226 and



536–62 (trans.); Wang Guoliang 1993

※ Dongfang Shuo

*shoujue*

手訣

“instructions (for practices) in the hand”

*Shoujue* is the overall term for a number of different hand gestures and techniques executed with one or both hands, used by Taoist practitioners during the performance of ritual, or as ad hoc methods of protection against evil influences. They may be divided into two main categories that, in practice, overlap considerably, namely: 1. “seals,” *yin* 印, or *shouyin* 手印 (that is, *mudrās*); 2. “instructions concerning points in the palm of the hand,” *zhangmu jue* 掌目訣, more commonly referred to simply as *juemu* 訣目, “points (ruled by) instructions.”

The first category is obviously influenced by, and in some cases directly borrowed from, Tantric Buddhism, and in fact in Taoist liturgy this type of hand-gesturing is particularly important in those rituals that were originally taken over from Buddhism. Thus for instance in the classical \*Zhengyi liturgy of southern Taiwan, “Tantric” *mudrās* are used first and foremost in the ritual of Universal Salvation (\**pudu*), and they include, notably, the important Heart Seal for the Transformation of Food (*bianshi xinyin* 變食心印), which takes the form of a complicated intertwining of the fingers of both hands, whose function is to multiply the already huge quantities of offerings displayed in this ritual, so they will be sufficient to feed all of the “orphaned souls” (*guhun* 孤魂) invited to the feast. The second category likewise appears to be inspired by Tantric ritual, though in this case the techniques clearly were reinterpreted within the framework of Chinese cosmological schemata, and further developed in combination with indigenous systems of divination.

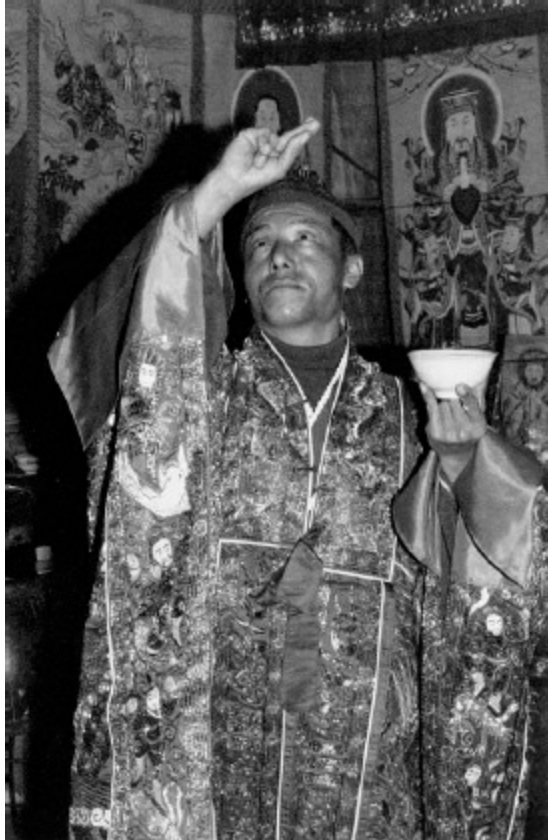


Fig. 67. Taoist Master He Canghai of Taichung, Taiwan, performs a mudrā during a ritual of exorcism in Taichung (January 1978). Photograph by Julian Pas.

The earliest Taoist references to ritual “practices in the hand(s)” are found in texts of the late Tang dynasty, for instance in the *\*Jinsuo liuzhu yin* (Guide to the Golden Lock and the Flowing Pearls). The section with illustrations of “practices in the palm of the hand” (*zhangjue* 掌訣, i.e., *juemu*) that originally formed part of this work has not been preserved, though a fragment that seems to be derived from it is included in the *\*Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (8.13b–14b; by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗, preface dated 1116), in a chapter devoted to forms of *\*bugang* (“walking along the guideline”). The association



Fig. 68. Mudrās or “instructions (for practices in) the hand” (*shoujue*). Reproduced from Li Yuanguo 1988.

of *juemu* with forms of *bugang* in these texts is far from coincidental, as one of the most characteristic functions of this category of practices in the hand in Taoist ritual is to execute a “walk” with the thumb in the palm of the left hand, by lightly “tapping” or “pinching” (the term is usually *qia* 掐 or *nian* 捻) a sequence of points in the hand. The walk in the hand is typically required to be synchronized with a parallel walk with the feet on the ground that follows the same patterns, which constitutes the practice of *bugang* proper, as well as with visualizations of a flight through the corresponding sections of heaven; thus the overall result is a unified movement on the three cosmic planes: in heaven, on earth, and in the human realm.

The practice of touching points in the hand is viewed as a way of activating (or sometimes suppressing) the divine forces in the corresponding segments of the universe, within the body, or through the body of the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see ★*daozhang*). In *bugang*, as well as in the Lighting of the Incense Burner (★*falu*), which is the opening rite of most major rituals in the classical liturgy, the practice contributes to the “transformation of the body” (★*bianshen*) of the high priest, while in the latter case it also serves the purpose of effecting the externalization of the energies and the subordinate spirits residing within his body (★*chushen*). It seems clear that from the beginning, practices in the hand were viewed as in some sense “magically” efficacious, particularly in commanding spirits and demons, and it is probably for this reason that they are sometimes referred to as “instructions for transformations” (*huajue* 化訣).

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Andersen 1989–90b; Hu Tiancheng, He Dejun, and Duan Ming 1999; Mitamura Keiko 2002; Saso 1978a

※ *bianshen*; *bugang*

*shouyi*

守一

guarding the One; maintaining Oneness

The term *shouyi*, which appears in Taoist literature from an early period, indicates a form of concentrative meditation that focuses all attention upon one point or god in the body. The purpose of this practice is to attain total absorption in the object and thus perceive the oneness of being.

The first form of guarding the One is the concentration on different colored lights in the various inner organs of the body, with the goal of retaining the vital energy within them and thereby extending one's life span. This practice is mentioned in an offshoot of the ★*Taiping jing* (Scripture of

Great Peace), the *Taiping jing shengjun bizhi* 太平經聖君祕旨 (Secret Directions of the Holy Lord on the Scripture of Great Peace; CT 1102; trans. Kohn 1993b, 193–97). The next mention is in ★Ge Hong's ★*Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 303–4), where the practice consists of visualizing the One (★*yi*) located both in the stars above and in the center of the body below. The result of the practice is not only long life, but control over all bodily functions and appearances, along with the utter freedom of immortality. ★Shangqing Taoism expands the practice to include visualization (★*cun*) and constant maintenance of the Three Ones (★*sanyi*), the gods in the three Cinnabar Fields (★*dantian*) located in abdomen, heart, and head. Described in the ★*Suling jing* (Scripture [of the Celestial Palace] of the Immaculate Numen; CT 1314), this form of the technique leads to long life, perfect health, and attainment of the powers of the immortals.

As Buddhist methods of meditation gain a stronger influence on the Chinese religious scene, “guarding the One” too becomes less concerned with forms of visualization and more with emotional control and techniques of mental one-pointedness. Later texts, such as the *Yannian yisuan fa* 延年益算法 (Method of Extending the Number of One's Years; CT 1271), describe the practice in combination with physical stretches and massages, and point to the attainment of inner calm and serenity. Gods here play a lesser role than emotions and to attain peace within one should think of one's own death and the transitoriness of all. The same tendency is also observed in the Tang work *Sandong zhongjie wen* 三洞眾戒文 (All Precepts of the Three Caverns; CT 178; Benn 1991, 138–41), which emphasizes the need for moral integrity and obedience of the precepts (★*jie*), and then defines its goal as the attainment of mental calm that will allow spirit (★*shen*) and energy (★*qi*) to be at peace and thus confer longevity.

This shift from visualization to mental tranquillity continues in the Song dynasty, where *shouyi* appears as a basic exercise in the texts of inner alchemy (★*neidan*), whose purpose is to protect the center of life within and thus allow the transformation of bodily energies into pure spirit and the Dao. In all cases, however, the term indicates one-pointedness of mind, which focuses on a single object of meditation.

Livia KOHN

▣ Andersen 1979; Bokenkamp 1993; Kohn 1989a; Kamitsuka Yoshiko

1999, 252–63 and 348–53; Maspero 1981, 364–72; Robinet 1984, 1: 30–32 and 41–43; Robinet 1993, 120–38; Schipper 1993, 130–59; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1976a

※ *yi* [oneness]; INNER DEITIES; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*shu*

疏

Statement

The Statement is a document sent to the deities outlining the purpose of a particular Taoist ritual. The word *shu* means to send information in the form of an itemized statement and indicates the forwarding of a petition to the secular government. It is used also in Taoist ritual, where the task of the priest is to communicate with the deities through such documents. Written documents are sent to deities and Buddhas in Buddhism and popular cults as well, but Taoism offers the earliest examples of their use in ritual.

The first instance within Taoism of sending documents to the deities occurred in the early Way of the Celestial Masters (★Tianshi dao), in the form of sending petitions (*shangzhang* 上章) to celestial officials. From the Six Dynasties period to the Tang, various kinds of documents were used, such as the *ci* 詞 (declaration) and the *biao* 表 (memorial; see ★*baibiao*). By the Song dynasty, the type of document sent depended on the rank of the deity. For example, the *zou* 奏 (a word that denotes a presentation submitted to an emperor) was sent to the highest-ranking deities, such as the Three Clarities (★*sanqing*) and the Four Sovereigns (*siyu* 四御, namely ★Yuhuang, Taihuang 太皇, Tianhuang 天皇, and Tuhuang 土皇); the *shen* 申 (notification to a superior) to the Five Masters of the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao wushi 靈寶五師), the Celestial Ministry (*tiansheng* 天省), the Northern Dipper (★*beidou*), the Three Offices (★*sanguan*, of Heaven, Earth, and Water), and the deities of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue 東嶽) and of the

underworld (★Fengdu); and the *die* 牒 (mandate) to the Gods of Walls and Moats (★Chenghuang) and the local gods, as well as the various celestial officials, generals, and soldiers who take part in rituals.

A model of a typical Statement appears in the ★*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1223, j. 29) by the Song-dynasty codifier Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25). It opens with a description of the Taoist priest's religious ranking and then continues, “Your humble servant (*name*), fearful and trembling, pays obeisance and makes repeated prostrations as he addresses himself to Heaven.” Next the priest records in detail the names and addresses of those who are sponsoring the ritual, as well as the name of the ritual itself, its purpose, how long it will take, and the program of rites that will be performed. The priest presents the Statement with the words, “Respectfully he memorializes before the Jade Throne of such-and-such a Celestial Worthy, humbly seeking Heaven's compassion.” He prays that the Statement be approved, that orders and instructions will be given to the deities concerned, and that all may proceed according to the Statement's request. This sequence forms the central part of the document. At the end, the priest states his fear that the Statement may in some way have offended the majesty of Heaven and records the date, and his rank and name.



Fig. 69. Taoist Master Chen Rongsheng 陳榮盛 recites a Statement (*shu*) during a ★*jiao* celebration at the Yuhuang gong 玉皇宮 (Palace of the Jade Sovereign) in Tainan, Taiwan (October 1994). Photograph by Julian Pas.

The Statement is placed into an envelope and deposited in a rectangular box. After the rite of dispatch, it is burned. To ensure that it will be sent safely and quickly, auxiliary documents called *guan* 關 (“passport”) are dispatched to deities of the Prime Marshals (*yuanshuai* 元帥) class who are in charge of dispatch and security. The Statement does not go directly to the deity to whom it is addressed, but must pass through a celestial bureau called Tianshu yuan 天樞院 (Department of the Pivot of Heaven) where it is checked for mistakes and omissions. Also, through meditation, the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see ★*dao Zhang*) is deemed to be able to ascend to the place where the deity dwells, to present the Statement and to see the deity officially endorse it. As a result of these procedures, the agreement of the deities is obtained.

A large number of documents are used in Taoist ritual. Their preparation is time-consuming, as they must be all written out by the high priest before the performance of a ritual. Their content is based on models contained in collections called *wenjian* 文檢 (“writing models”). A basic distinction between high-ranking and ordinary Taoist priests is whether or not they are trained to prepare the necessary documents. In present-day Taiwan, a large number of sample documents are available in collections such as the *Jiaoshi da wenjian* 醮事大文檢 (Great Writing Models for the Offering Ritual), the *Gongde da wenjian* 功德大文檢 (Great Writing Models for the Ritual of Merit), and the *Shuyi zaji* 疏意雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes on the Statement).

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

■ Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 213–16, 404–22; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 246–51; Schipper 1974; see also bibliography for the entry ★*baibiao*

※ *baibiao*

*shuangxiu*

雙修

joint cultivation



The term *shuangxiu* denotes the joint cultivation of ★*xing* and *ming* (inner nature and vital force), which is the objective of the ★*neidan* schools. The relevant practices differ according to the priority accorded to *xing* or *ming*. The practices focused on ★*shen* or spiritual activity (e.g., the contemplation of the pure mind and the understanding of its nature) belong to the domain of *xing*, while those focused on ★*qi* or pneuma (e.g., breath-circulation exercises and methods of controlling the psycho-physiological functions) belong to the domain of *ming*. An essential implied feature is that *xing* and *ming* refer to the eternal duality between Yin and Yang which must be realized as a “nondualistic-duality.” Non-duality subsumes “the duality of twoness and non-twoness,” since only thus can duality be overcome. In the alchemical process, the transcended duality is symbolized by such binary terms as Dragon and Tiger (★*longhu*), Lead and Mercury, and so forth, which are summed up by the notions of *xing* and *ming* on which the adept works. Each binary term can change into Yin or Yang by exchanging its feminine or masculine attributes, in order to remove attachment both to itself and to the other. With a different outlook, the sexual schools use the term *shuangxiu* to refer to the union of Yin and Yang through intercourse.

For the alchemical schools, the Yin-Yang duality must be incorporated and overcome in one's own experience. This may be done in various ways according to the adept's individuality and qualifications. Joint cultivation may consist of gradual methods that depend on the field of *ming* or “action” (*youwei* 有為). Their aim is progressively to distinguish and separate Yin from Yang, what belongs to the ordinary body from what belongs to the subtle body (*ming* practices), and what belongs to the ordinary mind from what is related to the pure mind (*xing* practices). This brings about a progressive transformation of the constituents of body and mind from a coarse to a subtle state, which corresponds to a complete modification of bodily and mental habits. Conversely, joint cultivation may also begin with a realization of inherent non-duality by realizing the true nature of mind, through contemplative practices belonging to the field of *xing* or “non-action” (★*wuwei*). As the term *shuangxiu* indicates, however, the *xing* practices cannot be separated from the *ming* practices, and vice versa; it is only for maieutic purposes that they are taught in a separate and progressive way. From the perspective of the fruit of practice, they are fully interdependent and simultaneous.

Ultimately, the goal of joint cultivation, which the alchemical texts

express as “the encompassing marvel of Form and Spirit” (*xingshen jumiao* 形神俱妙), consists in overcoming all dualities and contradictions by realizing that they originally issue from a single source. For the discursive mind, because of the mixture with temporal conditioning, they are separated and conceived as “dual.” Once reality is contemplated from the point of view of the Absolute, a view is achieved in which duality is transcended, and *xing* and *ming* return to the One (★*yi*) or the Dao.

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ App 1994, 41–45; Cleary 1987, 14–16; Robinet 1986a; Robinet 1995a, 44–46, 67–70, 164–95

※ *xing* and *ming*; *neidan*

### *Siji mingke jing*

#### 四極明科經

#### Scripture of the Illustrious Code of the Four Poles

This work (CT 184), the first and standard collection of rules of the ★Shangqing school, was compiled in the late fifth century, after ★Lu Xiujing and before ★Tao Hongjing. It contains 120 rules in five *juan*. The text begins with a general introduction (1.1a–9a), then presents the rules of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝) of the five directions—East/green, West/white, South/red, North/black, and Center/yellow. In each case, the emperor is given a formal title and linked with one of the Five Peaks (★*wuyue*). Next appear the rules, listing the appropriate celestial positions and titles to be awarded, and the relevant sacred scriptures to be transmitted to the immortals-to-be. Instructions on recitation, meditation and visualization follow, joined by warnings never in any way to add to or subtract from the scriptures and to observe the proper purifications before handling them.

The text claims to be revealed by the Lord of the Dao (Daojun 道君) to the Imperial Lord of the Golden Portal (★Jinque dijun), also known as the

Saint of the Latter Age (*★housheng*). The introduction outlines the overall structure of the otherworldly bureaucracy. Officers of the left preside over Yang transgressions, such as killing, theft of celestial treasures, unwarranted leakage of numinous texts, cursing and swearing; officers of the right govern Yin transgressions, which include harboring schemes, disobedience, planning to harm others, and never remembering the Dao; and officers of the center rule over doubts and duplicity, lack of reverence and faith, desecration of divine objects, and various unholy wishes. Each officer, moreover, is in charge of a large staff, including not only lesser guards and bailiffs but also the Five Emperors themselves.

In addition, the system extends to the earth: from the various grottoes in the Five Peaks, it administers the sins of people of the Nine Prefectures (*jiufu* 九府). Each mountain has 120 officials, 1,200 bailiffs, and 50,000 troops, and rules over the souls of the dead for 10,000 *kalpas* (1.5b).

The 120 rules of the *Siji mingke* are recited and worshipped like a talisman or sacred scripture, in themselves containing the power of ascension to the Dao. Unless observed properly, and with the right purifications and rituals, all efforts to attain the Dao will come to naught.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Ozaki Masaharu 1977; Robinet 1984, 1: 209–10 and 2: 428–30

※ *jie* [precepts]; Shangqing

*siling*

四靈

Four Numina

The Four Numina are spirits that are represented as animals, and in later Taoism take on the role of guardians of the four points of the compass. Comprising the Green Dragon (*qinglong* 青龍), White Tiger (*baihu* 白虎), Red Sparrow (*zhuque* 朱雀) and Dark Warrior (*xuanwu* 玄武), the Four

Numina are also identified by the names Meng Zhang 孟章, Jian Bing 監兵, Ling Guang 靈光, and Gui Ming 軌明, respectively. Because of their association with the four directions they play an important part in later Taoist ritual practices, such as in exorcism, penance, and purification rituals. Images of all Four Numina, especially Dark Warrior, may be found in many Taoist temples.

The locus classicus for the Four Numina as guardians of the four directions is a passage in a detailed description of the Former Han capital Chang'an in the *Sanfu huangtu* 三輔黃圖 (Yellow Chart of the Three Districts), a work that itself probably dates from the Six Dynasties or the Tang period. The “Palace of Eternity” (“Weiyang gong” 未央宮) chapter of the text explains the construction of the capital: “Green Dragon, White Tiger, Red Sparrow, and Dark Warrior are Heaven's Four Numina and it uses them to keep the four directions in order. The ruler draws on this model in constructing his palaces and chambers.” While the late date of the text might mean that this description is apocryphal, the profusion of references to the Four Numina in the Han makes it conceivable that they did indeed play a part in Chang'an palace architecture.

*Origins.* The earliest references to the Four Numina are to an entirely different set of animals. The term “four numina” is used in the “Liyun” 禮運 (Cycles of Ritual) chapter of the Han dynasty *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites; trans. Legge 1885, 1: 384) to refer to the unicorn, phoenix, tortoise, and dragon. Early references to this set of numina indicate that they were not associated with the four directions but considered the epitomes of the four classes of animal: those with fur (unicorn), feathers (phoenix), scales (dragon), and shell (tortoise). They were likened to the sage, the epitome of the human being (Zhang Mengwen 1986, 528). An apocryphal text associated with the *Liji*, the *Jiming zheng* 稽命徵 (Proof of the Ultimate Mandate), labels the combination of the same four animals with the White Tiger as the “five numina” and perhaps signifies an intermediate stage between the early Han conception and the Taoist Four Numina. The latter set is found on a number of Han-dynasty grave goods, the earliest known being an early Former Han wine warming vessel that depicts a tiger, dragon, bird, and tortoise—the tortoise being Dark Warrior (Ni Run'an 1999, 83).

The Four Numina are probably a hybrid of Zhou dynasty guardian spirits

associated with the four directions and Han dynasty astronomical totems associated with the same directions. The colors of the Four Numina probably originated with deities that defended against attacks from the four directions. Their colors correspond to those of the spirits to be sacrificed to when being attacked by enemies in the Zhou text *Mozi* 墨子 (Book of Master Mo), with red and black spirits defending one from attacks from the south and north, and green and white defending one from east and west, respectively. The same association of colors with sacrifices at directional altars is found in the description of the first emperor of Han's sacrifices to the “emperors of the four directions” in the *Shiji*'s (Records of the Historian; ca. 100 BCE) monograph on *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 sacrifices (“Fengshan shu” 封禪書, 28.1378). The animals of the Four Numina are associated with the four quadrants of the night sky (Ni Run'an 1999, 85), each comprising seven of the twenty-eight lunar lodges (★*xiu*). This association is seen as early as the astronomical chapter of the ★*Huainan zi* (Book of the Master of Huainan; ca. 139 BCE) where the Green Dragon (*canglong* 蒼龍) is in the east, the White Tiger in the west, the Red Sparrow in the south, and the Dark Warrior in the west (Major 1993, 70–72). The various factors that had earlier appeared separately are combined in the “Quli” 曲禮 (Details of Ritual) chapter of the *Liji*, which refers to four positions of carriages in this order: “Red Bird in front and Dark Warrior in the rear, Green Dragon on the left and White Tiger on the right” (see Legge 1885, 1: 91–92).

*The Four Numina in Taoism.* The earliest mentions in texts associated with institutional Taoism mirror the military context of the *Liji*. The Six Dynasties ★*Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity) depicts the Most High Lord Lao flanked by twelve Green Dragons on his right, twenty-six White Tigers on his left, twenty-four Red Sparrows in front, and seventy-two Dark Warriors to the rear (Ware 1966, 256–57). A similar array appears in the *Beiji qi yuan ting bijue* 北極七元庭祕訣 (Secret Instructions of the Hall of the Seven Primordials of the Northern Pole; YJQQ 25) and incorporates the names Meng Zhang, Jian Bing, Ling Guang, and Gui Ming.

In the Tang and Song, the Four Numina were incorporated into the Taoist liturgy, where they were summoned to the altar to protect it from demons. An early reference is made in part 52 of ★Du Guangting's (850–933) *Huanglu zhaiyi* 黃籙齋儀 (Liturgies for the Yellow Register Retreat; 891; CT 507).

Other texts record the talismans (★FU) of the Four Numina and the invocations used in such ritual contexts, as well as in liturgy devoted to Presenting the Memorial (*jinbiao* 進表; see ★*baibiao*) in which the Four Numina played a central role (Ding Changyun 1997, 118–20).

In later imperial Taoism, Dark Warrior became the most important of the Four Numina, based on the perception of his power over demons. Originally represented as tortoise, or a snake fighting with a tortoise (Ni Run'an 1999, 83), Dark Warrior came to be depicted as a fierce warrior with both animals at his feet (Ding Changyun 1997, 116). He also came to be identified as the eighty-second transformation of the Dark Emperor (Xuandi 玄帝), the eighty-first having been Laozi. When the graph *xuan* 玄 became taboo following the death of the Song Emperor Zhenzong in 1022, Dark Warrior was referred to as Perfected Warrior (★Zhenwu). He is the object of numerous rituals in the Taoist Canon. An example is the rituals of penance in two Northern Song dynasty texts named after him, the *Zhenwu lingying hushi xiaozai miezui baochan* 真武靈應護世消災滅罪寶懺 (Precious Penances for the Numinous Response of the Perfected Warrior to Protect the Age, Dispel Disasters, and Eliminate Guilt; ca. 1100; CT 814) and the *Beiji Zhenwu puci dushi fachan* 北極真武普慈度世法懺 (Orthodox Penance for Universal Compassion and Salvation of the Perfected Warrior of the Northern Pole; ca. 1100; CT 815). In the Ming, many of the particular methods associated with Dark Warrior were incorporated by Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451) into his *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 (Golden Writings on the Great Achievement of Deliverance of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity).

*Mark CSIKSZENTMIHALYI*

▣ Ding Changyun 1997; Little 2000b, 129; Major 1985–86; Ni Run'an 1999; Zhang Mengwen 1982

※ Zhenwu; COSMOLOGY

Sima Chengzhen

## 司馬承禎

647–735; *zi*: Ziwei 子微; *hao*: Daoyin 道隱 (Recluse of the Dao), Baiyun zi 白雲子 (Master of the White Cloud), Zhenyi xiansheng 貞一先生 (Elder of Pure Unity)

Sima Chengzhen was perhaps the most important Taoist of Tang times. Author of notable works on meditation and self-cultivation, he also inherited ★Pan Shizheng's mantle as ★Shangqing patriarch or Grand Master (*zongshi* 宗師), and was the acknowledged leader of Taoism in his day. An accomplished poet, painter and calligrapher, he associated with many of the period's leading litterateurs, including Li Bai 李白 (701–62). Yet he was probably most significant in a political context. In a period when rulers routinely patronized numerous Taoistic characters, Sima was regarded by Tang emperors and literati alike as a perfect political exemplar, a sagely counselor who legitimized the rulers. Beyond playing that role, as other Taoists of the period did, Sima brought the Shangqing heritage into the state cult. In 731, after Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) performed the *feng* 封 ritual to Heaven on Mount Tai (★Taishan, Shandong), he accepted Sima's advice to establish temples to the “transcendent officials” at the Five Peaks (★*wuyue*). At that point in history, Taoism enjoyed a social, political, and cultural eminence that, like the Tang imperium itself, would diminish greatly after the An Lushan 安祿山 and Shi Siming 史思明 uprisings (755–63), and never be fully regained.

Sima's life is extremely well-documented: over three dozen biographies survive, including two near-contemporary memorial inscriptions by government functionaries. (A third such text, composed in the name of Xuanzong himself, is now lost.) Sima is also the subject of four other biographies of Tang date, and later accounts preserve valuable data. According to the inscriptions and earliest documentary texts (e.g., *Zhenxi* 真系, in YJQQ 5.14b–16a), Sima was descended from a collateral branch of the clan that had ruled China as the Jin dynasty (265–420). His father and grandfather had each held government posts, but Chengzhen's inclinations were more religious. Nothing is known of his early life. At the age of twenty-one, he became a disciple of Pan Shizheng on Mount Song (★Songshan,

Henan), and sometime later received Pan's transmission of the Shangqing registers and scriptures. After wandering among the land's sacred mountains, he was summoned to the capital by Empress Wu (r. 690–705). A ninth-century text preserved in the Buddhist canon (*Tiantai shan ji* 天臺山記; T. 2096) provides some details of his activities in that period. In 711 Sima was summoned to court by Tang Ruizong (r. 684–90, 710–12), and provided advice on government. Afterward, court poets dedicated more than a hundred poems to Sima, many of which survive (Kroll 1978). In 721/722 or 724/725 (the biographies disagree), he was summoned to Xuanzong's court, and reportedly bestowed Shangqing “scriptures and methods” (*jingfa* 經法) or “methods and registers” (*falu* 法錄) upon the emperor. He then assumed residence at an abbey on Mount Wangwu (★Wangwu shan, Henan), which the emperor had established for him. (Though counted as a prelate of the Shangqing lineage, which originated on Mount Mao or ★Maoshan, Sima never visited that mountain; it was his successor, ★Li Hanguang, who reestablished the Shangqing tradition there.) While on Mount Wangwu, Sima copied and collated Taoist texts, and reedited the ★*Dengzhen yinjue* (Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Perfection), a collection of materials on ritual and spiritual perfection by ★Tao Hongjing. To supplement it, he composed the *Xiuzhen bizhi* 修真祕旨 (Secret Directions for Cultivating Perfection), now lost. Sima was renowned for his calligraphy, and created a style called “Golden Shears” for which he was celebrated in later ages. Apparently by imperial order, he wrote out the *Daode jing* in three styles of script for engraving as the “correct text.”

After more trips to Xuanzong's court came the 731 institution of ritual observances to the Shangqing Perfected Ones at the land's Five Peaks. An account by ★Du Guangting (*Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji*; CT 969, 4a–5a) states that Ruizong's daughter, the Taoist priestess known as Yuzhen 玉真 (Jade Perfected), was fond of Sima; the Standard Histories report that in 735 she was ordered to perform the ★*jinlu zhai* (Golden Register Retreat) with him at his abbey on Mount Wangwu (Benn 1991, 14–15). Du reports Sima's death date as 727, and the official historians (*Jiu Tangshu*, 192.5127–29; *Xin Tangshu*, 196.5605–6) seem to follow him. All other texts, however, agree that he died 12 July 735, at the age of eighty-nine, which accords with the rest of the record. One of the inscription texts reports that Sima underwent ★*shijie* (mortuary liberation) after having announced, “I have



already received official duties in the Arcane Metropolis (Xuandu 玄都).” Xuanzong composed a memorial inscription, canonized Sima as Zhenyi xiansheng, and conferred noble rank upon him. One of the early accounts reports that though Sima had many disciples, “only Li Hanguang and Jiao Jingzhen 焦靜真 received his Dao” (*Zhenxi*; YJQQ 5.15b–16a) Jiao, a little-known “refined mistress” (*lianshi* 鍊士), was also widely extolled by poets of the period (Kroll 1981, 22–30).

Sima edited or composed some fifteen works; besides those mentioned above were several on Shangqing biography and sacred geography (Kohn 1987a, 21–23). Of dubious authorship is the *Daoti lun* 道體論 (Essay on the Embodiment of the Dao; CT 1035; part. trans. Kohn 1993b, 19–24). A writing that apparently had little influence until the twelfth century was Sima's *Fuqi jingyi lun* (Essay on the Essential Meaning of the Ingestion of Breath); it concerns the more physiological aspects of maintaining personal well-being (Engelhardt 1987; Engelhardt 1989). From Sima's own day into the tenth century, his most influential work seems to have been his *Zuowang lun* (Essay on Sitting in Oblivion; CT 1036), a text on meditation (Kohn 1987a; Kohn 1993b, 235–41). Here, Sima seems to have been influenced by the *Xisheng jing*, the *Dingguan jing*, and Sun Simiao's *Cunshen lianqi ming*. Yet Sima names as his chief inspiration “The Master of Heavenly Seclusion,” the unknown author of the *Tianyin zi*, which Sima edited (Kohn 1993b, 80–86). In his preface to it, Sima argues that the path of spiritual transcendence (*shenxian* 神仙) goes beyond mere study, and requires practice of “various techniques to cultivate and refine body and energy, to nourish and harmonize mind and emptiness” (Kohn 1993b, 80). In the *Zuowang lun*, Sima describes the path as consisting of seven stages, of which the last is “Realizing the Dao.” It shows occasional traces of Buddhist ideas (like “cutting off *karma*”), presumably owing to his association with the Buddhists of Mount Tiantai (Tiantai shan, Zhejiang), where Sima lived until 723/724. The concept of the Taoist life suggested in these texts seems to have influenced Sima's younger contemporary, the poet Wu Yun, and may have helped shape the ideals of Taoists of later ages, such as Wang Zhe.

Russell KIRKLAND

■ Chen Guofu 1963, 52–58; Engelhardt 1987 (trans. of *Fuqi jingyi lun*); Kirkland 1986a, 43–71, 220–97; Kirkland 1997a; Kohn 1987a (trans. of

*Zuowang lun*); Kohn 1993b, 19–24 (part. trans. of *Daoti lun*), 80–86 (trans. of *Tianyin zi*), and 235–41 (part. trans. of *Zuowang lun*); Kroll 1978; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 225–38; Robinet 1987e

※ *Fuqi jingyi lun*; *Tianyin zi*; *Zuowang lun*; Shangqing

## Siming

司命

Director of Destinies

The Director of Destinies is the deity that controls the life span of human beings. His name is first mentioned in an inscription on a bronze utensil dating from the sixth century BCE. Two poems in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 109–12) are entitled “The Greater Director of Destinies” and “The Lesser Director of Destinies” (“Da siming” 大司命 and “Shao siming” 少司命), but nothing is known in detail about beliefs surrounding these gods at that time (third to second centuries BCE). Siming also appears as the name of a celestial body in the astronomical chapter of the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; trans. Chavannes 1895–1905, 3: 342). The *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (Comprehensive Accounts of Popular Customs; j. 8), compiled by Ying Shao 應邵 (ca. 140–ca. 206), relates that the imperial court had for generations venerated Siming on the first day that was marked by the cyclical character *hai* 亥 after the winter solstice, while commoners made offerings to wooden effigies of him in spring and autumn.

The fourth star of the six-star constellation known as Literary Glory (*wenchang* 文昌), located above the Northern Dipper (★*beidou*), is called Siming. A parallel notion developed that the Northern Dipper itself is the Director of Destinies. The Northern Dipper is deemed to control human birth and death, which may be at the origin of the belief that three worms or “corpses” (*sanshi*; see ★*sanshi* and *jiuchong*) influence the life span of each individual by ascending to Heaven and reporting his or her misdeeds. As stated in j. 6 of the ★*Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces

Simplicity), the three worms “ascend to heaven every fifty-seventh day (★*gengshen*; see [table 10](#)) of the sexagesimal cycle and report transgressions and faults to the Director of Destinies. . . . For major misdeeds, the life span is reduced by 300 days, and for minor ones, by three days” (see Ware 1966, 115).

In a related popular belief, the Stove God (★*Zaoshen*) ascends to heaven at the end of each year (in most cases, the twenty-third day of the twelfth lunar month) and reports to the Director of Destinies about the good and bad behavior of the members of the household. In other cases, it was believed that the Director of Destinies himself, or a representative, appears in the world below in human form to observe the good and bad behavior of the people. From the Tang dynasty onward, the Stove God himself was identified as the Director of Destinies, an association that has continued to the present day.

*YAMADA Toshiaki*

■ Inahata Kōichirō 1979; Sawada Mizuho 1968, 54–59; Yūsa Noboru 1983, 343–45

※ *Zaoshen*; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## Song Defang

宋德方

1183–1247; *zi*: Guangdao 廣道; *hao*: Piyun 披雲 (Clad in Clouds)

Song Defang is mainly known as the compiler of the ★*Xuandu baozang*, the next to last compilation of the Taoist Canon. Available sources (mainly epigraphic) draw a picture of a man who excelled in several different endeavors, however, and whose ideal was the restoration of Taoism as the great national Chinese religion under the aegis of the ★*Quanzhen* order.

Song came from the tip of the Shandong peninsula, where Quanzhen was formally founded. His mother, probably a member of a Quanzhen lay association, made him a novice at the age of eleven. He was ordained by

★Wang Chuyi, and became a disciple first of ★Liu Chuxuan, the most distinguished writer among the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)), then of ★Qiu Chuji, who made Song one of his most trusted lieutenants. Accordingly, Song was one of the eighteen disciples who accompanied Qiu on his western travels.

From his return in 1223 until the early 1230s, Song Defang lived in Beijing, participating in the Quanzhen autonomous administration that was taking shape around the seat of the patriarch at the Changchun gong 長春宮 (Palace of Perpetual Spring, today's ★Baiyun guan) while cultivating scholarly interests. When the plain of the Yellow River finally fell to the Mongol armies, Song went south and, with other charismatic masters such as ★Yin Zhiping and ★Wang Zhijin, took upon himself the task of managing large-scale Quanzhen development in these areas. Song especially took charge of Shanxi, where he visited many sites and started many foundations. At Mount Long (Longshan 龍山), near Taiyuan 太原, he expanded an earlier cave temple and had many statues carved from the cliffs, a major achievement of Taoist monumental art. Further south, he took control of the prestigious Mount Wangwu (★Wangwu shan, Henan) and of a temple located at the supposed birthplace of ★Lü Dongbin, which he turned into one of the main Quanzhen monastic centers, the ★Yongle gong. Song was particularly esteemed by the Mongol court, which, besides regular functional and honorific titles, bestowed upon him the title of Celestial Master (*tianshi* 天師) in 1251, a unique case among the northern Taoists of the Yuan period.

It was from his base in southern Shanxi—a traditionally important printing area where a Buddhist Canon had been published some decades earlier—that Song organized the compilation of a Taoist Canon. He set up dozens of local offices that retrieved the earlier ★*Da Jin Xuandu baozang*, cut the blocks, and printed the collection without substantial public support. The whole task was completed between 1237 and 1244, a credit to Song's leadership and to Quanzhen's efficient organization on a national level. This Canon had a dramatic destiny, as it was burned in 1281 to satisfy one of Emperor Khubilai's fits of rage. Song's own works, entitled *Lequan ji* 樂全集 (Anthology of Complete Bliss), were also lost, but a fair number of his poems are extant in the ★*Minghe yuyin* (Echoes of Cranes' Songs).

Vincent GOOSSAERT

❏ van der Loon 1984, 50–56

※ Yongle gong; *Xuandu baozang*; Quanzhen

*songjing*

誦經

recitation; chanting

The term *songjing*, which is first mentioned in the *Xunzi* 荀子 (third century BCE), originally refers to a method of acquiring thorough knowledge of a text by memorizing it. This meaning is retained in Taoism, where the term also acquires another meaning. Since several Taoist scriptures were deemed to record the words of deities, possessing and reciting them made them comparable to talismans (★FU) and spells (*zhou* 咒). For instance, the ★*Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (Scripture of the Divine Spells of the Cavernous Abyss), the earliest portions of which date from the latter half of the fourth century, mentions two efficacious uses of the scripture: one could possess it as a talisman, as well as recite and chant it.

Examples of the virtues of reciting texts are found throughout Taoist literature. The central ★Lingbao scripture, the ★*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), emphasizes the specific merits of chanting its lines. In his *Lingbao zhai shuo guangzhu jiefa dengzhu yuanyi* 洞玄靈寶齋說光燭戒罰燈祝願儀 (Explanation of Candle-Illumination, Precepts and Penalties, Lamps, Invocations, and Vows for Lingbao Retreats; CT 524), ★Lu Xiuqing (406–77) uses recitation and chanting to purify the residual *karma* derived from speech (*kouye* 口業). From a ★Shangqing perspective, ★Tao Hongjing (456–536) records in his ★*Zhengao* (Declarations of the Perfected) the effectiveness of reciting the ★*Dadong zhenjing* (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern) and other Shangqing texts, saying that this will result in the attainment of longevity.

These examples show that recitation and chanting of Taoist scriptures became widespread from around the middle of the fifth century. While

Buddhism may have influenced this custom, the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) records that ★Zhang Daoling had a follower who “practiced over and over again” (*duxu* 都習) the *Daode jing*. Memorization was the chief learning method of the time, and this account shows that recitation of scriptures was performed within Taoism from the earliest period.

*YAMADA Toshiaki*

▣ Lagerwey 1981b, 141–43; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 194–97; Yamada Toshiaki 1999, 229–62

## Songshan

嵩山

Mount Song (Henan)

Mount Song is a large chain of mountains rising to 1500 m and located in Dengfeng 登封 district (Henan), not far from Luoyang. It is ranked as one of the Grotto-Heavens (★*dongtian*) and is usually divided between the Taishi 太室 and Shaoshi 少室 ranges. It has been considered as the Central of the Five Peaks (★*wuyue*) since the late Zhou period.

The Zhongyue miao 中嶽廟 (Shrine of the Central Peak), located on a plain not far from the mountains, was the site for official sacrifices to the Central Peak but also accommodated popular cults. The large temple complex is still standing and now houses the local Taoist Association and a number of ★Quanzhen clerics. The mountain itself is dotted with numerous monasteries and hermitages. But although there have been Taoists living on Mount Song throughout two millennia (including ★Kou Qianzhi and ★Pan Shizheng), with several hermitages built for them, the mountain has always been predominantly Buddhist. Its most famous site and today its major attraction, the Shaolin si 少林寺 (Monastery of the Small Forest), is a major Chan monastery and also the training center for a distinctive martial arts tradition that appeared during the fifteenth century.

▣ Geil 1926, 165–215

※ *wuyue*; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*Soushen ji*

搜神記

In Search of the Sacred

There are two texts called *Soushen ji* that are of relevance to the study of Taoism. The first is from the fourth century and is attributed to Gan Bao 干寶 (ca. 340). Gan was an official of middle rank under the Eastern Jin and his work is a compilation of the strange and marvellous in twenty chapters. Usually considered under the rubric of *zhiguai* 志怪 or “records of the strange,” this *Soushen ji* is not specifically concerned with Taoist subjects but some of its anecdotes and stories concern Taoist figures or Taoist topics. Indeed its first chapter is almost entirely given over to records of people regarded, in Taoist texts, as immortals.

The other *Soushen ji* has a preface by Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 (fl. 1593–98). This work (CT 1476) is a collection of biographies of deities in six chapters ranging from famous figures of past who were granted an otherworldly existence, to the gods honored in local cults and officially recognized. It begins with short essays devoted to Confucius, Śākyamuni and Lord Lao and its contents, as a whole, display a certain non-exclusive view of the inhabitants of the divine realms. Nonetheless, the preponderance of figures from the Taoist tradition is noticeable.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 59, 61–62, and 274–75; Company 1996, 55–62, 69–75, and 146–50; DeWoskin and Crump 1996; Kohn 1993b, 296–99; Mathieu 2000

## Su Lin

素林

third century; *zi*: Zixuan 子玄

Su Lin is a saint of the ★Shangqing tradition. His hagiography, entitled *Xuanzhou shangqing Sujun zhuan* 玄洲上卿素君傳 (Biography of Lord Su, Senior Minister of the Mysterious Continent), was revealed by his disciple, ★Ziyang zhenren. The extant version in the ★*Yunji qiqian* (104.1a–4b) is shorter than the original and the instructions that were appended to it are now found in the ★*Suling jing*. These instructions concern two practices for Guarding the One (★*shouyi*): the method of the Nine Palaces (★*jiugong*; Robinet 1984, 2: 293–93) and the method of the Five Dippers and the Three Ones (*wudou sanyi* 五斗三一; Robinet 1984, 2: 300–301).

Su, who was from Qushui 曲水 (Jiangsu), is also known as Real Man of the Central Peak (Zhongyue zhenren 中嶽真人) and Real Man of the Five Peaks (Wuyue zhenren 五嶽真人). His masters were Qin Gao 琴高, Qiusheng 仇生, and Juanzi 涓子, all of whom have biographies in the ★*Liexian zhuan* (trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 104–7, 81–82, 68–71). The first two masters taught him minor practices, including a technique to expel the Three Corpses (*sanshi*; see ★*sanshi* and *jiuchong*) and alchemical and breathing techniques that confer immortality but do not grant ascension to heaven. Later, Juanzi gave him the method of the Five Dippers and the Three Ones. After practicing this method, Su told his disciple Ziyang zhenren that he had received the title of Senior Minister of the Mysterious Continent (Xuanzhou shangqing 玄洲上卿), and ascended to heaven in broad daylight on a chariot of clouds.

*Isabelle ROBINET*



## Su Yuanming

蘇元明

*hao*: Qingxia zi 青霞子 (Master of Azure Mist); also known as Su Yuanlang 蘇元郎

According to traditional accounts, Su Yuanming retired to the Valley of Azure Mist (Qingxia gu 青霞谷) in the Luofu Mountains (★Luofu shan, Guangdong) during the Sui period. Already 300 years old at the time, he had previously studied the Dao with ★Maojun on Mount Mao (★Maoshan, Jiangsu). Upon his arrival at the Luofu Mountains, his disciples questioned him about the ingestion of certain “numinous mushrooms” (★*zhi*) that granted immortality. Su answered that those mushrooms should not be sought in the mountains, but within the Eight Effulgences (★*bajing*) of one's inner body. His reply is often believed to be the earliest evidence of the shift to a type of inner cultivation practice that would eventually give rise to ★*neidan*. However, the account reported above is based on the *Zhidao pian* 旨道篇 (Folios Pointing to the Dao), a work now lost that is first mentioned in the bibliographic treatise of the *Songshi* (History of the Song; van der Loon 1984, 102), dating from no earlier than 1345.

Other sources mention a hermit, also known as Master of Azure Mist, who used to refine cinnabar on the Luofu Mountains at the end of the Han. Both Michel Soymié (1956, 28, 120 and 122) and Chen Guofu (1983, 314–18) have suggested that these traditions conflate accounts of two semilegendary characters who shared the same sobriquet. Chen also points out that the Sui-dynasty Su Yuanlang was credited with knowledge of both ★*waidan* and *neidan*. In fact, the bibliographic treatise of the *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang; van der Loon 1984, 91) attributes to Su the original version of an extant *waidan* work, the ★*Taiqing shibi ji* (Records of the Stone Wall of Great Clarity); and the bibliography of alchemical texts in the ★*Shiyao eryl* (Synonymic Dictionary of Mineral Materia Medica, 2.3a), mostly devoted to

*waidan* works, mentions a lost *Qingxia zi jue* 青霞子訣 (Instructions of the Master of Azure Mist).

Su was believed to be still alive in 789, when he reportedly received the *Longhu yuanzhi* 龍虎元旨 (The Original Purport of the Dragon and Tiger; CT 1083) from the immortal Dong Shiyuan 董師元. This *neidan* text is the only work in the current Taoist Canon to bear Su's name as its author.

*Elena VALUSSI*

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1989–90, 165–67; Chen Guofu 1983, 314–18; Needham 1976, 130–31; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 516–19; Soymié 1956, 28, 120, and 122

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

## *Suling jing*

素靈經

Scripture [of the Celestial Palace] of the Immaculate Numen

The *Suling jing* was revealed to ★Su Lin, a ★Shangqing saint. It consists of a collection of texts of various origins dating from the Han to the late fifth century, some of which antedate the Shangqing revelations but were adopted by this school. The text is mainly concerned with the Three Ones (★*sanyi*) and describes methods also outlined in the ★*Dengzhen yinjue* (Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Reality), the *Shangqing wozhong jue* 上清握中訣 (Shangqing Handbook of Instructions; CT 140; Robinet 1984, 2: 353–58), and the biography of Peijun 裴君 (Lord Pei; YJQQ 105; Robinet 1984, 2: 375–84), a Shangqing saint who appeared to ★Yang Xi. It can be divided into five sections, the last of which documents an early stage of the division of Taoist scriptures into three hierarchical classes, anticipating the scheme of the Three Caverns (★*sandong*). The present version, entitled *Suling Dayou miaojing* 素靈大有妙經 (Scripture [of the Celestial Palaces] of the

Immaculate Numen and Great Existence; CT 1314), is incomplete and has undergone interpolations. In its title, Suling and Dayou are the names of celestial palaces where the original version of the text is kept.

The first part (1a–12a) of this work focuses the Three Ones who represent, on the cosmic level, Heaven, Earth, and Water (see ★*sanguan*; this tripartition demonstrates a relation with the ★Tianshi dao and its cosmology). Each of the Three Ones rules on a palace in the Suling heaven and in one of the three Cinnabar Fields (★*dantian*), and is associated with one of three Shangqing sacred scriptures: the ★*Dadong zhenjing*, the ★*Ciyi jing*, and the *Suling jing*. The adept meditates on the Three Ones by visualizing colored pneumas; then the officers of the Three Caverns descend from their celestial palaces to the adept's Cinnabar Fields.

The second part (12b–24b), which in the received version is rather in disorder, describes the male and female divinities who reside in the Nine Palaces (★*jiugong*) of the brain and form the Masculine One (Xiongyi 雄一) and the Feminine One (Ciyi 雌一). Among the Nine Palaces, the one called Mysterious Cinnabar (Xuandan 玄丹) is connected with the Northern Dipper (★*beidou*) and the Great One (★*Taiyi*).

The third part (24b–41a) contains a version of the method of the Three Primes and the Authentic One (*sanyuan zhenyi* 三元真一), originally appended to Su Lin's biography. It describes the Three Ones, who are associated with the Three Primes (★*sanyuan*), the three scriptures mentioned above, and the three basic components of human beings: essence, pneuma, and spirit (★*jing, qi, shen*). This section also contains the first part of an important meditation technique named after the Five Dippers and the Three Ones (*wudou sanyi* 五斗三一), which is described in other texts and is also related to Su Lin's biography. It is one of the variants of the method of Guarding the One (★*shouyi*) and consists of ascending to the Dipper with the gods of the Three Ones of the Cinnabar Fields. (For more details on this section see ★*sanyi*.)

The fourth part (41a–44a) contains invocations to major Shangqing gods. This section may have been part of the biography of Peijun.

The fifth and final part (44a–68b) contains the *Jiuzhen mingke* 九真明科 (Illustrious Code of the Nine Real Men). This code details rules related to the transmission of sacred texts. The scriptures are divided into three categories, referred to as the Three Caverns (consisting only of Shangqing texts),

followed by a fourth containing the so-called “three extraordinary texts” (*sanqi* 三奇) mentioned above. The *Jiuzhen mingke* collects, systematizes, and completes rules of transmission scattered throughout various other Shangqing texts, and is a precursor of the ★*Siji mingke jing* (Scripture of the Illustrious Code of the Four Poles).

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Andersen 1979; Robinet 1984, 1: 76–85 and 2: 285–301; Robinet 1993, 124–31

※ Su Lin; Shangqing

## Sun Bu'er

孫不二

1119–83; original *ming*: Fuchun 富春; *hao*: Qingjing sanren 清靜散人 (Vagabond of Clarity and Quiescence), Xiangu 仙姑 (Transcendent Maiden)

Sun Bu'er is the only female to be counted among the so-called Seven Perfected (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)), the designation commonly applied to the circle of followers established by the founder of the ★Quanzhen school ★Wang Zhe (1113–70) in Ninghai 寧海 (Shandong). Her family gave her the name Fuchun, whereas Wang honored Sun with the names Bu'er (Non-Dual) and Qingjing sanren when she became his disciple. The Qingjing branch of the Quanzhen school is dedicated to a legacy of ★*neidan* teachings conveyed in her name.

Hagiographies dating from the mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century tell variant stories concerning Sun Bu'er. All generally agree on the dates of major events in her life as recorded in the ★*Qizhen nianpu*, compiled in 1271 by the Quanzhen archivist ★Li Daoqian (1219–96). She was born on the fifth day of the first lunar month (16 February) of 1119 to a well-established family of Ninghai. Her father is identified as Sun Zhongyi 孫忠翊 in the

★*Jinlian zhengzong ji*, compiled in 1241 by the eminent Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188–1244). A derivative hagiography of 1316 alternatively registers his name as Sun Zhongxian 孫忠顯. As a child, Fuchun was regarded as highly gifted, with a natural talent for both letters and arts. She was given in marriage to Ma Yifu 馬宜甫 (1123–84), the son of a wealthy family in Ninghai. Their three sons Tingzhen 庭珍, Tingrui 庭瑞, and Tinggui 庭珪 were said to have received the benefit of her instruction from infancy to matrimony.

When Wang Zhe arrived at Ninghai from Mount Zhongnan (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi) in the summer of 1167, Ma and Sun welcomed him to their home. After spending over three months locked up in a retreat on their property, Wang emerged early in 1168. A month later Ma Yifu left home to pursue his studies with Wang and thereafter was known as ★Ma Yu or Ma Danyang 馬丹陽. The next year Sun presented herself at the Jinlian tang 金蓮堂, (Golden Lotus Hall) on the Ninghai estate of Zhou Botong 周伯通, where Wang and his disciples resided. According to the account in the *Qizhen nianpu*, Wang at that time provided her not only with new names but also with the *Tianfu yunzhuang bijue* 天符雲篆祕訣 (Secret Instructions on the Nebular Seal-Script of Celestial Talismans). He taught her how to beg for alms out on the streets and also told her to settle into a retreat of her own. Sun remained under Wang's tutelage until he left in late 1170 for Bianliang 汴梁 (Henan). Wang passed away shortly thereafter and his disciples accompanied his remains back to Mount Zhongnan for burial. In the harshness of winter, Sun embarked on a pilgrimage to his grave. When she encountered Ma, he inscribed a verse denying their relation as husband and wife, yet anticipating their reunion once each had independently achieved a state of perfection.

Sun headed east and by 1175 had settled in Luoyang (Henan), where she attracted a large following. She pursued a life of austerity until her demise on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth lunar month of 1182 (24 January 1183). The verse to the tune “Bu suanzi” 卜算子 (Casting lots) recorded in hagiographies as Sun's farewell to her disciples is among the *ci* 詞 lyrics ascribed to her in the ★*Minghe yuyin* (Echoes of Cranes' Songs) compiled ca. 1347. The collection of regulated verse attributed to Sun Bu'er in the ★*Daozang jiyao* (vol. 15) and other late anthologies remains unattested prior to the Qing.

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 145–46, 155–56; Despeux 1990, 111–26; Endres 1985

※ Ma Yu; *nüdan*; Quanzhen; WOMEN IN TAOISM

## Sun En

孫恩

?–402; *zi*: Lingxiu 靈秀

Sun En, a descendant of the imperial family of the Wu dynasty, came from Langya 琅琊 (Shandong). In 398, he joined his paternal uncle Sun Tai 孫泰, an influential political and religious leader in the southeastern coastal regions of present-day Zhejiang, and planned with him a major uprising. While Sun Tai was accused of conspiracy and executed with his six sons, Sun En managed to escape and probably took refuge in the islands off the coast.

In 399, having succeeded his uncle as the head of the rebellion, Sun took advantage of the political tensions in the Eastern Jin empire and captured Guiji 會稽 (Zhejiang), which became his operational base. Sun proclaimed himself “General Subduing the East” (Zhengdong jiangjun 征東將軍) and called his soldiers “Long-living” (*changsheng* 長生). He gained several victories in eight neighboring districts, capturing cities and ordering large-scale executions. According to some sources, the rebels numbered one hundred thousand men, and between seventy and eighty percent of the population in the area controlled by Sun was killed. A pro-Sun-En faction may even have risen at the capital.

Andi (r. 396–418), the ruler of the Eastern Jin, entrusted Liu Yu 劉裕 (356–422, the future founder of the Liu Song dynasty) with a major counterattack campaign. Sun's chief officers were captured and executed. Sun himself escaped from Guiji and fled back to the islands with a large number of fighters, followers, and prisoners. In the summer of the year 400, Sun led coastal piracy raids and captured cities near Guiji, but then withdrew to

Nanshan 南山. In the winter of the same year, he gained victory at Yuyao 餘姚, but his troops fled before Liu Yu's army. In the following year, Sun's attempts in the Hang-zhou and Shanghai areas to establish himself upon the continent failed. He thus decided to sail up the Yangzi River to attack the capital Jiankang 建康 (Jiangsu) but was rebuffed by imperial troops and withdrew to Yuzhou 郁洲. In 402, after a final short-lived victory in Linhai 臨海 (Zhejiang), Sun committed suicide by throwing himself into the sea. About one hundred of Sun's followers and concubines believed him to have turned into an “Immortal of Water” (*shuixian* 水仙) and imitated him. The insurrection was continued by Lu Xun 盧循 (?–411?), the husband of Sun's younger sister, who finally was defeated by Liu Yu.

From the religious point of view, the evocation of Sun En's rebellion in the sources is rather laconic. The Sun family is said to have been of ★Tianshi dao obedience, but Liu Yu also reportedly resorted to Tianshi dao practices in setting out magical defences during the imperial campaign. Sun En's movement, which may have practiced collective sexual rites (see ★*heqi*), probably took advantage of preexistent local cults and borrowed from various religious currents, including the ★Yellow Turbans movement and traditions of immortality-seeking, as suggested by the “Long-living” designation and the interpretation given to Sun's suicide.

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

▣ Eichhorn 1954a; Eichhorn 1954b; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1971; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1972; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1979; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 239–40

※ TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS

Sun Simiao

孫思邈

fl. 673 (traditional dates 581–682)

## 1. Life

Sun Simiao (whose name is also pronounced Sun Simo) was one of the greatest Chinese physicians and one of the best-known alchemists. He figures in both Taoist and Buddhist writings and is celebrated in temples dedicated to him as the King of Medicine (★*yaowang*). His biography in both histories of the Tang (trans. Sivin 1968, 81–144) is veiled in legend and there is controversy over his traditional dates, 581–682. It seems that at a fairly early age he retired to Mount Taibai (Taibai shan 太白山, Shaanxi), about 150 km from his ancestral home Huayuan 華原 (near Chang'an). He was in Emperor Gaozong's retinue in 673 but retired from the court, on account of illness, apparently in 674. From autobiographical notes (in contrast to the official accounts), it becomes apparent also that he travelled widely throughout his life, most notably to Sichuan.

There is no doubt that Sun was deeply involved with Taoist thought and practice, although it remains a matter of debate whether or not he was a Taoist initiate. Since he quotes spells that the Celestial Masters used in exorcistic ritual in his *Qianjin yifang* (j. 29–30; on this work see below), he must have had substantial knowledge of the Way of the Celestial Masters (★Tianshi dao). His writings also address the topic of Nourishing Life (★*yangsheng*) and Nourishing Inner Nature (*yangxing* 養性). Moreover, j. 26 of his *Qianjin fang*, which can be regarded as the first extant Chinese text on dietetics (Engelhardt 2001, 176–84), takes account of Taoist writings (on this work see below).

Sun was also knowledgeable about Buddhist writings and practices. Thus, in his medical writings he refers to Indian massage techniques, mentions methods for treating conditions comparable to beriberi as described in works edited by Buddhist monks, reproduces Sanskrit incantations, and includes Buddhist meditation practices. He seems primarily to have been interested in the doctrines of the Tiantai 天臺 and Huayan 華嚴 schools, and in light of this some of his writings—particularly those on medical ethics, for which he is well known—acquire a new meaning.

*Elisabeth HSU*

## 2. Sun Simiao and Chinese medicine



Sun Simiao composed two great medical treatises, each of which comprises thirty *juan*: the *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand), compiled before 659, and the *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方 (Revised Prescriptions Worth a Thousand), compiled after 659. Their dates are given with respect to the *Xinxiu bencao* 新修本草 (Newly Revised Pharmacopoeia), published in 659, which contains citations of the former, while large sections are quoted by the latter (in its *j.* 1–4). The *Qianjin fang* is also known as *Beiji qianjin yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Essential Prescriptions Worth a Thousand, for Urgent Need).

The introduction to the *Qianjin fang*, frequently quoted by later authors, discusses medical ethics, diagnostics, and principles of treatment (*j.* 1), while the bulk of the book is concerned with various disorders (in *j.* 2–23); it contains prescriptions still highly valued today partly because Sun is thought to have tested them in medical practice himself. Thus, Sun discusses women's (*j.* 2–4) and children's (*j.* 5) disorders, disorders of the seven orifices (*j.* 6), disorders of winds and poisons and the ★*qi* in the feet (or “gout,” *j.* 7), disorders of winds in general (*j.* 8), “cold damage disorders” (*shanghan* 傷寒, *j.* 9–10), disorders attributed to the five viscera (★*wuzang*) and the “six receptacles” (*liufu* 六腑; *j.* 11–20), “wasting thirst” (*xiaohe* 消渴, often equated with diabetes; *j.* 21), swellings and boils (*j.* 22), and hemorrhoids and leakages (*j.* 23). He devotes the last few chapters to detoxification recipes (*j.* 24), the treatment of acute conditions (*j.* 25), dietetics (*j.* 26), Nourishing Life (*j.* 27; on this chapter see below), pulse diagnostics (*j.* 28), and acupuncture and moxibustion (*j.* 29–30; trans. Despeux 1987).

The book belongs among the main Chinese medical works. It is in large part cited in the *Waitai biyao* 外臺祕要 (Secret Essentials from the Outer Platform) and the ★*Ishinpō* (Methods from the Heart of Medicine). It was reedited in the Northern Song by Lin Yi 林億 and his team. This version is now lost and modern editions are based on a similar recension, which certainly survived from 1315 onward in Japan.

Elisabeth HSU

### 3. Sun Simiao and *yangsheng* (Nourishing Life)

The ★*yangsheng* (Nourishing Life) methods described in Sun Simiao's writings are essentially based on the now-lost ★*Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials

of Nourishing Life; early fourth century). They include gymnastics (*★daoyin*), breathing, and sexual techniques (*★fangzhong shu*), as well as rules and advice for daily life. These methods, influenced by Buddhist notions, emphasize the benefits of concentration and tranquillity of mind.

The main *yangsheng* document that was certainly written by Sun Simiao is chapter 27 of the *Qianjin fang*. Entitled “Yangxing” 養性 (Nourishing Inner Nature), this chapter is divided into eight parts: 1. “Preface to Nourishing Inner Nature” (“Yangxing xu” 養性序); 2. “Nourishing Inner Nature according to Daolin” (i.e., Zhi Dun 支盾, 314–66; “Daolin yangxing” 道林養性); 3. “Methods for Everyday Life” (“Juchu fa” 居處法); 4. “Methods for Massage” (“Anmo fa” 按摩法); 5. “Methods for the Regulation of the Breath” (“Tiaoqi fa” 調氣法); 6. “Ingestion [of Breath]” (“Fushi” 服食); 7. “Miscellaneous Prohibitions of the Yellow Emperor” (“Huangdi zaji” 黃帝雜忌); 8. “Restoring [Energy] through the Arts of the Bedchamber” (“Fangzhong buyi” 房中補益). Some sections of this chapter are similar to those of the *★Yangxing yanming lu* (On Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life), a work sometimes attributed to *★Tao Hongjing* or to Sun Simiao and also based for the most part on the *Yangsheng yaoji*.

Five other *yangsheng* texts are attributed to Sun Simiao in the Taoist Canon:

1. *★Cunshen lianqi ming* (Inscription on the Visualization of Spirit and Refinement of Pneuma; CT 834).
2. *Baosheng ming* 保生銘 (Inscription on Protecting Life; CT 835), containing advice and interdictions for daily life, with an emphasis on the benefits of tranquillity of mind.
3. *★Sheyang zhenzhong fang* (Pillow Book of Methods for Preserving and Nourishing Life), similar to the anonymous *Zhenzhong ji* 枕中記 (Notes Kept Inside the Pillow; CT 837) except for the last part on plants and the practice of abstention from cereals.
4. *Sheyang lun* 攝養論 (Essay on Preserving and Nourishing Life; CT 841), giving advice for each month of the year on food, sleeping and waking, and auspicious and inauspicious actions.
5. *Fushou lun* 福壽論 (Essay on Happiness and Longevity; CT 1426), a four-page treatise concerned with precepts for daily life, massage and

gymnastics, respect for calendrical interdictions, and tranquillity of mind.

*Catherine DESPEUX*

#### 4. Sun Simiao and alchemy

The main source testifying to Sun Simiao's interest in ★*waidan* is the ★*Taiqing danjing yaojue* (Essential Instructions from the Scripture of the Elixirs of Great Clarity), an anthology containing about thirty methods that Sun chose from those he had tested. The *Qianjin fang* also gives methods for making the crucible and the Mud of the Six-and-One (★*liuyi ni*; Sivin 1968, 262–64) and contains other passages that reflect firsthand knowledge of the alchemical arts. Sun's alchemical experiments are also documented in the record of his medical disorders, which include poisoning due to ingestion of mineral substances (Sivin 1968, 249–51).

Among Sun Simiao's disciples was Meng Shen 孟詵 (621–718), best known as the author of the original version of the *Shiliao bencao* 食療本草 (Pharmacopoeia for Healing through Nutrition; Unschuld 1986, 208–12) but also famous for detecting that some gold presented to Empress Wu (r. 690–705) had been obtained through an alchemical process.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Despeux 1987; Engelhardt 1989; Needham 1976, 132–38 and 140; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 311–37; Sakade Yoshinobu 1989b; Sakade Yoshinobu 1992b; Sivin 1968; Unschuld 1985, 42–45; Unschuld 1994

※ *Cunshen lianqi ming*; *Sheyang zhenzhong fang*; *Taiqing danjing yaojue*; *waidan*; *yangsheng*

Sun Youyue

孫遊嶽

399–489; *zi*: Xuanda 玄達 (or: Yingda 穎達)

Sun Youyue, a Taoist master during the Liu Song and Qi dynasties (420–79; 479–502), came from Yongkang 永康 (Sichuan), and is said to have descended from the family of the former rulers of the state of Wu 吳 (229–80). After studying under various teachers, he eventually took ★Lu Xiujing (406–77) as his master at Mount Jinyun (Jinyun shan 縉雲山, Zhejiang). He practiced abstention from cereals (★*bigu*) with the help of a drug called Pellet of the Valley Immortal (*guxian wan* 谷仙丸) and reportedly spent forty-seven years on Mount Jinyun without contact to the outside world. In 468, when Lu Xiujing was invited to the capital Jiankang, Sun went with him, returning to Mount Jinyun upon Lu's death in 477. There he maintained a close friendship with Zhu Boyu 褚伯玉, Zhang Lingmin 章靈民, Zhu Sengbiao 朱僧標, and others.

In 484, Sun was summoned to the capital and became the head of the Xingshi guan 興世館 (Abbey for the Prosperity of the World). His fame grew among the intellectuals there as the true successor of ★Yang Xi (330–86), and of Xu Mi 許謐 (303–76) and his son Xu Hui 許翮 (341–ca. 370). As a result, many sought his acquaintance, including Kong Dezhang 孔德璋 and Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標, while others studied under him, such as Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513; IC 680–82), Lu Jingzhen 陸景真, and Chen Baoshi 陳寶識. The young ★Tao Hongjing was also among his disciples; he received talismans, charts, scriptures and ritual methods from Sun, thereby taking his first steps in Taoist practice. Eventually Sun fell ill and, having been refused permission to return to Mount Jinyun, died in the capital in 489. The scriptures he had inherited from Lu Xiujing and the transmission lineage of Yang Xi he passed on to his sole close disciple, Tao Hongjing. These events contributed to the formation of ★Shangqing Taoism.

There are virtually no historical sources that allow us to know the thought and teachings of Sun Youyue, and therefore it is not easy to clarify his position within the history of Taoism. Nevertheless, when Li Bo 李渤 produced the *Zhenxi [zhuan]* 真系[傳] ([Biographies of the] True Lineage; YJQQ 5) in 805, he placed Sun firmly within the Shangqing lineage as the eighth patriarch, between Lu Xiujing and Tao Hongjing. Sun's role in transmitting to Tao the many scriptures and materials bequeathed to him by Liu must have been highly regarded. Whether this estimation is correct or not would require a reappraisal not based on a Shangqing viewpoint.

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 44–46

※ Shangqing

*suqi*

宿啟

Nocturnal Invocation

The Nocturnal Invocation is a preparatory rite carried out on the evening of the first or second day of a three-day Offering (*★jiao*). Through it the construction of the altar is accomplished. The ancient version of the ritual is described by *★Lu Xiuqing* (406–77) in his *Lingbao zhai shuo guangzhu jiefa dengzhu yuanyi* 靈寶齋說光燭戒罰燈祝願儀 (Explanation of Candle-Illumination, Precepts and Penalties, Lamps, Invocations, and Vows for Lingbao Retreats; CT 524) and in *j.* 48 of the *★Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials; Lagerwey 1981b, 150–52). The formalized version of the Tang and Song dynasties may be found in *j.* 16 of Jiang Shuyu's 蔣叔輿 (1162–1223) *★Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* (Standard Liturgies of the Supreme Great Yellow Register Retreat).

The Nocturnal Invocation comprises the ritual series Lighting the Incense Burner (*★falu*), Invocation of Masters and Saints (*qi shisheng* 啟師聖), Homage to the (Ten) Directions (*lifang* 禮方), Repentance (*★chanhui*), Three Invocations (*sanqi* 三啟), and Three Homages (*sanli* 三禮). After the five Authentic Scripts (*zhenwen* 真文) are placed in the five directions on the altar, the rite continues with the recitation of the ten precepts (*shijie* 十戒) and the formal assignment of tasks to each of the six priests or assistants: the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see *★daozhang*), the chief cantor (*★dujiang*), the inspector of the Retreat (*jianzhai* 監齋), the keeper of scriptures (*shijing* 侍經), the keeper of incense (*shixiang* 侍香), and the keeper of lamps (*shideng*

侍燈).

As practiced in present-day Taiwan, the Nocturnal Invocation is characterized by the rite of Sealing the Altar (★*jintan*) and placing the five Authentic Scripts in the five directions. As the rite includes the presentation of a written memorial to the Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation (★Puhua tianzun), a post-Song deity, it may be considered a new form that developed in early modern times.

*MARUYAMA Hiroshi*

■ Lagerwey 1987c, 90–105; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983, 220; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 279–97

※ *jiao*

## *Taidan yinshu*

### 太丹隱書

#### Concealed Writ of the Great Cinnabar [Palace]

The received version of the *Taidan yinshu*, one of the revealed ★Shangqing texts, is found in the *Taiyi dijun taidan yinshu xuanjing* 太一帝君太丹隱書玄經 (Mysterious Scripture of the Concealed Writ of the Great Cinnabar [Palace] of the Great One and the Imperial Lord; CT 1330). Although the text has been reedited and is not in a good shape, it contains important materials often quoted in other Shangqing sources. Closely related to the ★*Ciyi jing*, it focuses on the Imperial Lord (Dijun 帝君) as the highest god, and deals with the regeneration of the adept with the help of the Great One (★*Taiyi*).

After an introduction on its own revelation, the *Taidan yinshu* describes the spiritual components of the human being, whose life is owed to the Original Father (Yuanfu 元父) and the Mysterious Mother (Xuanmu 玄母). The main gods mentioned in the text are the Imperial Lord, the Great One, the Emperors of the Nine Heavens (★*jiutian*), the Three Primes (★*sanyuan*) who live in the Cinnabar Fields (★*dantian*), the nine *hun* souls (see ★*hun* and *po*) of the August Heaven (Huangtian 皇天) in the brain, the Five Gods (*wushen* 五神) of the registers of life (*shengji* 生籍), and the twenty-four corporeal spirits (see ★*bajing*). Next the *Taidan yinshu* gives details on several meditation methods, such as those for visualizing the sun and the moon in various parts of the body, and those whose purpose is to have one's name inscribed in the registers of life. Some of the latter methods are performed under the aegis of the Imperial Lord, but they all require the mediation of the Five Gods of the registers: *Taiyi* 太一, the “master of the embryo,” who dwells in the brain; *Wuying* 無英 who rules over the essence, in the liver; *Baiyuan* 白元 who presides over the *hun* and *po* souls, in the lungs; ★*Siming* 司命, the Director of Destinies, who dwells in the sexual organs; and *Taokang* 桃康, the spirit of the Gate of the Vital Force (★*mingmen*) and the sexual energies, who lives in the lower Cinnabar Field

during the day and in the brain, to the right of Taiyi, at night. These gods are responsible for one's destiny and length of life.

Then the text continues with descriptions of other meditation practices. One of them is the method of the Threefold Union (*sanhe* 三合), which is a variant of the meditation on the Three Ones (*\*sanyi*; see *\*Suling jing*). It consists of uniting with the gods of the three Cinnabar Fields, namely, Taiyi (in the brain), the god of the Crimson Palace (*jiangong* 絳宮, in the heart), and the god of the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭, here in the lower Cinnabar Field). There follows an invocation to have one's faults forgiven by the Imperial Lord, and a method to expel the Three Corpses (*sanshi*; see *\*sanshi* and *jiuchong*) with the help of the Imperial Lord and the main divinities who preside over human life.

Finally, the *Taidan yinshu* contains an important method for untying the mortal knots of the embryo, which is often referred to in other texts and is also found in the *Taidan yinshu jie bao shi'er jiejie tujue* 太丹隱書解胞十二結節圖訣 (Illustrated Instructions for Untying the Twelve Embryonic Knots according to the Concealed Writ of the Great Cinnabar [Palace]; CT 1384). It explains that during the period of embryonic life the human being generates twelve mortal knots, four for each of the three main parts of the body. These knots must be untied to achieve liberation (Robinet 1993, 139–43).

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Robinet 1984, 2: 151–62; Robinet 1993, 138–51

※ Shangqing

*taiji*

太極

Great Ultimate

See *\*wuji* and *taiji* 無極 · 太極.



## *taiji quan*

### 太極拳

“boxing of the Great Ultimate”

The basic practice of *taiji quan* consists in performing a series of movements in an upright position; its particularity lies in the fact that the starting point is theoretically the same as the finishing point. *Taiji quan* shares this feature with the Taoist cosmic dances and step movements in rituals (see ★*bugang*). The number of movements varies according to the schools: only 36 in the more modern schools and 72, 105, 108, 172 or even 200 for the traditional ones. Each movement carries a name that evokes its martial application, the imitation of an animal posture, a mythological symbolism, or simply its description.

The movement series are completed by exercises with a partner using fixed steps (*tuishou* 推手) or free steps (*sanshou* 散手) meant to develop concentration, psychological and energetic qualities, and the martial application of the movement series. This technique is classified in the schools as “inner boxing” (*neijia quan* 內家拳) as opposed to “outer boxing” (*waijia quan* 外家拳). The martial force used is not muscular force (*li* 力), but an inner force (*jing* 勁) that comes from the flexibility of the body and the unobstructed circulation of the real pneuma (*zhenqi* 真氣) inside the body. *Taiji quan* shares this feature with the ★*neidan* practices: the adept's body is one with the ★*taiji* (Great Ultimate) of the universe and functions according to the same principles.

The legendary origins of *taiji quan* can be traced back to ★Zhang Sanfeng, an immortal said to have lived between the late Yuan and early Ming period. As far as the rare documents allow us to reconstruct its history, this martial technique developed from the seventeenth century onward within the Chen 陳 family of Chenjia gou 陳家溝 (Henan), whose first known member associated with *taiji quan* was Chen Wangting 陳王庭 (1600–1680). Chen was famous in Shandong province for his military arts; in 1641 he was the commander of the militia who defended the Wen 濰 district, but he retired in 1644, disillusioned by the collapse of the Ming dynasty. The technique was

exported from the Chen family circle by a certain Yang Luchan 楊露禪 (1799–1872), who came from Yongnian 永年 (Hebei) and served the Chens. Yang spied every night on the practice of the Chen family and brought *taiji quan* to Beijing, where he was recommended to the Qing court to teach it. He created the Yang style of *taiji quan*, which became famous thanks to his three sons and his grandson, Yang Chengfu 楊澄甫, and which later spread throughout China, considered more as a gymnastic practice for health than a martial art. One of Yang Luchan's sons, Yang Fenghou 楊鳳候, handed this style down to Wu Quanyou 吳全佑 (1834–1902), whose son Wu Jianquan 吳鑒泉 (1870–1942) created the Wu style. Wu Yuxiang 武禹襄 (1812?–1880?), who had learned under Yang Luchan and Chen Qingping 陳青萍 (1795–1868), in turn handed it down to his nephew Li Yiyu 李亦畬 (1832–92), who transmitted it to Hao Weizhen 郝為真 (1849–1920) before it was finally passed on to Sun Lutang 孫祿堂, (1861–1932). Thus *taiji quan* includes not only the Yang style but also the Li, Hao, and Sun styles.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1981b; Dufresne and Nguyen 1994; Engelhardt 1981; Vercammen 1991; Wile 1983; Wile 1996

※ *yangsheng*

*Taiji tu*

太極圖

Diagram of the Great Ultimate

Neo-Confucians adopted the *Taiji tu* after Zhou Dunyi's 周敦頤 (1017–73; SB 277–81) *Taiji tu shuo* 太極圖說 (Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate) was placed at the head of the Neo-Confucian system by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; SB 282–90). There is evidence, however, that this diagram

originated in a Taoist milieu together with the *Xiantian tu* 先天圖 (Diagram of the Noumenal World) and the term ★*wuji* (Ultimateless, Infinite). Several sources in particular report that the *Taiji tu* derives from the *Wuji tu* 無極圖 (Diagram of the Ultimateless), which according to the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (Comprehensive Chronicle of the Buddhas and Patriarchs; T. 2035) was transmitted by ★Chen Tuan (ca. 920–89) in 971. Taoist sources mention a line of transmission that begins with Chen Tuan and his master Mayi daoze 麻衣道者 (The Hemp-Clad Man of the Dao) and then divides in two branches, the first leading to Neo-Confucians, and the second either to numerologists or to ★*neidan* authors.

In Taoist texts, the *Taiji tu* appears in several variant forms but usually has a circular shape. It can be a blank white circle, a white circle with a dot in the center, two concentric circles (black or Yin outside, white or Yang inside), or four concentric circles (the three external ones half black and half white, and the inner one white). In some instances the *taiji* is also represented by alternating black and white dots arranged in an almond shape. The most common drawings, however, depict Yin containing Yang and vice versa; this image can mean that in the precosmic state Yin and Yang are joined together, but also hints at the mixing of Yin and Yang in the cosmos where everything encompasses its contrary, and the endless cycles of Yin and Yang or movement and quiescence (★*dong* and *jing*) that engender each other. In some Thunder Rites (★*leifa*), the *Taiji tu* represents thunder and lightning joined together. As for the well-known spiral form of the *taiji*, called the “fishlike form,” it is not found in the *Daozang*; it seems to have first appeared in early Ming times and is common in ★*taiji quan* milieux. An intriguing issue is the occurrence of the *taiji* figure, especially the fishlike one, in Roman emblems dating from the late fourth or early fifth century CE (Monastra 1998).

As found in Taoist texts, the *taiji* diagrams often have titles indicating that the Great Ultimate is the origin of the world; *taiji* in fact is also the name of the last of the precosmic geneses called Five Greats (*wutai* 五太), just before the One divides into the Two (see ★COSMOGONY). These diagrams are variously called “The Great Ultimate Encompasses the Three in One” (“*Taiji hansan wei yi*” 太極函三為一), “The Great Ultimate Generates the Two Principles” (“*Taiji sheng liangyi*” 太極生兩儀), “The Transformation of the Great Ultimate” (“*Taiji bianhua*” 太極變化), or “The Division of the Great

Ultimate” (“Taiji fenpan tu” 太極分判圖; see [fig. 70\(a\)](#)). Other titles allude to the unity expressed by the notion of Great Ultimate, e.g., “The Great Ultimate Pervades the One” (“Taiji guanyi” 太極貫一). The representations with alternating black and white circles are called “Diagram of the Ultimateless” (“Wuji tu”; [fig. 70\(b\)](#)), “Diagram of the Great Ultimate Before Heaven” (“Taiji xiantian zhi tu” 太極先天之圖; [fig. 70\(c\)](#)), “Diagram of the Transformations of Yin and Yang” (“Yinyang bianhua tu” 陰陽變化圖; [fig. 70\(d\)](#)), or “Diagram of the Reciprocal Operation of Thunder and Lightning” (“Leiting huyong tu” 雷霆互用圖).

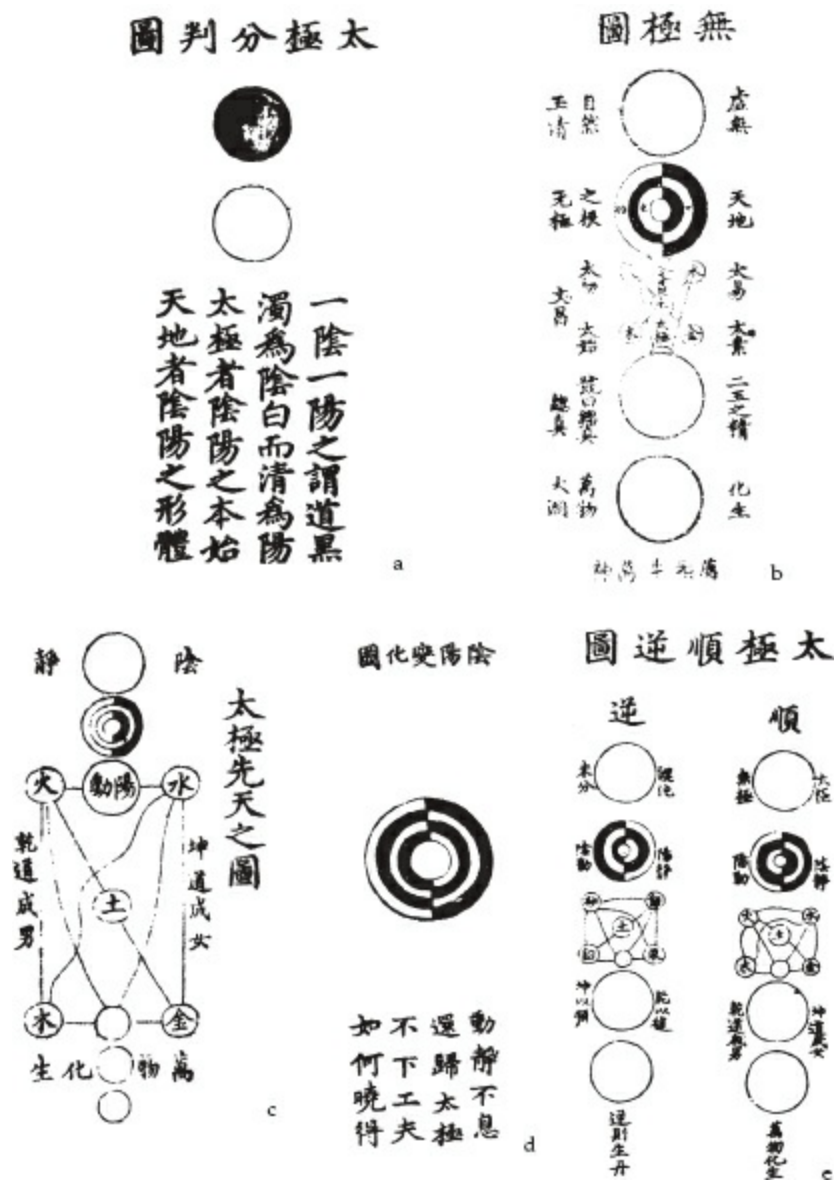


Fig. 70. Representations of the *Taiji tu* (Diagram of the Great Ultimate) and the *Wuji tu* 無極圖

(Diagram of the Ultimateless). (a) “Division of the Great Ultimate” (“Taiji fenpan tu”), in *Jindan dayao tu* 金丹大要圖 (Great Essentials of the Golden Elixir: Diagrams; CT 1068), 1a. (b) “Diagram of the Ultimateless” (“Wuji tu”), in *Wenchang dadong xianjing zhu* 文昌大洞仙經注 (Commentary to the Immortal Scripture of the Great Cavern by Wenchang; CT 103), 1.9a. (c) “Diagram of the Great Ultimate Before Heaven” (“Taiji xiantian zhi tu”), in *Zhenyuan miaojing tu* 真元妙經圖 (Wondrous Scripture and Diagrams of Zhenyuan; CT 437), 3b. (d) “Diagram of the Transformations of Yin and Yang” (“Yinyang bianhua tu”), in *Daofa xin chuan* 道法心傳 (Heart-to-Heart Transmission of Taoist Rites; CT 1253), 31b. (e) “Diagram of the Continuation and Inversion of the Great Ultimate” (“Taiji shunni tu”), in *Jindan dayao tu*, 3a.

The Taoist commentaries and interpretations of the *Taiji tu* differ from the one given by Zhou Dunyi. Those based on *neidan* doctrines distinguish between the “Great Ultimate Before Heaven” and the “Great Ultimate After Heaven,” and refer to the normal cosmogonic sequence and its inversion through the alchemical process. The normal sequence (called *shun* 順 or “continuation”) goes from top to bottom and represents the generation of the world, while the inverted sequence (*ni* 逆 or “inversion”) goes from bottom to top and represents the generation of the inner elixir. In a diagram found in the ★*Jindan dayao* (*Tu* 圖; CT 1068, 3a; [fig. 70\(e\)](#)), in particular, the top blank circle represents the *wuji* and *taiji* in the diagram of the normal cosmogonic order, but stands for “Chaos still undivided” (*hundun wei fen* 混沌未分) in the diagram of the inverted sequence. In this diagram, moreover, Yang is placed on the right and is linked to quiescence, while Yin is on the left and is related to movement, a reversal of their positions in the diagram of the normal cosmogonic order.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 2: 434–76; Li Shen 1991; Li Yuanguo 1987, 95–105; Li Yuanguo 1990; Needham 1956, 460–72; Robinet 1990b; Rong Zhaozu 1994; Tu Wei-ming 1987b; Yang Guanghui and Chen Hanming 1995, 211–22

※ Chen Tuan; *wuji* and *taiji*; *xiantian* and *houtian*; COSMOLOGY; COSMOGONY

*taiping*

## 太平

### Great Peace; Great Equality

The notion of *taiping* refers to the stability of social life. Few pre-Han sources mention this term besides the ★*Zhuangzi* (j. 13), where it denotes the condition of training the self and relying on the spontaneous workings of Heaven. From the Han period onward, the notion of *taiping* became widespread. It was adopted by ★Huang-Lao thought and was formalized by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 195–115 BCE) into the theory of the mutual relationship between Heaven and humanity. Examples of the use of the term *taiping* are also found in the Han “weft” texts (*weishu* 緯書; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA).

The main Han source on the notion of *taiping* is the ★*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace). This work teaches that while the Central Harmony (*zhonghe* 中和) of Yin and Yang nourishes all beings and brings contentment to the people, the emperor is responsible for realizing this condition within society. In the golden times of high antiquity, the Original Pneuma (★*yuanqi*) that nourishes all beings in Heaven and on Earth circulated within people and supported life. This state of things was lost when the Original Pneuma became sullied, because of faults committed by people in claiming exclusive possession of Dao and ★*de* (virtue) and in accumulating riches. People of later ages inherit responsibility for these faults, and their accumulation leads to natural disasters, wars, and epidemics at a social level, and to misfortune for individuals and their households. This is known as “inherited burden” (★*chengfu*). If the emperor reestablishes the “society of Great Peace,” however, the chains of “inherited burden” will be broken, wise men will receive appointment in the government, and moral reform and welfare will be encouraged.

Some literati of the first two centuries CE, such as Wang Fu 王符 (78–163 CE), regarded the politics of their time as having reached the preliminary stage of “advancing to peace” (*shengping* 升平) rather than Great Peace itself, and saw moral reform, welfare, and the promotion of the wise as the best ways to realize Great Peace. He Xiu 何休 (129–82 CE) emphasized an evolutionary process based on the harmony of Yin and Yang, moving from

“decline and disorder” (*shuailuan* 衰亂) through “advancing to peace” and finally to Great Peace, and to this end sought to reestablish the rites (*li* 禮) and other institutions as they were supposed to have been practiced during the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BCE).

These and related notions were incorporated into Taoism. The ★*Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing*, a work produced by the Way of the Celestial Masters (★Tianshi dao), emphasizes the need for meditating on the Dao in order to manifest the Great Peace. During the Six Dynasties, with the growth of eschatological thought, some saw the Great Peace as an ideal condition beyond the human world, while others believed that Great Peace would be brought into human society by the Imperial Lord of the Golden Portal (★Jinque dijun). In the early sixth century, there was a belief that the Moon-Bright Lad (Yueguang tongzi 月光童子) had appeared and would bring about the state of Great Peace among the people (see Zürcher 1982). Similar ideas have continued to influence political ideologies in China until recent times. *Taiping*, in particular, was a central notion used in the revival of Gongyang Learning (*Gongyang xue* 公羊學) at the end of the Qing period, and in the Taiping rebellion of the nineteenth century.

YAMADA Toshiaki

■ Eichhorn 1957; Hendrischke 1992; Pokora 1961; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 320–23; Seidel 1969, *passim*; Seidel 1987d

※ TAOISM AND THE STATE

## *Taiping jing*

太平經

Scripture of Great Peace

The *Taiping jing* is one of the earliest Taoist scriptures, parts of which probably derive from the Later Han dynasty, and possibly even earlier. However, as yet unresolved textual problems have prevented the dating of the

*Taiping jing* being established with certainty. Equally, although there is consensus that the text does not derive from one hand, there is, as yet, no agreement on precisely which parts of the *Taiping jing* belong with which other parts. The original appears to have had 170 chapters and was also subdivided, in parallel, into 366 sections.

The *Taiping jing* survives in two forms in the *Daozang*. First, fifty-seven chapters from the original 170 are found under the title *Taiping jing* (CT 1101). Secondly, excerpts from the whole make up the *Taiping jingchao* 太平經鈔 (Excerpts from the Scripture of Great Peace; CT 1101, *j.* 1), although not every chapter is represented in this selection. This *Taiping jingchao* comes from the hand of ★Lüqiu Fangyuan, a Taoist priest who received the registers on Mount Tiantai (★Tiantai shan, Zhejiang) and underwent transformation in 902. These two works, with the addition of a few citations from the text not found in either, form the basis for the modern collated version of the *Taiping jing* edited by Wang Ming and published under the title *Taiping jing hejiao* 太平經合校 (Wang Ming 1960). It is also fortunate that a table of contents for the *Taiping jing* survives in a ★Dunhuang manuscript (S. 4226) which indicates that the chapter titles of the modern text differ in only minor ways from those current at the end of the sixth century.

It has long been noted that two texts presented to the throne at the end of the first century BCE and in the mid-second century CE may be related to the *Taiping jing*. The first text was called *Tianguan li baoyuan taiping jing* 天官歷包元太平經 (Scripture of Great Peace that Protects the Mandate According to the Calendar of Heaven's Official, although this may in fact be the names of two texts). It was presented by a Gan Zhongke 甘忠可 from Qi 齊 (Shandong), an area long associated with magical and religious innovation, in the reign of Han Chengdi (r. 33–7 BCE). The second was called *Taiping qingling shu* 太平青領書 (Book of Great Peace with Headings Written in Blue) which was presented to Han Shundi (r. 125–144 CE) by Gong Song 宮嵩 who had received it from his teacher ★Gan Ji; it was re-presented to Han Huandi (r. 146–168 CE) in 166 by Xiang Kai 襄楷.

The *Taiping jing* that we know today, incomplete as it certainly is, remains one of the longest Taoist scriptures. It is also one of the most varied in terms of the form that the writing takes. Much of the book is written as dialogue with the largest stratum of text relating conversations between a Heavenly or



Celestial Master (*tianshi* 天師) and six Realized Men (*zhenren* 真人). In this part, the language of the text is not concise and rather repetitive, giving the impression that the Realized Men are not particularly competent students. Within this first stratum, a short but important text, under the title “Declaration of the [Celestial] Master” (“Shice wen” 師策文; Wang Ming 1960, 62) is found. It is notable for the obvious importance the authors of *Taiping jing* gave it, because they provide instructions on how it should be interpreted. It may, therefore, predate the rest of the text. In a second much smaller stratum the position of the Celestial Master is taken by a Celestial Lord (Tianjun 天君) and the mode of expression is somewhat more terse. Chapters in the form of charts, diagrams and *fuwen* 複文, an unintelligible script that appears to be based on the repetition of various component parts of standard characters, are also present.

The doctrine of the *Taiping jing* is based on the idea, already present in Warring States texts, that an era of Great Peace (*★taiping*) will descend on the empire if its governance is based on returning to the Dao. Such a state existed in High Antiquity (*shanggu* 上古) but was lost as government meddled and society declined into decadence. To regain Great Peace the ruler should follow the dictates of a Celestial Book (*tianshu* 天書) possessed by the Celestial Master and which he instructs the Realized Men to pass on to a ruler of high virtue. The scripture teaches that the ruler should make sure all beings are in their proper place and that there is harmony between the parallel tripartite divisions of the cosmos: Yin, Yang, and the Central Harmony (*zhonghe* 中和); Heaven, Earth, and Humanity; the ruler, his ministers, and the people; and so forth. The *Taiping jing* thus promised salvation for the society.

However, one of the most characteristic features of the *Taiping jing* is the prevalence of an idea that focused directly on the individual: *★chengfu* or “inherited burden.” *Chengfu* refers to a system whereby the effects of transgressions are passed from one generation to the next—neatly explaining the phenomenon, troublesome for religions in many cultures, of good people suffering, and evil prospering. At the same time the text warns that individual behavior must be rectified if calamities are not to be visited on future generations by the same mechanism. In other words, the *Taiping jing* proclaims for itself the powerful and central role of breaking the nexus between the transgressions of past generations and fate of future generations,

asserting its own program of reform as the key to a proper society. If this reform is realized, the government and the people will not act or think in ways that generate *chengfu*. In addition, the text—in some parts—stresses the importance of individual meditational practice in the form of ★*shouyi* (guarding the One), as a way of getting rid of *chengfu*. Clearly related to *baoyi* 抱一 (embracing the One) meditation, *shouyi* also leads to the lengthening of life. The distinction here between social and meditational mechanisms for the eradication of *chengfu* has been interpreted by at least one scholar as indicating different strata of text.

One of the characteristic ways in which the effects of *chengfu* are manifest is in the form of disease, and the *Taiping jing* is very concerned with healing. In addition to the use of *shouyi* to rid the body of diseases, it also discusses medicinal plants, the use of talismans (★FU), acupuncture and related therapies, breathing practices, and music as healing methods.

*Benjamin PENNY*

■ Espeset 2002; Fukui Kōjun 1958, 214–55; Hachiya Kunio 1983; Harada Jirō 1984; Kaltenmark 1979b; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 301–60; Kandel 1979; Kusuyama Haruki 1983c; Mansvelt Beck 1980; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 327–29 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang ms.) and 2: 703–12 (reprod. of the Dunhuang ms.); Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 79–136; Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 507–56; Penny 1990; Peterson J. O. 1989–90; Seidel 1983a, 335–40; Takahashi Tadahiko 1984; Takahashi Tadahiko 1986; Takahashi Tadahiko 1988; Wang Ming 1960 (crit. ed.); Wang Ming 1984c; Wang Ming 1984d; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1970b; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1976a, 315–51

※ *taiping*; Yellow Turbans

Taiqing

太清

Great Clarity

As shown by passages of the ★*Zhuangzi* (Watson 1968, 356), the ★*Huainan zi* (Robinet 1993, 42), and other early texts, the term *taiqing* originally denoted the inner spiritual state of the Taoist adept. From the third or fourth century on, it also came to designate the Heaven that grants revelation of alchemical doctrines and scriptures, and by extension the main tradition of early ★*waidan*. When, at the beginning of the sixth century, the Taoist Canon was expanded with the addition of the Four Supplements (*sifu* 四輔; see ★DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS), one of them was entitled “Taiqing” and devoted to *waidan* and related texts.

In chapter 4 of his ★*Baopu zi* (ca. 317; trans. Ware 1966, 69–70, 75–82, and 89–91), ★Ge Hong quotes from, or summarizes, three scriptures that formed the core of the Taiqing tradition: the ★*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity), the ★*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs), and the ★*Jinye jing* (Scripture of the Golden Liquor). These writings are entirely or partially preserved in the present Taoist Canon (see under the respective entries). Another extant early text, the ★*Sanshiliu shuifa* (Methods of the Thirty-Six Aqueous Solutions), is quoted both by Ge Hong and in the received versions of the three main Taiqing writings.

According to Ge Hong and other sources, the Taiqing corpus originated at the end of the second century with revelations obtained by ★Zuo Ci. Ge Hong's work shows how the alchemical disciplines interacted with the local practices of Jiangnan, especially those involving the use of talismans and the ingestion of herbal drugs for exorcistic and therapeutic purposes. The Taiqing elixirs shared with them the power of keeping away the demons and harmful spirits that cause illnesses. Other purposes of ingesting the elixirs in the Taiqing tradition include achieving immortality, receiving protection from major and minor deities, and acquiring magical powers. Consistent with this background, the alchemical process is described in the Taiqing sources as a sequence of ritual actions marked by invocations and offerings to divine beings. Its main stages are the transmission from master to disciple, the establishment of the ritual area, the choice of an auspicious time, the compounding of the elixir, its offering to the gods, and its ingestion.

No Taiqing source, on the other hand, describes the alchemical process using the patterns, imagery, and language of Chinese cosmology and its system of correspondences. The few instances of methods related to simple cosmological configurations—e.g., those based on five ingredients, related to the ★*wuxing*—are not typical of the tradition as a whole, whose main

methods are characterized by the use of a large number of ingredients with no clear relation to cosmological principles. Indeed, the cosmological system at the basis of Taiqing alchemy is not explicitly described in its sources; we only get glimpses of it through the prominence assigned to the Mud of the Six-and-One (★*liuyi ni*), a compound used to lute the crucible. Its seven ingredients represent to the seven stages of cosmogony described in some pre-Han and Han sources.

The Taiqing tradition progressively declined from the Tang period, paralleling the rise in importance of the ★*Zhouyi cantong qi*. No original Taiqing text appears to have been written after the Six Dynasties. The two main Tang works associated with this tradition—the ★*Taiqing danjing yaojue* (Essential Instructions from the Scripture of the Elixirs of Great Clarity) and the ★*Taiqing shibi ji* (Records of the Stone Wall of Great Clarity)—consist of selections from expanded versions of the original *Taiqing qing* compiled during the Six Dynasties and Tang periods.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Company 2002, 31–47; Chen Guofu 1963, 89–98; Pregadio 1991; Pregadio 2006b

※ *waidan*; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.3 (“Alchemy: Taiqing”)

### *Taiqing danjing yaojue*

太清丹經要訣

Essential Instructions from the Scripture of the Elixirs of Great Clarity

Along with the ★*Taiqing shibi ji* (Records of the Stone Wall of Great Clarity), the *Taiqing danjing yaojue* (YJQQ 71) is one of two extant Tang anthologies of the ★Taiqing tradition. Both works were compiled by drawing on the expanded versions of the ★*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity) that circulated during the Six Dynasties. The text was compiled by ★Sun

Simiao (fl. 673), who states in a preface that he selected recipes that gave clear directions and that he had personally tested.

Using the terse language typical of the Taiqing texts, the *Danjing yaojue* de-scribes about thirty methods. They are introduced by three lists of synonyms of names of elixirs that are closely related to those found in the *Taiqing shibi ji* and the ★*Shiyao eryl*a (Synonymic Dictionary of Mineral Materia Medica). Among the recipes is a method for making the Mud of the Six-and-One (★*liuyi ni*) similar to the one given in another extant Taiqing text, the ★*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs), but also including details on each of the seven ingredients (3b–7b). The *Taiqing danjing yaojue*, moreover, is one of three Taiqing sources that describe the preparation of a pellet used to keep away demons during the compounding of the elixirs (27a). The other two methods are in the *Taiqing jing tianshi koujue* 太清經天師口訣 (CT 883, 14a–b) and the *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣 (CT 885, 5.9a–10a, containing the reproduction of an identically-named talisman; see [fig. 5\(d\)](#)).

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Meng Naichang 1993a, 48–49; Needham 1976, 132–38; Pregadio 2006b, 59–61; Sivin 1968 (trans.)

※ Sun Simiao; *Taiqing jing*; *waidan*; Taiqing

## Taiqing gong

太清宮

Palace of Great Clarity (1. Bozhou, Henan; 2. Chang'an)

Besides several others, there were two compounds called Taiqing gong that were especially important in Tang China. The older was an abbey at Bozhou 亳州 (present-day Luyi 鹿邑, Henan) that purportedly rested on the site of Laozi's birthplace and had been a place of veneration for the deity since the second century. Xuanzong (r. 712–56) bestowed the title Taiqing gong on it

in 742. Taiqing 太清 or Great Clarity was the lowest of three celestial regions beneath the ★Daluo tian (Great Canopy Heaven) where Taoist deities resided and Laozi presided (see ★*sanqing*). The emperor gave it the status of Palace (*gong* 宮) because Laozi was a celestial ruler and had revealed the location of a statue of himself to the emperor. The complex at Bozhou was the recipient of great patronage from the throne throughout the Tang dynasty. By the late ninth century it encompassed seven hundred *jian* 間 (an architectural unit of measure defined as the space between four pillars) and one thousand trees.

The second Taiqing gong was an abbey established by Xuanzong in Chang'an, the capital of the Tang dynasty. The emperor originally founded it by converting his former mansion into an ancestral shrine (*miao* 廟) in 740 because the reigning family claimed Laozi as an ancestor. He had ancestral rites performed there, not only to Laozi, but also to deceased Tang emperors whose spirit tablets were installed in the shrine. Xuanzong had statues of Laozi, four leading Taoist philosophers of the pre-Han epoch—including ★Zhuangzi and ★Liezi—as well as Confucius, apparently because tradition had it that Confucius visited Laozi to learn about rites (the temple at Bozhou must also have served as a site for imperial ancestral rites since it contained statues or images of previous Tang emperors). In 743 the emperor changed the name of the Chang'an's sanctuary to Taiqing gong.

Both abbeys became part of an empire-wide system of abbeys dedicated to Laozi when Xuanzong ordered the establishment of abbeys for the god in all 320 prefectures of the empire during 742. The primary reason for that enactment was to promote the Tang's Taoist ideology. By fostering Laozi's cult as a state religion the emperor was propagating the notion that peace and prosperity of the dynasty, state, and its citizens depended on the spiritual protection and blessing of the deity. According to ancient Chinese belief, ancestors in the afterlife always ensured the welfare of their living descendants as long as the latter maintained sacrifices and worshipped their forbears.

The political-religious significance of the Taiqing gong in Chang'an was manifest first in its iconography. Xuanzong had statues of himself as well as of his most important ministers installed there. His successors, Suzong (r. 756–62) and Dezong (r. 779–805), followed suit and had images of themselves erected in the abbey, but apparently not for their eminent officials. Second, Xuanzong appointed one of his highest ranking ministers to

the post of Commissioner for the Taiqing gong, and it became the habit of later Tang emperors to confer the title on their most important officials. The Taiqing gong in Chang'an was no doubt demolished or dismantled in 904 along with the rest of the city on the orders of a warlord, but that in Bozhou survived into the Song dynasty along with a copy of the Taoist Canon.

*Charles D. BENN*

▣ Benn 1977, 185–237; Ding Huang 1979–80; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 255–57; Schafer 1987

※ TEMPLES AND SHRINES

### *Taiqing jing*

## 太清經

### Scripture of Great Clarity

The now-lost *Taiqing jing* was the central scripture of the early ★Taiqing tradition of ★*waidan*. The text was based on the method for making the Elixir of Great Clarity (*taiqing dan* 太清丹), which according to ★Ge Hong's summary in his ★*Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 82–83) was obtained in nine cycles of heating; the final addition of cinnabar transmuted it into a powerful Reverted Elixir (★*huandan*). Ge Hong also provides details on the revelation of the text and on a rite performed after the compounding to offer the elixir to several gods.

The scripture gave life to a vast textual tradition: not only was it progressively expanded into the sixty-two chapter version included in the Song Taoist Canon (see ★*Daozang quejing mulu*, 2.1b), but around 500 CE it also gave its name to one of the Four Supplements (*sifu* 四輔) of the Taoist Canon (see ★DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS). The *Taiqing jing tianshi koujue* 太清經天師口訣 (Oral Instructions of the Celestial Master on the Scripture of Great Clarity; CT 883) is the text closest to the original scripture among the works once included in this sizeable body of literature. After an introduction on the ceremony of transmission, this work contains

two texts unrelated to each other. The first, entitled “*Taiqing shendan jingjue*” 太清神丹經訣 (Instructions on the Scripture of the Divine Elixir of Great Clarity, 1b–4b), quotes and comments on several passages of the original *Taiqing jing*. The second, entitled “*Chisong zi zhouhou yaojue*” 赤松子肘後藥訣 (Instructions on Medicines to Keep at Hand by Master Red-Pine, 4b–15b), is cast as a dialogue during which ★Chisong zi transmits the methods of the Three Powders and the Five Salves (*sansan wugao* 三散五膏) to Yunyang zi 雲陽子. Parts of both texts are reproduced in the seventh-century commentary to the ★*Jiudan jing* with the title of the present version, showing that they were already part of a single work by the end of the Six Dynasties or the first decades of the Tang (see *Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue* 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣; CT 885, 5.10a and 17.4b–5a).

The “*Taiqing shendan jingjue*” does not make it possible to fully reconstruct the method of the Elixir of Great Clarity, which appears to have been based on mercury. The only parts of the process described in detail are those concerned with the ceremony of transmission (1a–b) and the preparation of the crucible (3a–b; see under ★*fu*). The section on transmission mentions the gages offered by the disciple to his master—gold, silver, cotton, and silk—and describes the penalties facing those who carelessly disclose the practices: failure in any undertaking, decrease of life span, and punishment of their ancestors in the Mysterious Metropolis (Xuandu 玄都). The section on the crucible states that the vessel should be used to compound the Elixir of the Great Clarity, the Nine Elixirs (*jiudan* 九丹), the Golden Liquor (★*jinye*), and the ★Langgan, i.e., all the main elixirs of the early *Taiqing* tradition.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Pregadio 1991, 571–74; Pregadio 2006b, 54–55, 108–10

※ *waidan*; *Taiqing*

*Taiqing shibi ji*

太清石壁記



## Records of the Stone Wall of Great Clarity

The *Taiqing shibi ji* is a collection of ★*waidan* methods followed by sections dealing with the ingestion of elixirs. It was edited in three chapters during the Qianyuan period (758–59) of the Tang by an anonymous officer of Jianzhou 劍州 (Sichuan) on the basis of an earlier version ascribed to ★Su Yuanming (or Su Yuanlang 蘇元郎; *Xin Tangshu*, 59.5a). The present version (CT 881) is attributed to a Chuze xiansheng 楚澤先生 (Elder of the Moorlands of Chu).

The text derives from the corpus of writings that developed around the ★*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity) during the Six Dynasties. It contains more than sixty recipes, often followed by details of their medical properties. The third *juan* is mainly concerned with rules for the ingestion of the elixirs and descriptions of their effects. Other sections of particular interest contain lists of auspicious and inauspicious days for compounding the elixir (1.4a–b), directions for making the furnace and the crucible (1.14a–b), and the method for an “Inner Elixir” (*neidan* 內丹) composed of mineral substances (2.7b–8a). Many alternative names for the elixirs, usually listed together with their recipes, are the same as those given in a closely related text belonging to the Taiqing corpus, ★Sun Simiao's ★*Taiqing danjing yaojue*. The same synonyms are also found in the ★*Shiyao erya* (2.3b and 2.7a), which mentions both a *Shibi ji* and a *Chuze jing* 楚澤經 (Scripture of the Moorlands of Chu).

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Meng Naichang 1993a, 46–48; Needham 1974, 282–94 passim; Pregadio 2006b, 59–61; Sivin 1968, 76–79 and 258–59

※ *waidan*; *Taiqing jing*; Taiqing

Taishan

泰山

## Mount Tai (Shandong)

As the most revered of the Five Peaks (★*wuyue*), Mount Tai or the Eastern Peak is one of the centers of Chinese sacred geography. In contrast to other sacred mountains, which are actually whole ranges with many summits and valleys, Mount Tai is really one impressive peak (1545 m high) visible from the surrounding plains. For the most part, the pilgrimage trail consists of a single staircase. Mount Tai is mentioned in the earliest Chinese written records and has ever since been included in countless classical and vernacular proverbs and locutions; together with the Yellow River, it is a crucial anchor of Chinese cultural identity. Like all mountains, Mount Tai is revered for stabilizing or maintaining (*zhen* 鎮) the country, and small stones named after it (the *Taishan shigandang* 泰山石敢當) are placed in small roadside shrines throughout China.

Mount Tai also enjoyed a privileged relationship with the imperial court. Emperors with exceptional accomplishments were required to climb the mountain and proclaim their merit to Heaven in the *feng* 封 ritual. This was followed by another ritual, the *shan* 禪, which took place on a small hill nearby. These illustrious but rarely performed rituals claimed the greatest antiquity but were actually foreshadowed by the visit of Qin Shi Huangdi (219 BCE) and created by Han Wudi (110 BCE). The *feng* and *shan* rituals reasserted the imperial monopoly on the cult to the mountain god. Yet the popular cult to the god of Mount Tai and the pilgrimage to the mountain are equally ancient. During the Han, and probably before, it was believed that the souls of the dead would rest under Mount Tai, and sick people would come to the mountain to beg for a longer life span.

The beliefs connecting Mount Tai with the realm of the dead, and therefore with the possibility of being removed, temporarily or eternally, from the registers of death (*siji* 死籍), developed in many directions. Buddhism and Taoism both charged ★Dongyue dadi, the god of Mount Tai, with the judgement of souls, and temples of his cult multiplied after the tenth century. The same beliefs inspired a pilgrimage that became China's grandest. Starting from the official temple, the Daimiao 岱廟 (Shrine of Mount Tai, which like all hermitages on the mountain, has been managed by ★Quanzhen clerics since the 1240s) in the city of Tai'an 泰安, the pilgrimage trail leads

up the mountain in a few hours' arduous climb. Pilgrims often climbed at night to see the sun rise on the summit. Unlike many other mountains, pilgrims visited Mount Tai all year round, but since the Ming period such activity has been particularly intense in the fourth lunar month for the birthday of ★Bixia yuanjun (Original Princess of the Jasper Mist), the daughter of the mountain god. Pilgrims, mostly organized in associations, arrived by the hundreds of thousands every year in Ming and Qing times, and continue to do so to this day. The incense tax levied on all pilgrims was then a major revenue for the governor of Shandong province. Pilgrims with all sorts of intentions were moved to visit the Eastern Peak, from merry women-only religious associations to the desperate who came to the holy mountain ready to commit ritual sacrifice or suicide.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 105–7; Chavannes 1910b; Geil 1926, 1–116; Idema 1997; Kroll 1983; Liu Hui 1994

※ Dongyue dadi; *wuyue*; TAOIST SACRED SITES

### *Taishang ganying pian*

太上感應篇

Folios of the Most High on Retribution

The *Taishang ganying pian* is a short anonymous tract (about 1,275 characters), probably composed in the second half of the Northern Song dynasty and traditionally regarded as the first and most paradigmatic morality book (★*shanshu*). While closely associated with Taoism—it has been generally interpreted as the words of Laozi and included in several Taoist Canons—the *Ganying pian* also draws on sources beyond Taoism to present a message geared to a broad audience. It became a staple of moral education and popular religion by virtue of its pithy depiction of the cosmic laws of retribution by which the good and evil that people do generate positive or

negative consequences for their well-being, length of life, spiritual attainments, and future generations. The opening lines, the first of which is taken from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Commentary of Zuo; third century BCE), became a familiar proverb in traditional Chinese culture: “Calamity and fortune have no gates (not fixed or fated), rather people themselves summon them; retribution for good and evil is like the shadow that follows the form.”

The *Ganying pian* was endlessly reprinted in cheap mass-produced pamphlets as well as lavishly illustrated multivolume editions with commentary. The oldest extant copies, printed one- and eight-juan Yuan dynasty editions (one dated 1296), are housed in the Beijing National Library. The text is first listed in the *Bishu sheng xubian dao siku qieshu mu* 秘書省續編到四庫書目 (Imperial Library's Supplementary Catalogue of Books Missing from the Four Repositories; 1145), and then in the bibliographic treatise of the *Songshi* (History of the Song; van der Loon 1984, 89). Scholars associate the emergence of the *Ganying pian* and texts like it with two historical developments, namely, the maturing relationship of Taoism and local cults seen in the Tang dynasty, which led to revelations from a variety of deities recasting older teachings, and Taoist sectarian developments during the political upheavals of the Song, which emphasized internal forms of self-cultivation linked to inner alchemy (★*neidan*) and personal morality by using more universal formulations that left room for Buddhist and Confucian elements.

*The notion of retribution.* The *Ganying pian* composed a fresh understanding of moral retribution by combining several ideas, most basic of which was the ancient conviction that heaven responds (*ganying* 感應) to the morality of human action. Indebted to a discussion in ★Ge Hong's ★*Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 66–67, 115–19), the *Ganying pian* asserted the importance of renouncing evil and accumulating virtue to attain immortality, with 300 good deeds needed to become an earthly transcendent (*dixian* 地仙) and 1,200 to become a celestial transcendent (*tianxian* 天仙). Yet it also made clear that moral action brings divine protection and good fortune in this life too, while a notion of repentance borrowed from the Buddhist *Dhammapada* enabled it to argue that evil can always be redressed by good. The text describes the spiritual overseers of human deeds: in the heavens the constellation of the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台, three pairs of stars in *Ursa Major*; see [fig. 23](#)),

including the Star Lords of the Northern Dipper (★Beidou xingjun) and the Director of Destinies (★Siming); on a social plane, the domestically-positioned Stove God (★Zaoshen) who reports each month; and within the individual, the Three Corpses (*sanshi*; see ★*sanshi* and *jiuchong*) who are eager to report misdeeds that hasten their own liberation from the body at death. Echoing the *Baopu zi* system, the heavenly overseers can reduce one's life span by one hundred-day units (*suan* 算) or twelve-year units (*ji* 紀). Lists of good and evil deeds make clear that scale and intentionality make a difference, while traditional taboos against acts of disrespect to the gods are as problematic as wickedness to other living beings.

*Editions, commentaries, and translations.* The earliest known edition of the *Ganying pian* was transmitted with commentary by one Li Changling 李昌齡 about 1165. There is some scholarly consensus that Li Changling was Li Shi 李石 (?–ca. 1182) of Sichuan, a *jinshi* degree-holder, who gives an autobiographical account in another work, *Leshan lu* 樂善錄 (Records of a Love of Virtue), of how he published the *Ganying pian*. Most scholars disregard the traditional attribution to a prominent Aid to the Censor-in-chief under the Northern Song with the same name (938–1008). Early editions of the *Ganying pian* also include hymns by the Celestial Master of Empty Quiescence (Xujing tianshi 虛靖天師), a title conferred on the ★Zhengyi Celestial Master, ★Zhang Jixian (1092–1126), by Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) in 1105. A century later, the *Ganying pian* was specially published and distributed by order of Song Lizong (r. 1224–64), probably the edition in which Zheng Qingzhi's 鄭清之 (1176–1251; SB 156–63) praise poems were added to Li's commentary to form the eight-*juan* edition, still extant, which was later subdivided into thirty *juan* in the Ming dynasty Taoist Canon (CT 1167). The Canon edition is accompanied by numerous prefaces dating from 1231 to 1349, and a section entitled “Jishu lingyan” 紀述靈驗 (Chronicle of Numinous Efficacy; elsewhere “Lingyan ji” 靈驗記) where, in a style ultimately derived from Buddhist treatments of the *Lotus* and *Diamond sūtras* among others, stories give proof of the efficacy of devotion to the tract.

To accumulate merit, fulfill vows, or perform a recognizably moral service, various eminent figures republished the *Ganying pian* with commentaries. While Li Changling stressed the spirit of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism), scholar-officials like Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235), Hui Dong 惠棟 (1697–1758; ECCP 357–58) and Yu Yue

俞樾 (1821–1906; ECCP 944–45), among others, emphasized its Confucian morality for the masses. It was often accompanied by the *Taiwei xianjun gongguo ge* 太微仙君功過格 (Ledger of Merit and Demerit of the Immortal Lord of Great Tenuity; CT 186), which was written about 1171 by a Taoist master of ★Xu Xun's sect and became a model for other ledgers in Taoist, Buddhist, and Neo-Confucian circles. The *Ganying pian* was also closely associated with the *Yinzhi wen* 陰鷲文 (Essay on Secret Virtue; trans. Suzuki and Carus 1906b, and Kleeman 1996, 70–71), a rather similar tract ascribed to the deity ★Wenchang. As distribution of the *Ganying pian*, like all morality books, was thought to be a virtue that earned one merit, large and small donations toward its printing were conventional ways of doing good. It is still distributed free in many temples.

There are many translations of the *Ganying pian* into Western languages, especially English, and some include the illustrated stories that often dressed it up. An abridged edition of Huang Zhengyuan's 黃正元 *Taishang ganying pian tushuo* 太上感應篇圖說 (Illustrated Explanations on the Folios of the Most High on Retribution; 1755; see Bell 1996b), perhaps the most elaborate of its kind, was recently reprinted in Beijing (Zhang Zhaoyu 1995). Early Western missionaries and Sinologists (Julien 1835; Legge 1891, 2: 235–46; Suzuki and Carus 1906a) were as taken with the *Ganying pian*'s popularity as its moral seriousness; now missionary efforts outside China also include the *Ganying pian* (Wong Eva 1994) in a highly interpreted translation with an unreliable historical description.

Catherine BELL

▣ Bell 1996a; Bell 1996b; Brokaw 1991, 28–60; Legge 1891, 2: 235–46 (trans.); Sakai Tadao 1960, 359–68, 404–32; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1952, 70–122; Zheng Zhiming 1988b, 41–98; Zhu Yueli 1983b

※ *baojuan*; *shanshu*; ETHICS AND MORALS

*Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*

太上助國救民總真祕要

Secret Essentials of the Totality of Perfected, of the Most High, for  
Assisting the Country and Saving the People

The *Zongzhen biyao* (CT 1227) is the earliest surviving comprehensive compilation of the methods of the ★Tianxin zhengfa tradition. It was compiled in ten *juan* by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 (fl. 1086–1116), who contributed it to the Taoist Canon of Song Huizong (the ★*Zhenghe Wanshou daoze*). In his preface, dated the first of March 1116, the author relates that for more than thirty years he traveled all over the empire, asking Taoist masters about their methods and in this way obtaining a complete repertoire. For several years he lived in Nanyang 南陽 (Henan), healing people by means of talismanic water (*fushui* 符水). Finally he was summoned to the capital and in 1115 set to work on the collation of the texts of the new Canon. He thus had a chance to go through the entire collection and found that it was deficient in the talismanic methods of exorcism and curing. To compensate for this lack, he drew up this compilation of what he had received as “oral instructions of secret practices [connected with] the writing of talismans” (*fufa biyong koujue* 符法祕用口訣).

The main contents of the book are as follows:

1. *Quxie yuan qingzhi xingyong ge* 驅邪院請治行用格 (Models for the Practices of Appealing for Restoration, of the Department of Exorcism; 1.2a–8b): programs for large services of exorcism, including services for curing illness, for saving dead ancestors (who cause trouble to the living), for obtaining succession, and for the destruction of temples for unorthodox deities.

2. *Douxia lingwen fuzhou* 斗下靈文符咒 (Numinous Script and Talismanic Spells of the Jurisdiction of the Dipper): basic instructions for the writing of talismans (2.10a–13a, 18b–21a), and descriptions of the three fundamental talismans and the two main seals of the Tianxin tradition (2.13a–18b).

3. A series of talismanic methods for curing consumption and other kinds of illness (3.1a–15a), followed by a section entitled *Tianpeng jiuzhi fa* 天蓬救治法 (Method of Tianpeng for Saving People and Restoring Order; 3.15a–28b). It is a method of exorcism related to the group of thirty-six generals headed by Tianpeng 天蓬 (the spirit of the ninth star of the Northern Dipper,

★*beidou*) and based on the recitation of the ancient Tianpeng spell (★*Tianpeng zhou*; see ★*Zhengao*, 10.10b–11a).

4–6. A separate corpus entitled *Shangqing yinshu gusui lingwen* 上清隱書骨髓靈文 (Spinal Numinous Script of the Concealed Writ of Highest Clarity). *Juan* 4 contains the nine ancient *Gusui lingwen* talismans, found also in the *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法 (CT 566, 3.9b–21a). They constitute the basic text (*benwen* 本文) of the *Gusui lingwen* and are followed in the present book by an additional set of ten talismans (*j.* 5). The final part of the *Gusui lingwen* is the “devil's code” (*guilü* 鬼律; *j.* 6), which appears to be derived from the separate version *Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü* 上清骨髓靈文鬼律 (Devil's Code of the Spinal Numinous Script of the Highest Clarity; CT 461), established by ★Deng Yougong.

7. *Kaozhao fa* 考召法 (Method of Inspecting [Devils] and Summoning [Spirits]), an ancient ★*Zhengyi* method, related particularly to the Generals of the Three Primes (Sanyuan jiangjun 三元將軍) and relying on a Register of the Three and the Five for Inspecting and Summoning (*sanwu kaozhao zhi lu* 三五考召之錄).

8. Practices of “walking along the guideline” (★*bugang*).

9–10. Models for ritual documents and descriptions of some characteristic individual rites of the *Tianxin zhengfa*.

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Andersen 1991, 92–96; Andersen 1996; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 34–35; Drexler 1994, 25–74; Qing Xitai 1999

※ Deng Yougong; *Tianxin zhengfa*

*taixi*

胎息

embryonic breathing



In one of its two meanings, *taixi* designates a way of breathing similar to that of the embryo. Breathing through the nose appears to stop and is replaced by breathing through the navel and the pores of the skin. In the second meaning, *taixi* is performed by ★*neidan* adepts in the abdomen. The latter meaning has been influenced by Buddhist notions and practices such as the concept of *tathāgatagarbha* (“embryo of the *tathāgata*,” sometimes translated in Chinese as ★*shengtai* or Embryo of Sainthood) and the refinement and cessation of breathing, mentioned in *dhyāna* breathing techniques, according to which inner breathing ceases when concentration of the mind increases.

One of the first mentions of *taixi* occurs in the fifth-century biography of Wang Zhen 王真 (Later Han), which states that he and others “were able to practice embryonic breathing and feed themselves like an embryo (*taishi* 胎食)” (*Hou Hanshu*, 82.2751). In the Tang period, the *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 延陵先生集新舊服氣經 (Scripture on New and Old Methods for the Ingestion of Breath Collected by the Elder of Yanling; CT 825, 17a) defines the technique as follows: “One must carefully pull the breath while inspiring and expiring so that the Original Breath (★*yuanqi*) does not exit the body. Thus the outer and inner breaths do not mix and one achieves embryonic breathing.” According to the ★*Taixi jing* (Scripture of Embryonic Breathing, 1a) “the embryo is formed within the stored breath, and breathing occurs from within the embryo.”

The literature concerning embryonic breathing developed during the Tang and the early Song periods. The main texts dealing with this technique are:

1. *Taixi jing* 胎息經 (Scripture of Embryonic Breathing; CT 14)
2. *Taixi jing zhu* 胎息經注 (Commentary to the Scripture of Embryonic Breathing; CT 130; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 43–47)
3. *Taixi biyao ge jue* 胎息祕要歌訣 (Songs and Instructions on the Secret Essentials of Embryonic Breathing; CT 131; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 49–54)
4. *Yangsheng taixi qijing* 養生胎息氣經 (Scripture of Embryonic Breathing and Nourishing Life; CT 819)
5. *Taixi baoyi ge* 胎息抱一歌 (Song of Embryonic Breathing and Embracing the One; CT 827)

6. *Taixi jingwei lun* 胎息精微論 (Essay on the Subtlety of Embryonic Breathing; CT 829)
7. *Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue* 諸真聖胎神用訣 (Instructions of the Real Men on the Divine Operation of the Embryo of Sainthood; CT 826)
8. The “Taixi pian” 胎息篇 chapter of the ★*Daoshu* (Pivot of the Dao; CT 1017, 14.8b–13a)

In *neidan*, embryonic breathing occurs at the second of the three stages of the practice, when breath is refined and transmuted into spirit (*lianqi huashen* 鍊氣化神). This breathing feeds the embryo (i.e., the *shen*, spirit) that rises to the ★*niwan* (the upper ★*dantian* or Cinnabar Field) when it reaches maturity.

The above-mentioned *Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue* attributes embryonic breathing methods to divinities like Laozi, the Yellow Old Lord of the Center (Zhongyang Huanglao jun 中央黃老君), and the Venerable Mother of Mount Li (Lishan laomu 驪山老母); to semilegendary characters such as ★Zhang Guolao, ★Guigu zi, and ★Liu Haichan; to historical characters like ★Ge Hong, ★Chen Tuan, Yanluo zi 煙蘿子, and Langran zi 郎然子; to Bodhidharma (the patriarch of Chan Buddhism); and to female adepts like Immortal Maiden He (He xiangu 何仙姑), Immortal Maiden Li (Li xiangu 李仙姑), and Cao Wenyi 曹文逸 (fl. 1119–25).

*Catherine DESPEUX*

▣ Esposito 1998b; Katō Chie 2002, 114–26; Maspero 1981, 459–505

※ *Taixi jing*; *yangsheng*

*Taixi jing*

胎息經

Scripture of Embryonic Breathing

The *Taixi jing* is a text consisting of only 88 characters that states the general principles of “embryonic breathing” (★*taixi*). A work with this title is listed in ★*Baopu zi* 19 but is not mentioned in the bibliographic chapter of the *Suishu* (History of the Sui).

Besides an unannotated edition (CT 14), the Taoist Canon includes a single commentary on this text, the *Taixi jing zhu* 胎息經注 (Commentary to the Scripture of Embryonic Breathing; CT 130, and YJQQ 60.27a–28b), attributed to ★Huanzhen xiansheng. The commentary dates to the Tang period and is the first of several commentaries that later appeared during the Song and Ming periods. Huanzhen locates the embryo three inches below the navel, a place that he describes as the lower Cinnabar Field (see ★*dantian*), the Mysterious Female (★*xuanpin*), and the Ocean of Pneuma (*qihai* 氣海).

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Balfour 1884, 63–65 (trans.); Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 43–47 (trans. of *Taixi jing zhu*)

※ *taixi*; *yangsheng*

### *Taixiao langshu*

太霄琅書

Precious Writ of the Great Emphyrean

The Taoist Canon contains three ★Shangqing texts entitled *Taixiao langshu*. The first is the *Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jing* 太霄琅書瓊文帝章經 (Precious Writ of the Great Emphyrean, Scripture of the Exquisite Text of the Imperial Statement; CT 55). The second is the *Taishang taixiao langshu* 太上太霄琅書 (Precious Writ of the Highest Great Emphyrean; CT 1352), whose first *juan* corresponds to CT 55. The third is the *Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jue* 太霄琅書瓊文帝章訣 (Precious Writ of the Great Emphyrean, Instructions on the Exquisite Text of the Imperial Statement; CT 129), which corresponds to *j.* 5 of CT 1352.

The first text (CT 55) is related to the *huifeng* 迴風 (whirlwind) method (see ★*Dadong zhenjing*) and to methods of the Feminine One (Ciyi 雌一), which pertain to the apocryphal practices associated with the *Dadong zhenjing*. It contains short descriptions of the Nine Heavens (★*jiutian*) and mentions the dates on which their messengers descend to earth to inspect its inhabitants. At that time, adepts should sing the stanzas related to these heavens in order to have their names inscribed in the celestial registers of life (*shengji* 生籍). There follow a list of the names of the kings of the Nine Heavens, hymns addressed to them, and “seals” (or talismanic characters, *yin* 印) formed by their essences. If one carries these seals on one's body, one can summon the officers of the Five Peaks (★*wuyue*) and expel malevolent forces.

The second text (CT 1352) is a composite ten-*juan* work containing layers of different dates. Some portions also appear in the ★*Wushang biao*, which shows that they date from before the sixth century. Many are certainly later; some are Shangqing songs, and some display evident ★*Lingbao* features. This work attests to the evolution of a form of institutionalized Taoism seen as the inner complement of Confucianism. Except for *j.* 1, the Shangqing vocabulary, images and saints are absent from this text, most of which emphasizes the observance of religious prescriptions, ritual rules, and moral virtues. *Juan* 3 and part of *j.* 5 consist of codes for the transmission of sacred texts analogous to those in the ★*Siji mingke jing* (Scripture of the Illustrious Code of the Four Poles). Most of *j.* 4 is dedicated to Taoist vestments, and *j.* 6 describes a ritual. The tenth *juan* is datable to the Six Dynasties and is close in content and style to the Shangqing texts; part of it (10.2b–5b) is incorporated in a later ritual found in the *Badao mingji jing* 八道命籍經 (Scripture of the Register of Destiny of the Eight Ways; CT 1328, 2.21a–23b).

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 281–86; Robinet 1984, 1: 201, 216, and 2: 233–35

※ Shangqing

## Taiyi

太一, 太乙, 泰一

### The Great One

The term Taiyi has been variously translated as the Great (or Supreme) One, the Great Monad, Great Unity, or Great Oneness. It stands for the cosmic Oneness, or Unity (*★yi*), at the base of the universe, as well as for the experience of this “oneness.” It also refers to the personification of this abstract principle or experience in the form of a supreme stellar deity, namely the god Taiyi, who resides in the large reddish star Kochab ( $\beta$  Ursae Minoris), and who has been viewed as a supreme god of heaven since the late Warring States period.

The god Taiyi retained this status in the Taoist traditions of the Six Dynasties, though with a clear emphasis on his special role as a supreme administrator of human destinies, that is, as the Celestial Emperor (Tiandi 天帝), who on special days of the year receives reports on the moral conduct of individual human beings from his Eight Envoys (*ba shizhe* 八使者) and adjusts the celestial records of the destiny of each individual in accordance with these reports (see for instance *★Wushang biyao*, 9.4a–11b; Lagerwey 1981b, 88–89). As a corresponding supreme god of the inner pantheon of the human body, addressed in Taoist physiological and meditative practices and documented since the late Han or the early Six Dynasties, Taiyi has been viewed, furthermore, as representing the immortal identity, or “true self” (*zhenwu* 真吾, *zhenwo* 真我), of a person.



Fig. 71. Early representation of the Great One (Taiyi), shown on top of the Mawangdui manuscript *Bibing tu* 避兵圖 (Chart for Averting Weapons). Sketch reproduced from Li Ling 2000b, 234. See also Li Ling 1995–96.

The earliest discussion of Taiyi as a cosmogonic principle is found in the ★Guodian manuscripts of the second half of the fourth century BCE, in a separate text which begins: *Taiyi sheng shui* 太一生水, “The Great One generated Water.” In the speculative cosmologies of the Former Han *weishu* 緯書 (“weft texts”; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA), as well as in most subsequent cosmological thought, the role of water as the medium of the activity of Taiyi was replaced by the similar role of “breath” (★*qi*), and indeed in the *weishu*, Taiyi is commonly identified with the “primordial breath” (★*yuanqi*). It should be noted, however, that even in this context, the aquatic qualities of this breath are greatly emphasized, and the star that is the residence of Taiyi is viewed as the “source” of the breath, which is “scooped out” into the universe by means of the Northern Dipper (★*beidou*), and which “flows” through the universe and thereby animates the world. The concept of this movement of the primordial breath—translated into the vision of the procession of the high god Taiyi through nine celestial palaces (★*jiugong*)—constitutes a fundamental model of the structure of space-time, which to this

day is used in a large variety of Chinese techniques of divination. During the early Han dynasty it provided one of several templates for the construction of the Hall of Light (*★mingtang*, in which the emperor personified the god as he performed his annual ritual circumambulations), and it has continued to be used as a fundamental pattern for the structure of the Taoist ritual area, in which the priests likewise identify with Taiyi as they perform, for instance, the practice of *★bugang*, “walking along the guideline” (often in accordance with the same patterns as those used in the divinatory practices).

The definition of the term Taiyi as referring to the “true self” or “primordial spirit” (*yuanshen* 元神) of the practitioner of Taoist methods is clearly related to some earlier uses of the term in philosophical texts of the late Warring States, where it appears to refer to a kind of mystical experience of “oneness,” accessible for instance in ritual (Eno 1990, 174–79). In the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Springs and Autumns of Mr. Lü; 239 BCE; trans. Knoblock and Riegel 2000, 136), the root of music is said to be in Taiyi, and in the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites, compiled during the early Han; trans. Legge 1885, 1: 386–88) we are told that ritual is based on “Great Oneness” (*Dayi* 大一). In his commentary on the *★Huainan zi* (139 BCE), Gao You 高誘 (fl. 205–212 CE) in one place defines the concept by saying that “Taiyi is the primordial spirit that embraces all things” (14.462), and the *Huainan zi* itself concludes a discussion of practices of concentrating the *★hun* and *po* souls inside one's body by stating that “in this way one may communicate with the Great One (or: Great Oneness) above. The essence of Great Oneness communicates with the Way of Heaven” (9.270). Indeed, the cult of Taiyi adopted at court in 134 BCE by Han Wudi appears to have had a good deal in common with popular shamanic practices, and also for this reason was apparently abhorred by some Confucian officials. In a way new to imperial worship, the high god was expected to descend into the ritual area, as prescribed for instance in some *weishu*, which refer to the constellation of the Three Terraces (*santai* 三台, three pairs of stars in *Ursa Major*; see [fig. 23](#)) as representing “the road along which Taiyi descends and ascends,” and which state that: “When the drums sound in the eastern suburb the ancestral souls arrive, and the god Taiyi descends” (Andersen 1989–90b, 29–30).

While the position of Taiyi in imperial ritual declined around the beginning of the Common Era, the god retained his position at a more popular level of society, and he once again came to the fore in the early

Taoist movements of the latter half of the second century. The god was important in the movement of the ★Yellow Turbans, and he is frequently mentioned in the grave writs that document the mortuary liturgy of the ★Zhengyi tradition of the Six Dynasties. We know, furthermore, from the account of Taoist liturgy found in the *Suishu* (History of the Sui; completed 644), that in the capacity of a supreme ruler of the firmament—and a supreme regulator of human destinies—Taiyi was placed as the highest among the array of stellar gods to whom offerings were presented in the nightly ★*jiao* ceremonies, which had attained paramount importance by this time (35.1092–93).

A reminder of this role is found also in the ancient Zhengyi practice of Presenting the Memorial (★*baibiao*), that is, the Taoist priest's meditative journey to heaven in order to deliver a written prayer to the supreme gods, which was transmitted during the Song dynasty in the texts of the ★Tianxin zhengfa, and which has survived in many present-day liturgies. In the texts prescribing the form of the audience in heaven, the highest level of deity is referred to as the Most High (Taishang 太上). The Most High is accompanied by a deputy ruler of the universe, who executes his will concerning the petition, and who is none other than Taiyi.

*Poul ANDERSEN*

▣ Andersen 1989–90b; Cammann 1961, 60–76; Ding Peiren 1984; Kalinowski 1985; Kaltenmark 1961; Kohn 1989a, 134–37; Li Ling 1991; Li Ling 1994; Li Ling 1995–96; Little 2000b, 242–43; Loewe 1974, 169–92; Maspero 1951; Robinet 1993, 119–51; Robinet 1995c; Wang Shiren 1987; Zhou Shirong 1990

※ *sanyi; yi* [oneness]; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

Taiyi jiao

太一教

Teaching of the Great One



The Taiyi jiao is one of the new religious schools that appeared in the mid-twelfth century in northern China, then under the rule of the Jin (Jurchen) dynasty. Like similar contemporary movements, including the ★Quanzhen, ★Zhen dadao and Buddhist Dhūta 頭陀 schools, the Taiyi jiao developed its own organization and initiation structures and spread rapidly thanks to the participation and support of a large number of lay adepts. After the medieval peasant Taoist communities—in which all members received a formal religious education—disappeared around the end of the first millennium, the Taiyi jiao can be seen to have arisen as a reaction to the sclerosis of Taoist institutions, where access to priesthood was monopolized by hereditary families protected by the state. In fact, the Taiyi jiao and other contemporary movements played an important role in the diffusion and renewal of Taoist ritual and practice in society at large.

The Taiyi predication began around 1138 with Xiao Baozhen 蕭抱珍 (?–1166; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 331), who was active in present-day northern Henan. As early as 1148, Xiao was recognized by the Jin court and set up an independent organization conceived along familial lines. He later chose one of his children as his successor, and all subsequent patriarchs had to change their family names to Xiao. The functions of patriarch and other important positions were usually held by persons whose ancestors had been influential patrons or members of the school. While control of the order was limited to a few families, however, access to initiation seems to have been largely open, and ordinations were apparently conducted on a large scale.

Such proselytizing, as well as the probably illegal public initiations given by Taiyi masters, caused the order to run into conflict with the Jin rulers in 1190. At that time, however, the Jin were rapidly weakening, and the confrontation was short-lived and devoid of any fundamental ideological contradiction. A few decades later, the Mongols acknowledged the positive role played by the Taiyi jiao in Chinese society, recognized its independent institutions, and granted it almost complete autonomy. Khubilai khan (Shizu, r. 1260–1294) also bestowed special favors on the fourth patriarch, ★Xiao Fudao (fl. 1214–52), whom he greatly esteemed. Taiyi shrines were built in the new capital, Beijing, and its leaders were regularly invited to perform state rituals well into the mid-fourteenth century. The Taiyi jiao is not heard of anymore after this period, and does not seem to have survived the demise of the Yuan.

Like the contemporary Zhen dadao, the Taiyi jiao has not left written

sources either in the *Daozang* or elsewhere. Therefore, we have only the faintest idea of the contents of Taiyi scriptures. The little we know suggests that individual practices such as ★*neidan* did not acquire the importance they had in the Quanzhen or Zhen dadao orders. The history of the Taiyi jiao is mainly documented by stele inscriptions, many of which are preserved in the collected works of Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304), an eminent scholar at the court of Khubilai who was a native of Jixian 汲縣 (Henan), the cradle of Taiyi, and maintained close contacts with the Taiyi hierarchy. The scope of Taiyi's influence, however, can be gauged from the tomb inscriptions of some wealthy community leaders of this period who, although mainly active as farmers or merchants, also benefited from initiation into Taiyi and acted as religious leaders.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Chen Yuan 1962, 110–49; Hu Qide 1996; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: 2–20 and 267–84; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 158–63; Yao Tao-chung 1980, 27–33

※ Xiao Fudao

### *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*

### 太一金華宗旨

### The Ultimate Purport of the Golden Flower of the Great One

Better known as the *Secret of the Golden Flower*, this is a famous ★*neidan* text that the Western world came to know through Richard Wilhelm's 1929 translation. The Chinese text used by Wilhelm was edited by Zhanran Huizhen zi 湛然慧真子 in 1921. Besides this, at least five more versions are available, all of which date to the late Qing dynasty and are ascribed to ★Lü Dongbin, who revealed them through spirit writing (see ★*fuji*):

1. *Xiantian xuwu Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* 先天虛無太一金華宗旨 (The Ultimate Purport of the Golden Flower of the Great One of the

- Emptiness before Heaven), in *j.* 49 of Shao Zhilin's 邵志琳 (1748–1810) *★Lüzu quanshu* (Complete Writings of Ancestor Lü; 1775).
2. *Fuyou shangdi tianxian jinhua zongzhi* 孚佑上帝天仙金華宗旨 (The Ultimate Purport of the Golden Flower of Celestial Immortality by the Highest Emperor, Savior of the Needy), in *j.* 2 of Jiang Yuanting's 蔣元庭 (1755–1819) *Quanshu zhengzong* 全書正宗 (The Orthodox Tradition of the Complete Writings; 1803). This version is associated with the Tianxian 天仙 (Celestial Immortal) school, a lineage related by spirit writing to Lü Dongbin under the guide of Liu Shouyuan 柳守元 and Jiang Yuanting.
  3. *Xiantian xuwu Taiyi jinhua zongzhi*, in *j.* 10 of the *Lüzu quanshu zongzheng* 呂祖全書宗正 (The Orthodoxy of the Tradition of the Complete Writings by Ancestor Lü; 1852), edited by Chen Mou 陳謀.
  4. *Jinhua zongzhi*, in the *★Daozang jiyao* (vol. 12). This version is identical to no. 2 above and was probably already included in the edition of the *Daozang jiyao* published by Jiang Yuanting between 1796 and 1819.
  5. *Lü zushi xiantian xuwu Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* 呂祖師先天虛無太一金華宗旨 (The Ultimate Purport of the Golden Flower of the Great One of the Emptiness before Heaven by the Ancestral Master Lü), first published in *★Min Yide's* (1748–1836) *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書 (Collection of the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 184–86) and in his *★Daozang xubian* (Sequel to the Taoist Canon; 1834). The text is presented as having been transmitted in 1688 by Lü Dongbin to *★Longmen* masters at the Longqiao 龍嶠 (Dragon's Ridge) hermitage of Mount Jingai. The Longmen school recognized this as its fundamental doctrinal text.
  6. *Changsheng shu* 長生術 (The Art of Long Life), in Huizhen zi's *Changsheng shu Xuming fang hekan* 長生術續命方合刊 (Joint Publication of *The Art of Long Life* and *Methods for Increasing the Vital Force*; 1921).

In all the above editions, the text is divided into thirteen sections. The first section presents important variants in the fifth edition, which gives much

more information on the method of opening the Heart of Heaven (★*tianxin*) than in other versions. Moreover, in the fifth and sixth edition each section is followed by a commentary. Except for these differences, the texts of the six editions are virtually identical.

The *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* symbolizes the achievement of the alchemical work as the generation of the Golden Flower, here meant as a synonym for the Golden Elixir (★*jindan*) and a metaphor for the transmutation of spiritual light, or the return of the Spirit to the Dao. The main practice of this text is the “reversion of the light” (*huiguang* 回光), inspired by the contemplative method of *zhiguan* 止觀 (*śamatha-vipaśyanā*; “cessation and insight”) as practiced within the Tiantai 天台 school of Buddhism (see ★*guan*), but also explained in terms of the Confucian *zhizhi* 止知 (cessation of knowledge) as the means for stopping the discursive flow of thinking and contemplating the real nature of the mind.

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Cleary 1991b (trans.); Esposito 1996; Esposito 1998c; Miyuki Mokusen 1967; Mori Yuria 1998; Mori Yuria 2002; Wilhelm R. 1929 (trans.)

※ Lü Dongbin; *neidan*; Longmen

## Tan Chuduan

譚處端

1123–85; original *ming*: Yu 玉; *zi*: Boyu 伯玉, Zhengtong 正通; *hao*:  
Changzhen 長真 (Perpetual Reality)

Tan Chuduan, the oldest of ★Wang Zhe's disciples, converted to Taoism at the ripe age of forty-four. The son of an artisan's family, he came to Wang Zhe as a sick man looking for a cure. Wang healed him just by touching him and having Tan share a bath with him. Tan then left his wife and children and followed Wang until the latter's death. He subsequently headed for Luoyang

(Henan) where he led a life of urban asceticism (*dayin* 大隱 or “great reclusion”), living in the midst of the city and taking part in all sorts of social activities while practicing non-attachment to worldly affairs. He was given a hermitage near an abbey famous for its association with an eleventh-century ★*neidan* master. From this humble position, he began to teach and attracted a wide audience. He also effected miracles by invoking the deity ★Zhenwu.

Tan's poetry is anthologized in the *Shuiyun ji* 水雲集 (Anthology of Water and Clouds; 1187; CT 1160). One of his most famous poems, the “Baigu shi” 白骨詩 (Verses on the Bones of the Dead), is an excellent example of ★Quanzhen predication: as the human body is bound to decay faster than we think, we should generate something immortal inside of us before it is too late. The same theme is found in the poetry of Wang Zhe and other Quanzhen masters, and was depicted in the murals of the ★Yongle gong. The poem was carved on stone in Luoyang in 1183, with an illustration.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 160–62; Endres 1985; Hachiya Kunio 1989; Idema 1993; Marsone 2001a, 103–4; Reiter 1996

※ Quanzhen

Tan Zixiao

譚紫霄

fl. 935-after 963

Tan Zixiao, a ★*daoshi* from Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian), is referred to in early historical sources as the original founder of the ★Tianxin zhengfa tradition. He served the fourth ruler of the Kingdom of Min 閩, Wang Chang 王昶 (r. 935–39), from whom he received the title Zhengyi xiansheng 正一先生 (Elder of Orthodox Unity); and he collaborated with the medium Chen Shouyuan 陳守元, who at the court of Wang Chang was elevated to the

status of Celestial Master (see *Xin Wudai shi*, 68.851). According to the biography of Tan in the *Nan Tangshu* 南唐書 (History of the Southern Tang; 17.2b–3a) by Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210), Chen had found “the talismans of ★Zhang Daoling of the Han, written in red and black as fresh as new,” on several tens of wooden slips buried in the ground in a bronze bowl. Not knowing how to use them he passed them on to Tan, who penetrated their mysteries and thereafter declared that he had obtained the Tianxin zhengfa of Zhang Daoling.

The sources agree that after the fall of Min, Tan went into hiding on Mount Lu (★Lushan) in northern Jiangxi, where he acquired a following of more than a hundred students, and where, according to the *Lushan ji* 廬山記 (Records of Mount Lu; 2.1033–34), by Chen Shunyu 陳舜俞 (eleventh century), he established the Qiyin guan 棲隱觀 (Abbey of Dwelling in Concealment). Lu You ends his account by stating that those today who declare themselves to be of the Tianxin tradition “refer to [Tan] Zixiao as their patriarch.” This assessment is confirmed both by the earliest compilation of the methods of the Tianxin tradition, the ★*Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (2.6b), which in its list of patriarchs refers to Tan Zixiao and his alleged student, ★Rao Dongtian, as the two “transmitters of the teaching” (*chuanjiao* 傳教), and by the account of the history of the tradition given by Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25) in the ★*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (CT 1223, 43.16b–17a). According to Jin, the core elements of the Tianxin tradition originally derived from the tradition of the first Celestial Master of the Han dynasty. Having fallen into oblivion during the period of disunity, he continues, they were restored only after the Five Dynasties, by Tan Zixiao and Rao Dongtian.

The teachings and practices of Tan Zixiao are described both by Lu You and in Ma Ling's 馬令 *Nan Tangshu* (24.2b–3a; 1105), in terms that are closely similar to the methods described in the texts of the Tianxin tradition. Both authors emphasize his use of talismans in order to control demonic forces and cure illness, and Ma Ling adds a number of details that are in fact typical of the tradition, such as the methods of ★*bugang*, the “method of lighting lamps” (*randeng fa* 燃燈法), as well as the specific worship of the Black Killer (★Heisha).

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Andersen 1991, 14–18 and 81–96; Andersen 1996, 145–47; Davis E. 2001, 21–24; Lin Shengli 1989; Qing Xitai 1999; Schafer 1954, 96–100

※ Tianxin zhengfa

*tâng-ki* (or *jitong*)

童乩 (or: 乩童)

spirit-medium

*Tâng-ki* and *jitong* are the Hokkien and Mandarin versions respectively of a term used in Taiwanese popular religion for spirit-mediums, i.e., for religious specialists subject to possession by spirits who speak and act through them. While different terms are used in other dialect areas, corresponding forms of spirit-mediumship can be found *mutatis mutandis* throughout China and among overseas Chinese communities. *Tâng-ki* can be of either gender, but male mediums are more common than female ones.



Fig. 72. A medium in Taichung, Taiwan, wields a wooden divination chair as the deity descends into his body (December 1977). Photograph by Julian Pas. See also [fig. 17](#).

The literal meaning of *tâng-ki* is “divining youth,” which points on the one hand to the fact that this role is often—though by no means exclusively—filled by young rather than older men. On the other hand, it refers to the widely held belief that the medium has been given a short life span and his service to the gods is a way to improve his fate and prolong his life. At a still deeper level, the entranced medium is believed to temporarily abandon his own destiny (*yun* 運) and become similar to a young child whose destiny is not yet determined at the time of birth, but only commences in later childhood (at any point between the ages of four months and ten years). Viewed in this way, the medium's powers are derived from a combination of the child's liminality with the authority of the possessing deity.

The relationship between a god and his prospective medium is usually initiated by the former, not by the latter. Mediumship does not carry high social prestige, in fact quite to the contrary is stigmatized to a certain extent, and many prospective mediums are therefore at first reluctant to heed the deity's call expressed in dreams, messages by other mediums, illnesses, and spontaneous trances. If he finally succumbs to the god's demand, the candidate undergoes a period of training under the direction of a ritual specialist, often a Red-head Taoist (i.e., a *hoat-sul*/*★fashi*; see *★hongtou* and *wutou*), who may later become his assistant, interpreter, and manager (*toh-thâu/zhuotou* 桌頭). Once this training is concluded, the new medium will serve as his patron deity's mouthpiece whenever that god's advice is needed. While in villages séances are generally held on an as-needed basis, urban spirit-shrines (*shentan* 神壇) may run a regular schedule of séances when clients may come to see the deity about any problems they are experiencing. Health problems are topmost on the list of issues brought before the gods and the dispensation of medical advice, herbal prescriptions, and efficacious talismans is an important part of a *tâng-ki*'s ordinary practice. In addition, *tâng-ki* are a common sight at temple festivals and processions where they represent the gods' active participation in the event.

The authenticity of the medium's trance is proven by feats of self-mortification such as drilling metal skewers through his skin, flagellating his back with a ball of sharp nails, and walking on a bed of burning coals. To the onlookers these feats are proof of the imperviousness to pain and serious injury produced by the presence of a divine spirit. Further evidence of authentic possession is provided by the behavioral changes in the medium that accompany the onset of trance, such as stylized body movements, altered



voice, and unusual speech patterns.

*Tâng-ki* are religious specialists proper to popular religion and are in fact one of its most important channels of communication with the gods. Since its inception, Taoism has tended to demarcate itself from popular religion in general, and has rejected the mediums as spokespersons of its “demons” in particular. Taoist disdain for the popular mediums continues to be expressed today in their almost complete exclusion from “orthodox” rituals conducted by Black-head Taoist priests (i.e., the ★*daoshi*). Red-head Taoists on the other hand maintain a much closer relationship with popular religion and its *tâng-ki*. As we have seen, they often serve as mediums’ managers, and mediums are frequently employed in the “minor rites” (*xiaofa* 小法) which are an important part of the Red-head ritual repertoire. This close cooperation of *fashi* and medium constitutes part of an extensive grey area of contact and overlap, where popular religion is pressed into the service of Taoism and Taoist ritual in turn is popularized.

*Philip CLART*

▣ Berthier 1987; Cheu Hock Tong 1988, Davis E. 2001, 87–114 and passim; Elliott 1955; Jordan 1972, 67–86; Kagan and Wasescha 1982; Schipper 1993, 45–55

※ *hongtou* and *wutou*; TAOISM AND MEDIUM CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## Tanluan

曇鸞

488–554

Tanluan is regarded retrospectively by Pure Land Buddhists in Japan as first of the founding fathers of their religious tradition. In China, by contrast, he seems chiefly to have been remembered, from the time of his first biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Sequel to the Biographies of Eminent

Monks) of Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), for his interest in Taoist macrobiotic techniques: a text on breathing exercises named there would appear to have survived in the *Daozang* as the *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 延陵先生集新舊服氣經 (Scripture on New and Old Methods for the Ingestion of Breath Collected by the Elder of Yanling; CT 825, and YJQQ 59). This interest is explained in his biography as having arisen as a result of the interruption by illness of his studies in the voluminous Buddhist literature of his day; he is even said to have left the Northern Wei regime under which he was born to consult ★Tao Hongjing in South China. Only a meeting with Bodhiruci, who is said to have recommended Pure Land literature as of infinitely greater efficacy than any Taoist work, set him forth on his Pure Land studies, now chiefly represented by his commentary, the *Wangsheng lun zhu* 往生論注 (Commentary to the Treatise on Rebirth; T. 1819; trans. Inagaki Hisao 1998), on a work ascribed to Vasubandhu.

The latter work does, indeed, show a familiarity with Taoism, and betrays some literary influence and one overt quotation from the ★*Baopu zi*. Yet doctrinally Tanluan quite clearly insists on the superiority of the Pure Land of the Buddha Amitābha as outside our world system: orthodox Buddhism would assert that Taoist heavens, were they to exist, could only belong to the defiled level of our own triple world system, albeit to its upper reaches. His ethical thought, too, assigns value only to the good actions of bodhisattvas, those dedicated to future Buddhahood, rather than to the actions of ordinary men or even gods. Evidently any form of syncretism is far from Tanluan's mind, and the sense of priorities dramatically conveyed by his biography (whatever its literal truth) is indeed confirmed.

But Tanluan's awareness of Taoism—perhaps even the choice of a Taoist name, Xuanzhong si 玄中寺 (Monastery of the Mysterious Center), for the monastery in which he resided—can certainly be understood against the evidence from epigraphy and manuscripts retrieved from ★Dunhuang for a tendency toward religious syncretism in Northern Wei society. The theoretical means put forward by Tanluan for asserting the superiority of Buddhism, for their part, seem of a piece with southern (primarily Liang dynasty) efforts toward distinguishing between native, “secular” Chinese culture (including religious culture) and the higher world of Buddhism, which allowed a place for both, thus in effect challenging any syncretic tendencies. Thus Tanluan, like many Buddhists after him, might take a legitimate interest

in Taoist macrobiotic techniques on the understanding that they were of limited, “this-worldly” value. Salvation from the cycle of birth and death, however, lay for him with Buddhism alone. Though Tanluan's efforts undoubtedly helped to legitimate the rise of a popular Pure Land Buddhism, a retrospective view of him that does not see his syncretic environment cannot do justice to his thought. Unfortunately, most writings on him do not grasp this point.

*T. H. BARRETT*

▣ Corless 1987; Michihata Ryōshū 1961; Michihata Ryōshū 1969

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

## Tao Hongjing

陶弘景

456–536; *zi*: Tongming 通明; *hao*: Huayang yinju 華陽隱居 (Hermit of Flourishing Yang)

An eminent scholar and calligrapher, an expert in pharmacopoeia and alchemy, and a highly productive author, Tao Hongjing was the actual founder of ★Shangqing Taoism and one of the brightest intellectual figures of the Six Dynasties. He was born in Danyang 丹陽 (near Nanjing, Jiangsu) from a southern family of landowners and scholars. His father and paternal grandfather were experts in medicinal drugs and accomplished calligraphers, while his mother and maternal grandfather seem to have been Buddhist devotees.

When he was barely aged ten, Tao studied the ★*Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals) and the practices of Nourishing Life (★*yangsheng*). When he was about twenty-five, Gaodi (r. 479–82), the ruler of the Southern Qi dynasty, appointed him tutor to the imperial princes. Gaodi's successor, Wudi (r. 482–93), designated him General of the Left Guard of the Palace in 483, but the following year Tao had to leave office to

mourn his mother's death. In 490, he travelled eastward to visit eminent Taoist masters, and possibly commissioned by the emperor to search for valuable relics. He renounced his official career in 492 and retired on Mount Mao (★Maoshan, Jiangsu), where he founded the Huayang guan 華陽館 (Abbey of Flourishing Yang).

When the Liang dynasty came to power in 502, Tao wisely remained on Mount Mao and was not affected by the anti-Taoist decrees of 504 and 517. In 514, Liang Wudi (r. 502–49) ordered the Zhuyang guan 朱陽館 (Abbey of Vermilion Yang) to be built on Mount Mao. Tao retired there the following year, but was often visited by the emperor as a private counselor and thus gained the appellation Grand Councilor amid Mountains (Shanzhong zaixiang 山中宰相). Very little is known of the last two decades of his life. He received the posthumous titles of Zhenbai xiansheng 貞白先生 (Upright Elder) and Huayang zhenren 華陽真人 (Perfected of Flourishing Yang), and in Tang times was posthumously made the ninth patriarch of the Shangqing lineage.

*The Taoist.* Tao Hongjing inherited the traditions of the *Daode jing* and the ★*Zhuangzi* along with ★Ge Hong's tradition of immortality seeking. Around the age of thirty, he received initiation into ★Lingbao Taoism from ★Sun Youyue. Tao also studied Buddhism and is even reported to have been the master of ★Tanluan (488–554). Some architectural elements from Tao's tomb, discovered on Mount Mao during the Cultural Revolution and matching a description given in the ★*Maoshan zhi* (Monograph of Mount Mao, 8.6a–b), bear an inscription calling him “a disciple of the Buddha and of the Most High Lord Lao.”

From 497, Tao experimented with sword foundry, sponsored by the emperor who lent him Huang Wenqing 黃文慶 (a blacksmith from the imperial workshops who also become a Taoist initiate in 505) as an assistant. Around 504, he turned to ★*waidan* with Wudi's support, and studied several methods that he successively discarded because of unavailable ingredients. Eventually, in 505, he decided to compound the Reverted Elixir in Nine Cycles (*jiuzhuan huandan* 九轉還丹). In spite of long research and preparatory work, the compounding failed twice, on New Year's day 506 and 507.

Disappointed, Tao decided to leave Mount Mao and engaged in a five-year

journey to the southeast, from 508 to 512. Another attempt to produce the elixir failed during those years. In 512, he reached the “Greater Mount Huo” (Da Huoshan 大霍山; Strickmann 1979, 152), the heavenly dwelling of two Perfected of Shangqing, ★Wei Huacun and Mao Ying 茅盈 (see ★Maojun). Tao may have been interested in computations that prognosticated the advent of a Sage in that *renchen* 壬辰 year (the twenty-ninth of the sexagesimal cycle; see [table 10](#) and the entry ★APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY), but he soon left the mountain and sailed to Muliu 木瀏 island, off the Zhejiang coast. Here his journey abruptly ended when an imperial messenger ordered him to return to the capital. Some accounts report that Tao eventually managed to compound either the Elixir of Nine Cycles or a white powder called Sublimated Elixir (*feidan* 飛丹).

Tao gathered several disciples, the best known of whom are Zhou Ziliang 周子良 (497–516), whom he met during his journey of 508–12, and Sun Wentao 孫文韜, an accomplished calligrapher.

*The author and bibliographer.* Tao Hongjing's literary career began early with the *Xunshan zhi* 尋山志 (Monograph of Mount Xun). This short text, written at the age of fifteen, is found in his collected writings, the *Huayang Tao yinju ji* 華陽陶隱居集 (Anthology of Tao, the Hermit of Flourishing Yang; CT 1050, 1.1b–3b). In his youth, he also wrote essays, commentaries, and a large unfinished encyclopedia, the *Xueyuan* 學苑 (Garden of Learning), which he asked his nephew Tao Yi 陶翊 to complete when he retired on Mount Mao.

From 483, Tao became interested in the Shangqing revelations granted to ★Yang Xi more than a century earlier and decided to collect the original autograph manuscripts, using calligraphy as one of the criteria to establish their authenticity. He began to gather the manuscripts in 488 and his major acquisitions date from that year to 490. When he retired to Mount Mao in 492 he intended to edit the manuscripts, drawing inspiration from ★Gu Huan's now-lost *Zhenji jing* 真迹經 (Scripture of the Traces of the Perfected), an earlier but in Tao's view unsatisfying account of Yang Xi's revelations. In 498–99, supported by the emperor, Tao compiled and fully annotated the manuscripts. His enterprise resulted in two major works, the ★*Zhengao* (Declarations of the Perfected; CT 1016) and the ★*Dengzhen yinjue*

(Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Perfection; CT 421).

Tao also drew a table of Shangqing divinities and immortals, the ★*Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Perfected Numinous Beings; CT 167), now extant in a later edition by ★Lüqiu Fangyuan (?–902), and compiled a complete catalogue of Shangqing texts, originally found in the *Dengzhen yinjue* but no longer preserved. Moreover, the Shangqing revelations inspired Tao to compose a commentary to one of the texts received by Yang Xi, the *Jianjing* 劍經 (Scripture of the Sword), which is now found in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period; 983; j. 665). Later, in 517, Tao edited the *Zhoushi mingtong ji* 周氏冥通記 (Records of Mr. Zhou's Communications with the Unseen; CT 302; trans. Mugitani Kunio and Yoshikawa Tadao 2003, part. trans. Bokenkamp 1996a), based on the autograph manuscripts from the revelations bestowed upon his disciple Zhou Ziliang, who had committed suicide in 516 after receiving successive visions of the Perfected.

Tao was also interested in pharmacopoeia and medicine. Shortly after completing the *Zhengao*, he compiled the *Bencao jing jizhu* 本草經集注 (Collected Commentaries to the Canonical Pharmacopoeia), a reedition of a Han treatise ascribed to Shennong, the legendary inventor of agriculture and pharmacology. Tao appended a critical commentary including references to alchemical texts and information drawn from other early pharmacological sources.

An incomplete collection of fragments of Shangqing texts, the *Shangqing wozhong jue* 上清握中訣 (Shangqing Handbook of Instructions; CT 140), is ascribed to Tao Hongjing but is probably apocryphal. It is also unlikely that the commentary in the *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 明堂元真經訣 (Instructions on the Scripture of the Original Perfected of the Hall of Light; CT 424; see Schafer 1978a), attributed to Tao, was actually written by him.

During the last two decades of his life, Tao appears to have reduced his literary production. Only two stele inscriptions date from this period, one devoted to Xu Mai 許邁 (300–348; see ★Yang Xi), dating from 518, and one to ★Ge Xuan, dating from 522. Both inscriptions are found in the *Huayang Tao yinju ji* (CT 1050, 2.1a–8b).

Grégoire ESPESSET

▣ Bell 1987b; Chen Guofu 1963, 46–47; Giles L. 1948, 106–9; Ishii Masako

1971; Little 2000b, 180–81; Mugitani Kunio 1976; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 501–23; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 251–53; Strickmann 1979; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 93–122; Wang Ming 1984e

※ *Dengzhen yinjue; Zhengao; Zhenling weiye tu*; Shangqing

## Tao Zhongwen

陶仲文

ca. 1481–1560; original *ming*: Tao Dianzhen 陶典真

Tao Zhongwen was from Huanggang 黃岡 (Hubei). He started his career as a minor official, rising from the post of clerk to district official. In his youth, he learned the healing practice of “spells with talismanic water” (*fushui jue* 符水訣), which consisted of mixing the ashes of burned talismans into water and pronouncing spells over it. By ingesting or spitting this empowered water, one could exorcize demonic beings from a person's body or from a specific place. ★Shao Yuanjie regularly visited the residence of Tao's father when Tao was still a boy, which suggests that Tao's father was also interested in Taoist ritual practices. There is no evidence, however, that either Tao or his father were initiated Taoist priests.

Early in the reign of the Jiajing Emperor (r. 1522–66), Tao Zhongwen was in the capital waiting for an appointment in Shandong province. By then, Shao Yuanjie had already grown old and was looking for a successor. Since he could not exorcize the Black Disasters (*heisheng* 黑眚) from the imperial palace, he asked his old acquaintance Tao to do this for him. These demons caused recurrent mass panics during the Ming period and were feared by people of all social levels. Tao successfully expelled them with an exorcistic sword onto which he had spit some talismanic water. Later, his prayers healed the crown prince from pocks. On an imperial tour to the south, he predicted a fire in the imperial encampment and said he would be able to protect only the emperor. Things happened precisely as he had foretold.

In the middle of 1551, the threat of the Mongol king Altan khaghan

became especially severe. One of the leaders of a large Chinese colony in his territory claimed to possess a spell that enabled him to kill people and make city walls collapse. The official sources claim that this man was an adherent of the White Lotus Teachings (Bailian jiao 白蓮教), a common label for disapproved religious teachings and ritual (magical) practices (ter Haar 1991). Tao Zhongwen established a “ritual altar to quell the barbarians by setting up amulets” (*lifu zhenlu fatan* 立符鎮虜法壇), which was discarded after relations with the Mongols were again normalized.

Thanks to his ritual skills, Tao became an advisor to the Jiajing Emperor, and received honorific titles and a higher salary as well as expensive gifts. Shortly before he died, however, he asked to be dismissed on the grounds of his age and returned a whole range of gifts, which were used to restore the Lugou Bridge 蘆溝橋 (better known as the Marco Polo Bridge) near Beijing. Meanwhile, considerable resentment had built up among Confucian ideologues against the imperial ritual politics, undoubtedly strengthened by the emperor's favoring of Shao Yuanjie, Tao Zhongwen, and other ritual specialists. Tao particularly was seen as the cause of the Jiajing Emperor's increased interest in the practices of Nourishing Life (*★yangsheng*). Although much of the criticism does not seem to be based on fact, both Shao and Tao have received a rather negative historiographical judgement, which culminated in the posthumous removal of their personal honors under Jiajing's son and successor, the short-lived Longqing Emperor (r. 1567–72).

*Barend ter HAAR*

▣ Berling 1998, 966–70; Fisher 1990; ter Haar 1991, 151–52, 155–66, 174–76, and passim; Liu Ts'un-yan 1976d; Lü Xichen 1991, 361–83; Shi Yanfeng 1992

※ Shao Yuanjie; TAOISM AND THE STATE

*ti*

體

substance



See ★*ti* and *yong* 體 · 用

*ti* and *yong*

體 · 用

substance and function

The terms *ti* and *yong* are variously rendered as “substance” or “essence,” and “function” or “application” or “activity,” respectively. Together they constitute a paradigm that has played an important role in Chinese thought at least since the ★Xuanxue (Arcane Learning) speculations, when ★Wang Bi gave *ti* a metaphysical import by equating it with Non-being (★*wu*) or emptiness (*xu* 虛). The *ti-yong* polarity also provided a basic conceptual framework for Buddhist thought, which in turn was adopted by Taoism.

In Western terms, the relation between *ti* and *yong* parallels that between being and becoming, potentiality and actuality, subject and predicate, or language and discourse (although the terms do not have the same meaning, the relation itself is comparable). Language, for instance, is a potential tool for discourse, “that by which” (*suoyi* 所以) discourse is possible, and has no significance or efficacy if it is not practiced. Similarly, substance without function has no reality and remains what Taoists call “vain emptiness” (*wankong* 頑空). Moreover, the existence of *ti* and *yong* is reciprocal in the same way that a subject exists only if it has an attribute or does something. For example, “walking” as a substantive is the *ti* of “walking” as a verb. Without the act of walking, and without a subject who is walking, no walk is possible, but at the same time one cannot separate the walking person from his or her act of walking. *Ti* and *yong*, therefore, are two aspects of the same reality, different but inseparable. *Ti* is said to be the “ancestor” (*zu* 祖) or the “ruler” (*zhu* 主), but an ancestor does not exist without descendants and a ruler does not exist without subjects.

The distinction between *ti* and *yong* pertains to the domain “subsequent to form” (or: “below the form,” *xing er xia* 形而下), i.e., the phenomenal world

of thought and language; only within the phenomenal world can there be a distinction between noumenon and phenomenon, which are one and the same. The *ti* of the Dao is primordial Chaos (*★hundun*), and its *yong* is the Great Ultimate (*★taiji*), but the Great Ultimate is the *ti* of the Five Agents (*★wuxing*). From the point of view of the phenomenal world, *ti* is the noumenal world (*★xiantian*) and permanence (*chang* 常) or emptiness (*xu*); *yong* is the phenomenal world (*★houtian*) and change (*bian* 變) or fullness (*shi* 實, in the sense of “reality”). *Yong* is expansion, the movement to the outside and multiplicity (*shun* 順 or “continuation”), and *ti* is the return to the source, the movement of reversal (*ni* 逆 or “inversion”). *Yong* is the specific nature of each being, *ti* is their unity. In terms of movement and quiescence (*★dong* and *jing*), quiescence is *yong* in relation to the Dao or Emptiness (it is its functioning), but is *ti* in relation to movement, in the sense that it is the root of spontaneous functioning in accord with the circumstances. In alchemical terms, *ti* is Mercury and the inner nature, and *yong* is Lead and the vital force (see *★xing* and *ming*).

The dialectic relation between *ti* and *yong* is the same as that between Non-being and Being (*★wu* and *you*). In his commentary to the *Daode jing* (*Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義; CT 725), *★Du* Guangting applies the *ti-yong* dialectic in relation to Non-being and Being in the Buddhist sense, using a didactic dialectical procedure to analyze *li* 理 (the Absolute) and *shi* 事 (the phenomena). For instance, if one takes the Dao as fundamental Non-being and *ti*, then its name and workings are Being and *yong*, respectively, and everything is subsumed by Non-being. But one can take Being as *ti* and Non-being as *yong* to make Non-being operate.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Chan A. K. L. 1991b, 65–68

※ *dong* and *jing*; *wu* and *you*

*Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce*

天皇至道太清玉冊

## Jade Fascicles of Great Clarity on the Ultimate Way of the Celestial Sovereign

★Zhu Quan (1378–1448), son of the Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368–98), compiled this encyclopedic anthology on Taoist lore. A copy of the text in eight *juan* is recorded in the 1607 ★*Wanli xu dao zang* (Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Period). This manual (CT 1483) opens with a preface dated to the ninth day of the first lunar month of 1444, bearing Zhu's *nom de plume* Nanji xialing laoren quxian 南極遐齡老人臞仙 (Gaunt Transcendent, Long-lived Old Man of the Southern Pole). Elsewhere in the text the compiler's name is given as Nanji chongxu miaodao zhenjun xialing laoren quxian 南極冲虛妙道真君遐齡老人臞仙 (Gaunt Transcendent, Long-lived Old Man, Perfected Lord of the Wondrous Way of the Unfathomable Emptiness of the Southern Pole).

Zhu explains in his preface (1.1a–3a) that he sought to fill a gap by providing a comprehensive reference work on everything of importance to the history of Taoism. An introductory essay (1.3b–8b) entitled “Yuandao” 原道 (Original Way) traces the foundation of the Tiandao 天道 (Celestial Way), or Zhengdao 正道 (Orthodox Way), to ★Huangdi, Laozi, and ★Zhuangzi. In his eagerness to promote the superiority of indigenous over non-Chinese teachings, Zhu encouraged his readers to view the Orthodox Way and the legacy of Confucius as a unified heritage.

The table of contents (1.8b–9a) reveals that the copy of the text incorporated into the Taoist Canon originally consisted of two *juan*, with nine headings listed in the first and ten in the second chapter. The nineteen headings and representative subject matter of each are listed below, as recorded in the eight-*juan* text in the Taoist Canon:

1. “Cleaving Open Heaven and Earth” (“Kaipi tiandi” 開闢天地, 1.9a–21b): cosmology, astronomy, meteorology.
2. “Origins and Development of the Taoist Teaching” (“Daojiao yuanliu” 道教源流, 1.22a–33a): Laozi, Tianshi 天師, Nanpai 南派 (Southern branch), i.e., ★Nanzong, Beipai 北派 (Northern branch), i.e., ★Quanzhen.
3. “Draconic Script of the Celestial Sovereign” (“Tianhuang longwen” 天

- 皇龍文, 2.1a–25b): Taoist Canon, lost titles, anti-Taoist writings, ★Zhengyi registers and scriptures, ritual post titles.
4. “Orbiting Creation” (“Ganyun zaohua” 幹運造化, 3.1a–17b): Jade Hall choreography, manipulations, and directives.
  5. “Protocols for Offering Rituals” (“Jiaoshi yifan” 醮事儀範, 3.17b–25a): memorials, talismans, participants.
  6. “Mysterious Secrets of the Heart of Heaven” (“Tianxin xuanbi” 天心玄祕, 3.25a–31b): classified categories of ritual.
  7. “Order of Offices for Taoist Schools” (“Daomen guanzhi” 道門官制, 3.31b–34b): historical context for clerical titles.
  8. “Celestial Statutes in Red Script” (“Chiwen tianlü” 赤文天律, 3.34b–47a): regulations for clergy and laity.
  9. “Rules of Purity and Protocols” (“Qinggui yifan” 清規儀範, 4.1a–29b): ★*jiao* posts and malpractice penalties, monastic posts and etiquette.
  10. “Abbeys and Altars” (“Gongdian tanshan” 宮殿壇墀, 5.1a–10a): architectural terminology.
  11. “Protocols for Honoring Sanctity” (“Fengsheng yizhi” 奉聖儀制, 5.10a–15b): deities, images, shrines, decor, and offerings.
  12. “Celestial Music and Transcendent Accoutrements” (“Tianyue xianzhang” 天樂仙仗, 5.15b–30a): musical selections and instruments, banners, pennants, and lantern arrangements.
  13. “Protocols of Complete Perfection” (“Quanzhen yishi” 全真儀式, 5.30a–36a): meditation by clepsydra.
  14. “Cap and Gown System” (“Guanfu zhidu” 冠服制度, 6.1a–6a): headgear, garments, and footwear.
  15. “Implements for Cultivating Perfection” (“Xiuzhen qiyong” 修真器用, 6.6a–13a; two sheets of twenty-five columns each from the 1607 printing, corresponding to 6.12a6–13a10 and 6.13a11–14b5, are printed in reverse order in modern editions of the Taoist Canon): furnishings, utensils.
  16. “Numinous Script of the Jade Bookbag” (“Yuji lingwen” 玉笈靈文, 6.13a–36b): Xiandao 仙道 (Way of Transcendence), conversion of

non-Chinese kingdoms, guidelines for cultivating perfection.

17. “Auspicious Days for Cultivation of Reverence” (“Chaoxiu jichen” 朝修吉辰, 7.1a–28b): calendar of holy days, lists of festival days and calendrical taboos.
18. “Numerically Categorized Memorabilia” (“Shumu jishi” 數目紀事, 8.1a–32b): lists of terms, proper names and places by numerological association.
19. “Offerings for jiao Rituals” (“Jiaoxian jipin” 醮獻祭品, 8.32b–35b): foodstuffs and drinks.

Zhu draws on a diverse body of material in compiling this vade mecum, ranging from his own exegeses to hagiographic, narrative, and historical accounts. Corresponding passages to sources he fails to identify may often be found in other texts of the Taoist Canon. Excerpts of unit 4 in chapter 3, for example, find their match in the *Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 (Great Rites of the Jade Hall of the Three Heavens, of the Supreme Mysterious Origin; CT 220), ascribed to \*Lu Shizhong (fl. 1120–30).

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

☞ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 237–42; Boltz J. M. 1994, 10–11

※ Zhu Quan

*tianku*

填庫

Filling the Treasury

Filling the Treasury is a rite performed on behalf of the deceased by his family, with the purpose of returning the money that was borrowed when he was born to the Celestial Treasury. If this rite is not performed, it is thought

that the unpaid debt will negatively influence the fate of the deceased and his descendants. The amount of money to be returned is determined by the year of birth according to the Chinese zodiac; a handling charge is also taken into account.

The money to be returned to the Treasury is called “birth money” (*shousheng qian* 受生錢) or “natal-destiny money” (*benming qian* 本命錢), and consists of dozens of bundles of rectangular white paper (see ★*zhiqian*). At the beginning of the rite, the priest performs the mudrās of the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶, i.e., the Dao, the Scriptures, and the Masters). A record (*die* 牒) is issued in two copies (in the form of a divided talisman) as an auxiliary document for the deceased to take with him to deliver to the Treasury official. Besides the amount stipulated for the Treasury, money is also necessary for use in the underworld; a vast amount of Treasury money is accordingly burned to be sent to the soul of the deceased person.

The idea of “filling the treasury” is shared by both Taoism and Buddhism. The documents in two copies used in this rite had not yet taken a fixed form in the ★Lingbao rites of the Song dynasty, and their use was only formalized in the Yellow Register Retreat (★*huanglu zhai*) that developed from the Ming period onward.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Hou Ching-lang 1975; Lagerwey 1987c, 188–89; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 546–54; Seidel 1978a

※ *gongde*; *zhiqian*

*tianmen* and *dihu*

天門 · 地戶

Gate of Heaven and Door of Earth

While an early use of the term *tianmen* appears in *Daode jing* 10 (“the Gate of Heaven opens and shuts”), no mention is made of *dihu* until the Han

dynasty. A comparatively early example of both expressions used in conjunction is in the *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals of the States of Wu and Yue), a work probably dating from the Han period but containing later additions (Lagerwey 1993b). When the King of Wu, Helü (r. 514–496 BCE), was building the city walls of Suzhou (Jiangsu) according to the plans of Wu Zixu 伍子胥, he made a gate in the northwest to represent the Gate of Heaven, and a gate in the southeast to represent the Door of Earth.

The placement of the Gate of Heaven in the northwest and the Door of Earth in the southeast is explained by the principle of Chinese cosmography and topography that there is an “insufficiency” or a “gap” (*buzu* 不足) of Heaven in the northwest and of Earth in the southeast. The same directional axis is also used in Taoist rituals and ceremonies. As shown in ★Du Guangting's (850–933) *Jinlu zhai qitan yi* 金籙齋啟壇儀 (Liturgies for Inaugurating the Altar of the Golden Register Retreat; CT 483), four gateways are to be arranged around the altar: the Gate of Heaven to the northwest, the Door of Earth to the southeast, the Gate of the Sun (*rimen* 日門) to the northeast, and the Gate of the Moon (*yuemen* 月門) to the southwest.

In the context of self-cultivation practices, the Gate of Heaven is the nose and the Door of Earth is the mouth. The nose breathes in and out the pneuma (★*qi*) of Heaven, and the mouth absorbs the pneuma of the Earth through its intake of food.

*MIURA Kunio*

▣ Lagerwey 1987c, 11–17, 31–36, and passim; Matsumura Takumi 1992; Stein R. A. 1990, 209–22

※ COSMOLOGY

*Tianpeng zhou*

天蓬咒

## Tianpeng spell

Tianpeng (“Heavenly Mugwort”) is the name of an exorcistic deity related to the Northern Emperor (★Beidi). ★Tao Hongjing's ★*Zhengao* (10.10b) describes a meditation practice called “Northern Emperor's Method of Killing Demons” (*Beidi shagui zhi fa* 北帝殺鬼之法), which includes a powerful spell to repel demons. This is the Tianpeng spell, whose effectiveness is often mentioned in Tang and Song Taoist texts such as ★Du Guangting's ★*Daojiao lingyan ji* (10.7b). The spell (trans. Mollier 1997, 358) begins with the invocation “O Tianpeng! O Tianpeng!” and is structured in four-character verses, with twenty-four verses in total.

Tianpeng is depicted as an old man with a blue tongue, green teeth, and four eyes. Riding upon a dragon, he holds an imperial bell in one hand, and brandishes a sword or a large axe in the other hand with which he cuts down demons. Around the fourth century he came to be worshipped as a popular god, and the Tianpeng spell has existed since that time. By the Song period, he was called Tianpeng Yuanshuai 天蓬元帥 (Marshal Tianpeng).

*YAMADA Toshiaki*

▣ Liu Zhiwan 1987; Mollier 1997, 355–59; Strickmann 2002, 100–101

※ Beidi; Heisha

*tianshi*

天師

Celestial Master

Scholars generally apply the term *tianshi* both to the institutions characteristic of the early ★Tianshi dao (Way of the Celestial Masters) and to a lineage that claims to connect modern ★Zhengyi leaders back to ★Zhang Daoling (see [table 23](#)). Some have also begun referring to certain loosely defined traditions



of the Six Dynasty period as “the Southern Celestial Masters” (Nickerson 2000) and “the Northern Celestial Masters” (Kohn 2000c).

In earliest usage, *tianshi* was simply a term for an especially insightful teacher. In ★*Zhuangzi* 24 (trans. Watson 1968, 266), an unnamed young boy takes a moment away from herding horses to give advice about how to govern the empire; the Yellow Emperor (★Huangdi) kowtows and calls him *tianshi*. Later, *tianshi* is the term for an unnamed teacher in the ★*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), which depicts “conferences between a ‘celestial master’ and his disciples, a group of ‘Perfected’” (Hendrischke 2000, 143; Hendrischke 1985).

Based on modern Zhengyi tradition, twentieth-century scholars generally accepted that the first historical person to claim the mantle of *tianshi* was Zhang Daoling. But the historical facts of the Tianshi dao and related movements remain unclear. Various texts attribute various titles to Zhang Daoling, ★Zhang Heng, ★Zhang Lu, and Taiping 太平 leader Zhang Jue 張角. But it is uncertain which of them, if any, actually used the title *tianshi*; or to which of them, if any, it might first have been applied (see Kleeman 1998, 84).

In the Six Dynasties and Tang, the term *tianshi* was claimed by, or applied to, a wide variety of individuals in a wide variety of contexts. Few were named Zhang 張, and few had any direct connection to the early Tianshi dao leaders. For instance, the fourth-century *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 (Monograph of the Land South of Mount Hua) reports that in 277 one Chen Rui 陳瑞, who “styled himself Celestial Master,” was executed. In 424, ★Kou Qianzhi was declared Celestial Master by the Toba emperor Taiwu (r. 424–52). Zhang descendants occasionally appear in Six Dynasty materials, but it does not seem that they claimed, or were recognized as entitled to claim, the title *tianshi*.

During the reign of Tang Xuanzong (712–56), a “Celestial Master Chen” (Chen *tianshi* 陳天師) is said to have been among those who taught “ingestion of breath” (★*fuqi*). But the title *tianshi* may have been retroactively applied to him, for he does not appear in biographical texts until Song times. The same is true of Zhang Gao 張高, the only person surnamed Zhang to be mentioned as a *tianshi* in regard to Tang times (Kirkland 1984). The ★*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (19.7a–b) of Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307) says that Xuanzong conferred upon Zhang Gao the title of “Celestial Master

in the Han Lineage” (Hanzu tianshi 漢祖天師). But no such event is attested in Tang sources; no such title appears in Tang sources, in reference to Zhang Gao or anyone else; and Zhang Gao himself appears nowhere in the abundant Taoist literature of the period, or even in the voluminous writings of ★Du Guangting. Even if we credit Zhao's report, it represents Zhang as someone who “embraced the formulas of the Perfected Ones” and “would drink up to a gallon of liquor without becoming intoxicated,” suggesting that any such title was honorific, not confirmation that Zhang led a community that kept alive old Tianshi dao traditions.

Meanwhile, Tang sources do accord the title of *tianshi* to various men (apparently no women) who were likewise not in any lineage traceable to Tianshi dao leaders. One was a theurgist named Hu Huichao 胡惠超 (?–703), who was called “Celestial Master Hu” in an inscription text by Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿, ca. 775. By the early tenth century, *any* memorable Taoist was called a *tianshi*. The second Shu ruler denominated Du Guangting “the Celestial Master Who Transmits Truth” (Chuanzhen tianshi 傳真天師), and Du himself accorded the title “Celestial Master” not only to ★Sima Chengzhen but even to ★Ye Fashan. In the ★*Xu xianzhuan* (Sequel to Biographies of Immortals), Sima's successor ★Li Hanguang has *tianshi* in his title; and elsewhere two of Sima's other disciples are called *tianshi*. In the ★*Sandong qunxian lu* (Accounts of the Gathered Immortals from the Three Caverns) of 1154, even the poet ★Wu Yun is entitled a *tianshi*. However, no source firmly datable to Tang times mentions any *tianshi* surnamed Zhang.

Tenth-century writings by Du and others mention members of the Zhang clan who lived at Mount Longhu (★Longhu shan, Jiangxi) and purported to be descendants of Zhang Daoling. Their “propagandistic activity” (Barrett 1994b, 96–97) included concocting historical events and persons designed to portray themselves as heirs to an unbroken lineage of “Celestial Masters,” just as their contemporaries at Mount Mao (★Maoshan, Jiangsu) were fabricating a lineage of ★Shangqing “Grand Masters” (*zongshi* 宗師) to compete with the model that Chan Buddhists of that period had devised (Kirkland 2004). Much later, in Ming times, ★Zhang Zhengchang (1335–78) codified such claims in the ★*Han tianshi shijia* (Lineage of the Han Celestial Master), but Henri Maspero shows that its compilers “had no document covering the period which goes from the Han to the T'ang, and that their imagination alone attempted to establish relationships” between such figures

as Zhang Lu, Zhang Gao, and the twelfth-century figure ★Zhang Jixian (Maspero 1981, 398).

*Russell KIRKLAND*

▣ Barrett 1994b; Hendrischke 1985; Hendrischke 2000; Kleeman 1998, 66–80; Maspero 1981, 373–400

※ Tianshi dao; Zhengyi

## Tianshi dao

### 天師道

#### Way of the Celestial Masters

The founding of the Way of the Celestial Masters or Tianshi dao in modern Sichuan province during the second century CE marks the formal establishment of the Taoist religion. The movement traces its origins to a dramatic revelation to ★Zhang Daoling in 142 CE, when Laozi descended to him atop Mount Heming (★Heming shan) in order to establish a new covenant between the true gods of Taoism and the people. The central feature of its teaching was a rejection of the blood sacrifice offered to the traditional gods of the community and the state in favor of a new relationship between humankind and a newly revealed transcendent pantheon of Taoist deities. The movement was originally theocratic in concept, seeking to create a utopian state that would replace the Chinese imperial institution and looking forward to a world of Great Peace (★*taiping*) that would take shape after a series of apocalyptic disasters and travails (see ★APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY). Although these millenarian beliefs faded, the Taoist community structure that had been developed by this time survived in local communities across China for centuries and the community libationers (★*jijiu*) evolved into a sacerdotal lineage of priests that have married, lived in the community, and passed on their office hereditarily for nearly two millennia (see [table 23](#)). Today, there is still a Celestial Master who claims direct descent from Zhang Daoling, and

the overwhelming majority of non-monastic Taoist priests both within China and in the Chinese diaspora have identified themselves as part of this tradition.

*Origins and early history.* The term Celestial Master (★*tianshi*) occurs first in ★*Zhuangzi* 24 (trans. Watson 1968, 266), where the Yellow Emperor (★Huangdi) uses the term to praise a sagacious young boy herding horses whom he meets while on a journey in search of the “great clod” (*dakuai* 大塊). There is also a Celestial Master in the ★*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace, parts of which may date to the Han), but there he is a wholly divine figure who instructs the Perfected (★*zhenren*) and responds to their questions. The Celestial Master who founded the Taoist religion is a mortal, Zhang Daoling, who is selected by the divine Laozi (★Laojun) to create a new covenant between humanity and the awesome powers of the true Taoist heavens. He transmitted leadership of the group to his son ★Zhang Heng, known as the “inheriting master” (*sishi* 嗣師), who passed it on to his son, ★Zhang Lu, known as the “continuing master” (*xishi* 系師). Zhang Lu should be considered the substantive organizer, if not the actual founder of the group, and he is the likely author of the only work we can associate with the early Celestial Master movement, the ★*Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing*, so his importance is not solely organizational.

The origins of the Way of the Celestial Masters are to be found in a variety of beliefs and practices of the Warring States and Han periods. The most significant of these were:

1. The Han Confucian understanding of an active Heaven and Earth that respond to human action (*ganying* 感應) through natural occurrences that reflect their approbation or condemnation.

Table 23

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1	★Zhang Daoling (second c.)	張道陵
2	★Zhang Heng (?–179)	張衡
3	★Zhang Lu (?–215 or 216)	張魯
4	Zhang Sheng	張盛
5	Zhang Zhaocheng	張昭成
6	Zhang Jiao	張椒
7	Zhang Hui	張回
8	Zhang Jiong	張迴
9	Zhang Fu	張符
10	★Zhang Zixiang (fl. ca. 600?)	張子祥
11	Zhang Tongxuan	張通玄
12	Zhang Heng	張恆
13	Zhang Guang	張光
14	Zhang Cizheng	張慈正
15	Zhang Gao (fl. ca. 735?)	張高
16	Zhang Yingshao	張應韶
17	Zhang Yi	張頤
18	Zhang Shiyuan	張士元
19	Zhang Xiu	張修
20	Zhang Chen	張諶
21	Zhang Bingyi	張秉一
22	Zhang Shan	張善
23	Zhang Jiwen	張季文
24	Zhang Zhengsui (fl. 1015)	張正隨
25	Zhang Qian Yao	張乾曜
26	Zhang Sizong	張嗣宗
27	Zhang Xiangzhong	張象中

- 28 Zhang Dunfu (fl. 1077) 張敦復
- 29 Zhang Jingduan (1049?-1100?) 張景端
- 30 ★Zhang Jixian (1092-1126) 張繼先
- 31 Zhang Shixiu 張時修
- 32 Zhang Shouzhen (?-1176) 張守真
- 33 Zhang Jingyuan 張景淵
- 34 Zhang Qingxian 張慶先
- 35 ★Zhang Keda (1218-63) 張可大
- 36 ★Zhang Zongyan (1244-91) 張宗演
- 37 Zhang Yudi (?-1294) 張與棣
- 38 Zhang Yucai (?-1316) 張與材
- 39 ★Zhang Sicheng (?-1344?) 張嗣成
- 40 Zhang Side (?-1353) 張嗣德
- 41 Zhang Zhengyan (?-1359) 張正言
- 42 ★Zhang Zhengchang (1335-78) 張正常
- 43 ★Zhang Yuchu (1361-1410) 張宇初
- 44 Zhang Yuqing (1364-1427) 張宇清
- 45 Zhang Maocheng 張懋丞
- 46 Zhang Yuanji 張元吉
- 47 Zhang Xuanqing 張玄慶
- 48 Zhang Yanpian (1480-1550) 張諺顛
- 49 Zhang Yongxu (?-1566) 張永緒
- 50 ★Zhang Guoxiang (?-1611) 張國祥
- 51 Zhang Xianyong 張顯庸
- 52 Zhang Yingjing 張應京
- 53 Zhang Hongren 張洪任
- 54 Zhang Jizong (?-1716) 張繼宗
- 55 Zhang Xilin (?-1727) 張錫麟
- 56

- Zhang Yulong (?–1752) 張遇隆  
57 Zhang Cunyi (?–1779) 張存義  
58 Zhang Qilong (?–1798) 張起隆  
59 Zhang Yu 張鈺  
60 Zhang Peiyuan (?–1859) 張培源  
61 Zhang Renzheng (1841–1903) 張仁畧  
62 ★Zhang Yuanxu (1862–1924) 張元旭  
63 ★Zhang Enpu (1904–69) 張恩溥  
64 Zhang Yuanxian 張源先
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The sixty-four Celestial Masters (*liushisi dai tianshi* 六十四代天師).

2. The prophecies and apocryphal texts (*chenwei* 讖緯; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA) that, appearing near the end of the Former Han, fed beliefs in esoteric meanings to traditional texts and encouraged the linking of signs or portents with dramatic political changes.
3. A widespread faith, evident first in Mozi 墨子 (ca. 470–ca. 400 BCE), that Heaven has impartial, unwavering moral standards for humanity and that its representatives will reward and punish individuals for their adherence to or transgression of these precepts.
4. The growing popular belief that divine teachers like Laozi have played a significant, recurring role in Chinese political history, appearing age after age under different names and guises to act as advisors to emperors, and that these sacred sages continue to appear today in human form to guide the people and the government onto the right path.
5. A conviction among many that current natural and human disasters reflected divine disapproval of an increasingly evil world, that conditions would only worsen as disorder and civil war left commoners unprotected against both human and demonic malefactors, and that supernatural aid was essential for survival against the increasing threat.
6. A belief among some that this situation would worsen until a crisis was reached, when many would die, after which a realm of Great Peace would be established, where all members of society would be cared for

and their basic needs met.

The central teaching of the early movement, the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity (*zhengyi mengwei* 正一盟威), was encapsulated in the Pure Bond (*qingyue* 清約): “The gods do not eat or drink, the master does not accept money.” This stricture demanded the rejection of blood sacrifice, central to popular and state cult, and the traditional gods that accepted it, in favor of transcendent Taoist deities who did not rely upon, and hence could not be swayed by, their worshippers, and Taoist priests who offered their services as appropriate, without the prompting of material payment. Some scholars attribute the “Outer” version of the ★*Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court) to the early Celestial Masters on the basis of two references in the “Dadao jia lingjie” 大道家令戒 (Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 172 and 175); they argue that meditation on gods of the body was an important part of Celestial Master practice (Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 263–272). We also know that they chanted the text of the *Daode jing* chorally, interpreting it according to the *Xiang'er* commentary. The histories record a great concern with sin, which was observed and recorded by the Three Offices (★*sanguan*, of Heaven, Earth, and Water), and could only be expiated through written confessions submitted to each office. These may be related to early codes like the ★*Xiang'er jie* (*Xiang'er* Precepts) and the ★*Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie* (The Hundred and Eighty Precepts Spoken by Lord Lao). The characterization of the movement's teachings in historical sources as focusing on the *guidao* 鬼道 or “demonic way” probably reflects the widespread concern about demonic attacks and the specific ritual methods promoted by the Celestial Masters to counter them. The *Xiang'er* commentary makes clear that members of the early movement saw themselves threatened not only by demons but also by demonically-inspired heretical movements.

The earliest hard evidence for the movement is a stele dated to 173 CE, which records the initiation of a group of new libationers or Taoist priests. The stele clearly names the group as the Way of the Celestial Master (Tianshi daofa 天師道法) and confirms that there were already rituals of initiation and a body of sacred, esoteric texts conferred on initiates. Historical accounts of the movement in the official histories of Later Han and Three Kingdoms periods were written by outsiders, but probably based on near contemporary



documents. They record numerous aspects of the administration of the early movement. They note that the territory under the Celestial Master sway was divided into twenty-four parishes (★*zhi*), each headed by a Parish-heading Great Libationer, that there were “charity lodges” (*yishe* 義舍) where the indigent and hungry could always find food, and that the parishes organized communal works projects to repair roads and bridges. The best known feature of the group was an annual tithe of five pecks (*dou* 斗, approximately 9 liters) of rice, which presumably supported the charitable operations and high officers of the movement. The institution of three annual Assemblies (★*sanhui*), held initially on seventh day of the first lunar month, the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, and the fifth day of the tenth lunar month, then moving to the fifteenth of each lunar month, seems to date back to this early stage of the movement, as do the “cuisines” (★*chu*) or non-sacrificial feasts hosted by the faithful on these occasions.

Zhang Lu was able to establish an independent base of power in Hanzhong 漢中 and northern Sichuan region during the 180s and although he never formally declared independence from the central government, he ruled over a theocratic state where church functionaries replaced government officials and the Celestial Master church assumed all the local functions traditionally filled by the government until 215. Historical sources record the defeat of another local Sichuanese religious leader, Zhang Xiu 張脩, during this period, but Xiu is sometimes identified as a ★Yellow Turban and sometimes as a follower of the Celestial Masters, and fragmentary surviving sources do not permit us to resolve the question. In any case, the nascent state fell before the armies of Cao Cao 曹操 in 215, but Zhang Lu was treated well and his offspring intermarried with the Caos. The followers of the religion were subject to a massive relocation that moved some of them northwest into the Gansu corridor and other east to the capital region in central North China. Around 300 a large group of those Taoists transported to the northwest, many of them non-Chinese minorities, came back to the Sichuan region and established the state of Great Perfection (★Dacheng, 306–47), with a Taoist master, ★Fan Changsheng, as Preceptor of State.

*Six Dynasties and Tang.* It would seem that Cao Cao's resettlements transmitted Celestial Master Taoism together with its distinctive community structure across North China, and that the mass migrations following the fall

of North China in 317 carried this movement to South China. In the fifth-century *★Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community), *★Lu Xiujing* laments that in his day institutions like the Assemblies were not being observed according to proper rules and libationer positions were becoming hereditary. Similar complaints were first voiced by Zhang Lu through a spirit medium in 255, as recorded in the “Dadao jia lingjie” 大道家令戒 (Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao; trans. Bokenkamp 1997, 148–85), and were the subject of *★Kou Qianzhi*'s reform in North China as well. We should perhaps understand these as reflecting conflicts inherent in the Taoist community structure rather than a serious transformation in Taoist practice. The date at which these Celestial Master communities disappeared remains one of the great mysteries of Chinese social history.

Celestial Master priests do not figure prominently in late medieval sources and the term Celestial Master had by the Tang been debased to the point that it could be used for any prominent Taoist, but this does not mean that the Celestial Master lineage and its scriptural heritage were insignificant. On the contrary, by the Tang, the Celestial Master scriptural corpus was ensconced at the base of the ordination hierarchy. The graded series of ordinations by which children grew into full members of the church were Celestial Master ordinations and the foundational set of precepts that linked all Taoists in a common ethical stance were Celestial Master precepts. Their scriptural legacy centered on a large number of model petitions (*zhang* 章) that working Taoists might use in responding to the varied supernatural threats their parishioners might face. The more exalted ordinations and their elegant revealed texts might have been more effective in garnering imperial favor and attracting clients, but it is doubtful anyone ever went long without recourse to the basic petitions or considered their own conduct without reference to the precepts that they learned as a Celestial Master Taoist. (For the later history of the Way of the Celestial Masters, see the entry *★Zhengyi*.)

*Terry KLEEMAN*

▣ Barrett 1994b; Bokenkamp 1997; Chen Guofu 1963, 98–101, 260–61, 275–76, and 308–69; Fukui Kōjun 1958, 2–61; Guo Shusen 1990; Hendrischke 2000; Kleeman 1998; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1995; Kohn 2000c; Maeda Shigeki 1995; Nickerson 2000; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 136–59, 309–406;

Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 146–92 and 2: passim; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 84–91; Ren Jiyu 1990, 42–57; Robinet 1997b, 53–77; Stein R. A. 1963; Zhang Jiyu 1990

※ Wudoumi dao; Zhengyi; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.2 (“Tianshi dao”)

## Tiantai shan

天臺山 (*or*: 天台山)

Mount Tiantai (Zhejiang)

Mount Tiantai, also referred to in Taoist sources by the names of its subsidiary peaks such as Mount Tongbo (Tongbo shan 桐柏山) and Mount Chicheng (Chicheng shan 赤城山), is part of a larger mountain range located in Zhejiang. Within Buddhism, Tiantai is synonymous with the lineage founded by Zhiyi 智顛 (530–98; Hurvitz 1962) that was named after that mountain. Although it is less commonly known, the mountain also had a long Taoist history, dating at least from the early fourth century when ★Ge Hong (283–343) mentioned it in his ★*Baopu zi* as a site perfect for training to become a transcendent and for compounding elixirs. More importantly, Mount Tiantai is remembered in Taoist history as a site associated with the revelation of ★Lingbao texts to ★Ge Xuan (trad. 164–244) and with the formation of the ★Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) during the Song dynasty.

In the Tang period, ★Sima Chengzhen (647–735) lived at Mount Tiantai at the Abbey of the Paulownias and Cypresses (★Tongbo guan), which later came to house a large Taoist library. Tiantai was also where ★Du Guangting initially trained under Ying Yijie 應夷節 (810–94). In the late Tang (ninth century) there was a movement away from Mount Heng (★Hengshan 衡山, Hunan) to Tiantai by Taoists in the lineage descending from Sima Chengzhen and leading to Du Guangting (Verellen 1989, 19–27).

Monographs on Mount Tiantai survive in both the Buddhist and Taoist

canons. The *Tiantai shan ji* 天臺山記 (Records of Mount Tiantai), compiled by Xu Lingfu 徐靈府 (ca. 760–841), is in the Taishō Buddhist Canon (T. 2096). The *Tiantai shanzhi* 天臺山志 (Monograph of Mount Tiantai), compiled anonymously in 1367, is in the Taoist Canon (CT 603). Mount Tiantai also became well known throughout China following Sun Chuo's 孫綽 (314–71) *You Tiantai shan fu* 遊天臺山賦 (Rhapsody on Wandering on Mount Tiantai), a description of a mystical ascent of the mountain that was later included in the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Literary Anthology; trans. Knechtges 1982–96, 2: 243–53).

James ROBSON

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 43–46, 111; Inoue Ichii 1931; Maspero 1914, 54–67; Mather 1961

※ Tongbo guan; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*tianxin*

天心

Heart of Heaven; Celestial Heart

The term *tianxin* first appears in the expression “Heart of Heaven and Earth” (*tiandi zhi xin* 天地之心), found in the “Commentary to the Judgements” (*Tuanzhuan* 彖傳) on the hexagram *fu* 復 (Return, no. 24) of the ★*Yijing*. Immobile in its essence, it is the central space, the interstice between movement and quiescence (★*dong* and *jing*). From the point of view of Heaven, it represents the pole star; from the point of view of human beings, it is the True Intention (*zhenyi* 真意; see ★*yi*).

Indiscernible if one tries to seize it, the Heart of Heaven is symbolized by the winter solstice (★*zi*), which in turn represents the moment when the One is about to divide itself into the Two and to manifest itself. In ★*neidan* practice it is located in different parts of the body, including the lower,

middle, and upper Cinnabar Fields (★*dantian*), corresponding to the levels of the navel, heart, and top of the head. However, in its ultimate sense as the Mysterious Pass (★*xuanguan*), the Heart of Heaven is beyond space and time. To experience its opening, one can temporarily identify it with the lower Cinnabar Field, the locus of transformation where one perceives the appearance of the initial sparkle of Pure Yang (*chunyang* 純陽). This is therefore only a place of momentary emergence, a temporary support that helps an adept to understand that the Heart of Heaven is ultimately the same cavity as the cosmos in which beings are born and die. The interstice that separates enlightenment from discursive thought can only be experienced through pure thinking—the True Intention—when the Center is established in the simultaneous and threefold experience of the three Cinnabar Fields.

*Monica ESPOSITO*

▣ Cleary 1986a, 76–77; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 338–40; Robinet 1995c

※ *xuanguan*; *yi* [intention]; *neidan*

## Tianxin zhengfa

### 天心正法

Correct Method (*or*: Rectifying Rites) of the Celestial Heart

The Tianxin tradition is the earliest, and one of the most influential, of the new Taoist exorcistic and therapeutic traditions that became important during the Song dynasty. It had already appeared in southeastern China by the tenth century, but the central corpus of texts, which represents its earliest documented form, was compiled only in the beginning of the twelfth century. They are, notably, the ★*Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (Secret Essentials of the Totality of Perfected, of the Most High, for Assisting the Country and Saving the People), contributed to the Taoist Canon of emperor Song Huizong by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 in 1116; and the works by ★Deng Yougong, who appears to have been active prior to this date, but whose main

work, the *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法 (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart of the Highest Clarity; CT 566), has survived only in an edition that seems to have been reworked around the middle of the twelfth century.

*Affiliation of the tradition.* It is clear from these texts that the term ★*tianxin*, used to name the tradition, refers to the constellation of the Northern Dipper (★*beidou*) as a whole, not only to the sixth star (which in some early divination texts goes by the same name). The texts likewise are unambiguous concerning the affiliation of the Tianxin tradition, in terms of its historical transmission in the world. Thus the *Zongzhen biyao* states that the Tianxin methods “issue from the lineage of Orthodox Unity (*Zhengyi zhi zong* 正一之宗). They constitute the central authority for impeaching and controlling [demonic forces]” (1.1a).

In subsequent Taoist history, this understanding of the affiliation and origin of the tradition gained acceptance not only among the practitioners of its methods, but also among writers and liturgists representing other traditions. Thus, for instance, the early-thirteenth-century exegete and codifier of the ★*Lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) tradition, Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25), opens his account of the history of the Tianxin tradition by stating that its core elements (i.e., the three fundamental talismans and the two basic seals) originally derived from the tradition of the (first) Celestial Master of the Han dynasty. Having fallen into oblivion during the period of disunity, they were restored only after the period of the Five Dynasties by ★Tan Zixiao and ★Rao Dongtian, who according to Jin placed them in a new, contemporary framework of codes and regulations (★*Shangqing lingbao dafa*; CT 1223, 43.16b–17a).

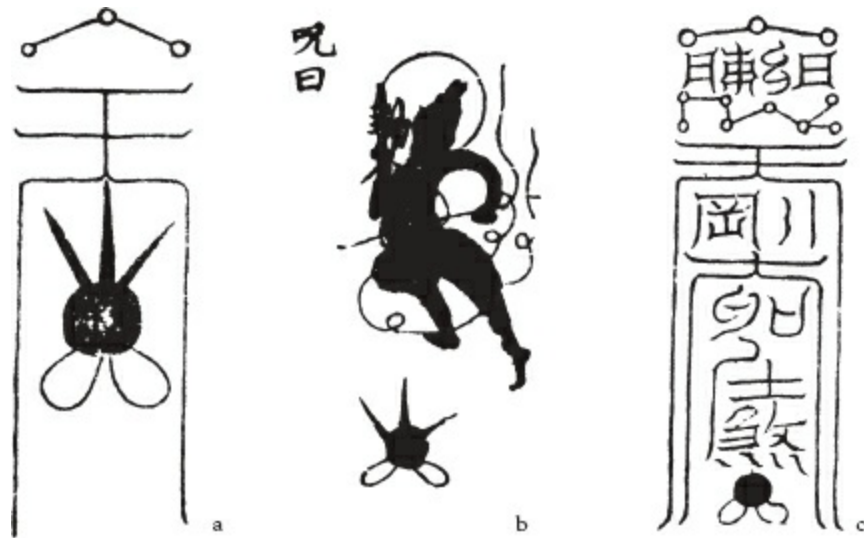


Fig. 73. The three main Tianxin zhengfa talismans: (a) *Sanguang fu* 三光符 (Talisman of the Three Radiances); (b) *Heisha fu* 黑煞符 (Talisman of the Black Killer; see ★Heisha); (c) *Tiangang fu* 天罡符 (Talisman of the Celestial Guideline). *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa* 上清天心正法 (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart of the Highest Clarity; CT 566), 3.4a, 6b, and 7a.

Some scholars have suggested that the tradition is nonetheless best understood as a development of the local cultic traditions on Mount Huagai (Huagai shan 華蓋山) in central Jiangxi, where Rao Dongtian had unearthed “the secret formulas of the Celestial Heart” in 994, and where the tradition was transmitted throughout the eleventh century. They have argued that the many indications found in Tianxin texts of an affiliation with the ★Zhengyi tradition are due to a later process of editing that reflects the growing influence of the organization of the Celestial Masters toward the end of the Song dynasty. It is true that we know very little about the form of the Tianxin tradition as it was transmitted during the eleventh century; however, some of the key elements of the tradition, such as the methods of ★*bugang*, and the all-important method of “submitting the petition” (that is, the meditational journey to heaven in order to present a written prayer to the supreme deities; see ★*baibiao*), are clearly cognate with, or in some cases descend directly from, earlier Zhengyi forms. The same is true for the quintessential “method of inspecting and summoning” (*kaozhao fa* 考召法, i.e., the method of capturing and expelling the evil spirits causing illness by entering people's bodies), which in the *Zongzhen biyao* is based on the sections of the ★*Jinsuo liuzhu yin* (Guide to the Golden Lock and the Flowing Pearls) that contain materials of the Zhengyi tradition. It is treated there as an ancient Zhengyi

method and referred to the *Zhengyi kaozhao yi* 正一考召儀, and the tradition practiced is defined as the “method of the Celestial Heart of the tradition of Orthodox Unity” (*Tianxin zhengyi zhi fa* 天心正一之法), a phrase that may conceivably be the earliest preserved use of the name of the Tianxin tradition, and which in any case clearly defines the tradition as a form of Zhengyi (*Jinsuo liuzhu yin*, 4.5a–7b; *Zongzhen biyao*, 7.3a–5a).

The notion of an original connection between the Tianxin and the Zhengyi traditions is supported, furthermore, by external historical accounts of the life of its purported first patriarch, Tan Zixiao, who was, to be sure, a ★*daoshi* from Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian), and not associated with Mount Huagai. According to the *Nan Tang shu* 南唐書 (History of the Southern Tang; j. 17) by Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210), Tan was active in the 930s in the Kingdom of Min 閩, where he received the title Zhengyi xiansheng 正一先生 (Elder of Orthodox Unity) from the ruler, Wang Chang 王昶 (r. 935–39), and where he transmitted “the talismans of ★Zhang Daoling” that he had received from the medium Chen Shouyuan 陳守元, who at the court of Wang Chang had been elevated to the status of Celestial Master. After the fall of Min, Tan went into hiding on Mount Lu (★Lushan) in northern Jiangxi, where he appeared in a nightly session “with disheveled hair and brandishing a sword,” to perform the “interrogating and controlling” (*kaozhi* 考治) of a female ghost who had afflicted the Military Commissioner of Wuchang 武昌 (Hubei), He Jingzhu 何敬洙, with illness. The obvious model for this appearance is the spirit-mediums (*shentong* 神童) that are known to have played a major role in Tianxin practices during the Song dynasty. It seems highly likely that the phenomenon of spirit-possession, and the writing of talismans by mediums in trance, contributed substantially to the creation of the talismanic core of the Tianxin tradition. In any case, the overall image of the origin of the Tianxin tradition that emerges from the material reviewed above clearly points to a renewal of Taoism, not simply from within, but as the result of a syncretism between popular mediumistic practices and the ancient forms of ritual transmitted by Zhengyi priests.

*Pantheon and practices.* As a deified patriarch of the Tianxin tradition, Zhang Daoling is referred to in the texts as the Envoy of the Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan shi 驅邪院使). The Department of Exorcism is the



celestial bureau to which Tianxin priests were assigned, and from which the army of generals and soldiers assisting them were called forth. It is presided over by the Northern Emperor (★Beidi), who is also referred to as the “ancestral master” (*zushi* 祖師), and who seems to be identical with the supreme god of the central heavens, the Great Emperor of Purple Tenuity (Ziwei dadi 紫微大帝). He is assisted by the “great generals” of the Department of Exorcism, notably the group of thirty-six generals headed by Tianpeng 天蓬, the deity corresponding to the ninth star of the Northern Dipper (see under ★*Tianpeng zhou*). Further down in the hierarchy there are the generals of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue 東嶽), who lead the ranks of spirit-soldiers assisting the priest.

Aided by this army, the Tianxin priest may perform services of exorcism on behalf of the living. He typically begins by assuming the persona of the deity presiding over the specific method applied, through the rite of “transformation of the spirit” (★*bianshen*), in which he visualizes himself in the shape and appearance of the deity in question, in order to take command of the army of spirits to be sent into battle against evil influences. A central role in commanding the presence of the spirits and using their powers against the forces of evil is played by the many talismans of the tradition, and in particular by the three fundamental talismans: *Sanguang fu* 三光符, *Heisha fu* 黑煞符, and *Tiangang fu* 天罡符 (fig. 73; see for instance *Shangqing tianxin zhengfa*, 3.1a–9a). As is clear from Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Heard and Written by Yijian), practitioners of the Tianxin tradition during the Southern Song commonly performed large-scale liturgies, typically referred to as “Offerings of the Yellow Register” (see ★*huanglu zhai*), and sometimes also funerary services.

*Social context and legacy.* It is quite clear from several anecdotes in the *Yijian zhi* that during the twelfth century the Tianxin tradition achieved a certain popularity among members of the scholar-official class, especially as a means of combating “illicit cults” (★*yinsi*) and destroying “heterodox” temples in the territories that they administered. However, the notion that essentially the tradition should be viewed as a reflection of the fundamental mentality of this social class, and as a set of ritual tools designed specifically to meet the needs of its members, surely is somewhat exaggerated. The emphasis on the so-called “bureaucratic metaphor,” and on the judicial

approach to ritual practice—as exemplified by the crucial method of “interrogating and summoning”—is by no means unique to the Tianxin tradition, but has been a staple of Taoist liturgy ever since its origin in the latter part of the second century CE. Moreover, a review of the social background of the many “ritual masters” of the tradition, referred to in the *Yijian zhi*, shows that the vast majority were either commoners or *daoshi*, while those who came from elite families, and who achieved fame for their talents, typically are shown to have studied with a master in order to be ordained as a Taoist priest, and thus to have become full-time clerics.

In any case, the passing interest among the class of scholar-officials in the cultivation of the methods of the Tianxin tradition, along with those of the new systems of Thunder Rites (*★leifa*), does not appear to have survived long after the end of the Song dynasty. The forms of the Tianxin tradition that have survived to the present day are, on the one hand, the elements found in current versions of Zhengyi liturgy in southern China and Taiwan and, on the other hand, the remarkable preservation of Taoism as a communal religion among the Yao living in South China, Laos, and Thailand (see *★TAOISM AND THE YAO PEOPLE*). The Yao themselves in some contexts refer to this religion as a form of Tianxin zhengfa, and they appear to have been converted to it already during the Song dynasty.

*Poul ANDERSEN*

▣ Andersen 1991, 14–18 and 79–131; Andersen 1996; Boltz J. M. 1985, 64–172; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 33–38; Boltz J. M. 1993a; Davis E. 2001, 21–24; Drexler 1994; Hymes 1996, 37–39 and 56–65; Hymes 2002, 26–46 and passim; Maruyama Hiroshi 1995; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 129–33; Qing Xitai 1999; Strickmann 1996, 231–41

※ For related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.7 (“Song, Jin, and Yuan: Tianxin zhengfa”)

*Tianyin zi*

天隱子

## Book of the Master of Heavenly Seclusion

Since its inception in the mid-Tang, the *Tianyin zi* has been one of the most popular works of Taoist meditation and is still widely read among ★*qigong* practitioners today. Besides its edition as an independent text in the Taoist Canon (CT 1026), a variant version is found in the Song anthology ★*Daoshu* (2.4a–6b). The received text is attributed to ★Sima Chengzhen (647–735); it is not clear whether he wrote it himself, however, or whether he received the teaching from the rather mysterious Master of Heavenly Seclusion (*Tianyin zi*) and only edited it. The text is very short and presents a tight summary of the essentials of Taoist practice in eight sections: 1. “Spirit Immortality” (“Shenxian” 神仙); 2. “Simplicity” (“Yijian” 易簡); 3. “Gradual Progress toward the Gate [of the Dao]” (“Jianmen”); 4. “Fasting and Abstention” (“Zhaijie” 齋戒); 5. “Seclusion” (“Anchu” 安處); 6. “Visualization and Imagination” (“Cunxiang” 存想); 7. “Sitting in Oblivion” (“Zuowang”); 8. “Spirit Liberation” (“Shenjie” 神解).

The first three of these serve as an introduction, first defining the goal of the practice as “settling the spirit within” and liberating oneself from all emotions, thus attaining immortality; then emphasizing the essential simplicity and directness of the teaching and its practice; and finally giving an outline and basic definition of the five key types of practices.

The sections on the five practices, then, begin with physical purification through keeping one's body and environment clean and abstaining from all defiling contacts and impure foods. They continue with the proper living arrangements in a small secluded hut that is neither too light nor too dark, neither too hot nor too cold, allowing the perfect balance of Yin and Yang. Meditation begins with visualization of the gods within the body, establishing concentration of mind and insight into the divine. It proceeds through a deep trance state of total absorption or oblivion, with the mind unmoving and the body solid and firm. Finally the spirit emerges from its physical shell and is liberated through moving along freely with the changes of the cosmos.

The general outline of practices in the main body of the text is further supplemented by a postface that bears Sima Chengzhen's name and specifies details of practice, including preparatory measures, such as swallowing the saliva, how to perform breathing exercises, and the best hours for food intake. It further describes how to circulate energy through the body and make it

penetrate the ★*niwan* cavern in the head, in each case giving optimal times and duration for the practice.

Livia KOHN

▣ Kohn 1987a, 145–55 (trans.); Kohn 1987b (trans.)

※ Sima Chengzhen; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*tiaoqi*

調氣

regulating breath

*Tiaoqi* usually refers to methods for regulating the outer breathing. These exercises are often performed before breath control and retention, and allow one to concentrate the mind and reach a state of quiet. Inspiration always occurs through the nose, called Gate of Heaven, and expiration through the mouth, called Door of Earth (★*tianmen* and *dihu*). Breathing should be subtle and inaudible.

Several methods originally found in the lost ★*Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life; early fourth century) are quoted in the ★*Ishinpō* (Methods from the Heart of Medicine) and in Tang sources on breathing techniques. These include ★Sun Simiao's *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand; *j.* 27); the *Daolin shesheng lun* 道林攝生論 ([Zhi] Daolin's Essay on Preserving Life; CT 1427); the *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing* 嵩山太無先生氣經 (Scripture on Breath by the Elder of Great Non-Being from Mount Song; CT 824; 1.4a; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 1: 16); the *Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue* 幻真先生服內元氣訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of the Inner Original Breath According to the Elder of Illusory Perfection; CT 828, 2b, and YJQQ 60.16a; trans. Despeux 1988, 69, from the version in the ★*Chifeng sui*); the *Tiaoqi jing* 調氣經 (Scripture on the Regulation of Breath; CT 820, 5a and 16a–17a; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90,

1: 73–74 and 88–89); and the *Qifa yao miaozhi jue* 氣法要妙至訣 (Wondrous Ultimate Instructions on the Essentials of the Breathing Methods; CT 831, 3b–4a; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 2: 205–7).

Strictly speaking, the *tiaoqi* method consists of inhaling and exhaling until breathing becomes regular, and of ingesting the regulated breath. However, *tiaoqi* sometimes refers to regulating and harmonizing inner breath. Examples of this practice are found in the *Qianjin fang* and in *Taiqing tiaoqi jing*.

Catherine DESPEUX

※ *yangsheng*

## Tongbo guan

桐柏觀

Abbey of the Paulownias and Cypresses (Mount Tongbo)

This important Taoist religious center is located on Mount Tongbo (Tongbo shan 桐柏山) in the ★Tiantai range (Zhejiang). The mid-Tang official Cui Shang 崔尚 claims that Tongbo and Tiantai refer to the same hills in south Zhejiang, but Tongbo was the original name. Its namesake was the sobriquet of immortal ★Wangzi Qiao, Tongbo zhenren 桐柏真人 (Perfected of the Paulownia and Cypress Grove). Legends recount ★Ge Xuan (trad. 164–244) building an alchemical retreat in 239, and Tang Ruizong (r. 684–90, 710–12) sponsored an abbey for the Taoist Master ★Sima Chengzhen (647–735) in 711. This abbey drew many Buddhists from nearby sanctuaries and became the site of a collection of Taoist writings, and the area took on Sima's name as one of the seventy-two Blissful Lands (★*fudi*). The official Xia Song 夏竦 praises the temple's fine Taoist manuscript collection, which was delivered to the Song capital by imperial order in 985.

Later accounts claim that ★Zhang Boduan (987?–1082) resided there around the time it was elevated from the status of Abbey (*guan* 觀) to that

Palace (*gong* 宮). The local official Cao Xun 曹勛 finished building a bigger complex in 1168, which burned down in 1367 but was rebuilt in Ming times, although Xu Xiake 徐霞客 (1587–1641) found it in disrepair during his visit in 1613. A major expansion and refurbishing in the Yongzheng reign period (1723–35) was followed by another Republican-era rebuilding.

Lowell SKAR

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 111

※ Tiantai shan; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

## Tongchu

### 童初

#### Youthful Incipience

This important ritual tradition, known as the Great Rites of Youthful Incipience (*Tongchu dafa* 童初大法), was a twelfth-century revival of the ★Shangqing tradition that integrated into it much from the widely circulated ★Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart) and Celestial Masters' ★Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) tradition. It continued to influence many traditions in Southern Song times. The system originated in the Mount Mao (★Maoshan, Jiangsu) area during the reign of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125). More particularly, it stems from the spiritual discoveries in the Tongchu Grotto-Heaven (Tongchu dongtian 童初洞天) by Yang Xizhen 楊希真 (1101–24), a rice merchant's son from Yizhen 儀真 (Jiangsu). Feigning madness, Yang entered the Huayang cavern (Huayang dong 華陽洞) in 1120, and returned the following year to teach the ritual system he had mastered while in the divine realm (★*Maoshan zhi*, 16.4b–5a).

The textual sources of the Tongchu tradition are found in four collections within the ★*Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual; CT 1220):

1. *Shangqing Tianpeng fumo dafa* 上清天蓬伏魔大法 (Great Rites of

Tianpeng for Suppressing Demons According to the Highest Clarity Tradition), in *j.* 156–68, which was compiled by Yang Xizhen and deals with rites of the Tianpeng 天蓬 spirit (see ★*Tianpeng zhou*).

2. *Sisheng fumo dafa* 四聖伏魔大法 (Great Rites for Suppressing Demons by the Four Saints), in *j.* 169–70, which describes methods dating from the Northern Song period.
3. *Shangqing Tongchu wuyuan sufu yuce* 上清童初五元素府玉冊 (Jade Fascicles from the Immaculate Bureaus of the Five Primordials, in the Highest Clarity Tongchu Tradition), in *j.* 171–78, which represents the extant core of the tradition. It names Yang Xizhen as the founder of the Tongchu tradition, but concludes with a postface dated 1225 by Jin Yunzhong 金允中 (fl. 1224–25), the ritual classicist of the Southern Song.
4. *Shangqing wuyuan yuce jiuling feibu zhangzou bifa* 上清五元玉冊九靈飛步章奏祕法 (Secret Rites for Submitting Petitions and the Soaring Pace of the Nine Numina, from the Jade Fascicles of the Five Primordials in the Highest Clarity Tradition), in *j.* 179–87, which claims to derive from the ★Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) master ★Wang Wenqing (1093–1153), and contains methods of presenting petitions that originate from the Celestial Master's tradition.

The Tongchu ritual codes link the Four Saints (*sisheng* 四聖) of the Tianxin system with ★Zhang Daoling. They also include conspicuous references to the Fire-bell talisman (*huoling fu* 火鈴符; see ★*huoling*) and the Tianpeng spell (★*Tianpeng zhou*), both derived from Shangqing sources.

Lowell SKAR

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 30–33

Tongdao guan

通道觀

## Abbey of the Pervasive Way (1. Chang'an; 2. Mount Zhongnan)

Two temples called Tongdao guan existed during the Northern Zhou period (557–81). The first, which was actually closer to an institute for religious studies than a temple, was established in Chang'an by Zhou Wudi (r. 560–78). Pursuing a policy to build a rich country and a strong army, Zhou Wudi issued a decree against both Taoism and Buddhism in the fifth lunar month of 574 and determined to close down any shrines not mentioned in the literature on the Confucian rites. A few weeks later, however, he set up the Tongdao guan, which had as its basis the unity of the Three Teachings, centering on Confucianism. Of the 120 “Tongdao guan scholars” who worked there, the names of only five are known: ★Fu Yi (554–639), Zhang Songzhi 張嵩之, Changsun Zhi 長孫熾, and the Buddhists Pu Kuang 普曠 and Yan Cong 彥琮. In 582, as Sui Wendi (r. 581–604) merged the Tongdao guan with the largest Taoist temple in Chang'an, the ★Xuandu guan (Abbey of the Mysterious Metropolis). The reconstituted Xuandu guan continued to exist in Chang'an until the time of Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56).

The second Tongdao guan was a Taoist temple established at Tiangu 天谷 (Shaanxi) at the foot of Mount Zhongnan (Zhongnan shan 終南山), southwest of Xi'an, at around the same time the other Tongdao guan was founded in Chang'an. Ten well-known Taoists who resided there, including Yan Da 嚴達 (514–609), Wang Yan 王延 (520–604), and Yu Changwen 于長文, were collectively known as the “Ten Elders of Tiangu” (Lagerwey 1981b, 15) and edited and revised Taoist texts. There are no clear records of this temple after the Northern Zhou period.

*YAMADA Toshiaki*

■ Kubo Noritada 1980; Lagerwey 1981b, 4–21; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 135–39; Yamazaki Hiroshi 1979

※ Xuandu guan; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

*tou longjian*



## 投龍簡

### Casting Dragon Tablets

The ritual of Casting Dragon Tablets evolved from the “handwritten documents of the Three Offices” (*sanguan shoushu* 三官手書; see ★*sanguan*) of the early Celestial Master movement (★Tianshi dao). To heal their sick parishioners, priests of that order made three copies of a confessional in which the ill declared their desire to repent. Then the clerics dispatched the first copy to the Office of Waters by sinking it in a river, the second to the Office of Earth by burying it underground, and the last to the Office of Heaven by depositing it on a mountain (Nickerson 1997, 232–34).

The oldest protocols for performing the Casting of Dragon Tablets appear in the *Chishu yujue miaojing* 赤書玉訣妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of Jade Instructions in Red Script; CT 352, 1.5a–7b), a ★Lingbao text of the fifth century. Those conventions called for inscribing writs in vermilion ink on three tablets of ginkgo wood 34 cm long and 6 cm wide. The texts of those documents supply particulars about ordinands, priests, or patrons, including their names, ages, and months of birth. The writs were petitions or prayers addressed to the rulers of the waters, holy mountains, and soil. In them supplicants implored the gods to excise records of their sins in divine registers (★LU) so that they could attain immortality. The tablets were then wrapped in azure paper, bound with azure thread and tossed into rivers, thrown into mountain caves, and buried in the ground at the petitioner's residence along with nine gold knobs and a gold dragon.

Salvation of this sort was strictly a bureaucratic affair in which the remission of sins was a matter of altering records. The rite did not require the supplicant to enumerate any specific sins or to express any contrition for them.

*Charles D. BENN*

▣ Benn 1991, 69–71; Chavannes 1919

Tudi gong

## 土地公

### Earth God

Shrines to the Earth God (also known as Fude zhengshen 福德正神, Orthodox Deity of Blessings and Virtue) are the most common religious buildings in the Chinese countryside, each village or neighborhood possessing at least one such shrine. Often compared to a local official, the Earth God is a low ranking member of the celestial bureaucracy, charged with supervising humans and spirits in the territory under his jurisdiction. An Earth God's authority is confined strictly to his own locality, adjacent areas having their own Earth Gods, whose positions are usually believed to be filled by the souls of meritorious local men, who were posthumously rewarded with divine office. In addition to his daily sacrifices, the Earth God receives a birthday celebration on the second day of the second lunar month, and in some areas another celebration on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month. In return for the sacrificial attention bestowed upon him, the Earth God is expected to keep the locality free of evil spirits, to provide good harvests, and in general to ensure the community's well-being.

The roots of the Earth God cult are ancient, going back to the cult of the Gods of Soil and Grain (Sheji 社稷) of the classical period; to this day, Shegong 社公 occurs as an alternate appellation of the Earth God. Another classical term, Sovereign Earth (Houtu 后土), is still in use nowadays for the Earth God images set up to guard tombs. While Taoist “merit” (★*gongde*) rites stress the special responsibility of the Earth God for the spirits of the departed, the Earth God also features frequently in the rites for the living (★*jiao*), where he (and thus the local community he represents) is integrated into the Taoist ritual order. This is most conspicuous in the “Divine Spell for the Pacification of the Earth [God]” (*An tudi shenzhou* 安土地神咒), a standard prefatory part of Taoist ritual scriptures, which calls upon the Earth God to fulfill his duties conscientiously and to “return toward the Orthodox Way” (*hui xiang zhengdao* 回向正道).

*Philip CLART*

▣ Chamberlayne 1966; Chavannes 1910a; Lagerwey 1987c, passim; Ma

Shutian 1996, 47–49; Müller 1980; Schipper 1977a

※ TAOISM AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*tuna*

吐納

exhaling and inhaling

*Tuna* is an abbreviation of the phrase *tugu naxin* 吐故納新, “exhaling the old and inhaling the new (breath).” This term is first found in chapter 15 of the ★*Zhuangzi*, which states: “Breathing in and out [while emitting] the sounds *chui* 吹 or *xu* 嘯, exhaling the old and inhaling the new [breath], hanging like the bear and stretching like the bird, these are only methods for longevity” (see trans. Watson 1968, 167–68).

*Tuna* and *tugu naxin* are generic terms for breathing practices meant to expel the impure and pathogenic ★*qi* from the body. Liu Gen 劉根, a third-century ★*fangshi*, is attributed with this description: “Feeding the body with the living breath (*shengqi* 生氣) and exhaling the dead breath (*siqi* 死氣) allows you to subsist for a long time. When you inhale through the nose, you actually inhale the life breath. When you exhale through the mouth, you exhale the death breath” (★*Yangxing yanming lu*, 2.2a).

Catherine DESPEUX

※ *yangsheng*

*tutan zhai*

塗炭齋

## Mud and Soot Retreat

The Mud and Soot Retreat is a ritual of the Way of the Celestial Masters (★Tianshi dao) that was performed from the Six Dynasties to the early Tang period. Some scholars have suggested that it was already practiced at the end of the Later Han period, but there is no definite evidence for this. Like other early Retreat rituals (★*zhai*), the Mud and Soot Retreat was meant to eliminate defilements through repentance for past sins. Its benefits could reach a person's deceased parents and ancestors, who would be freed from the netherworld if the descendant had a Taoist priest (★*daoshi*) perform it on their behalf.

In his *Wugan wen* 五感文 (Text on the Five Commemorations; CT 1278), ★Lu Xiuqing (406–77) records two types of Mud and Soot Retreats. One of them, called the Three Primes Mud and Soot Retreat (*sanyuan tutan zhai* 三元塗炭齋), was deemed to be especially meritorious as it included the Five Commemorations (*wugan* 五感), through which a believer expressed his gratitude to his parents, the deities, and the masters (Verellen 1999). In the ritual, the priest smeared his face with mud, disheveled his hair, and bound himself within the perimeter of the altar—or bound his hands—to represent the sufferings of the netherworld. Then he lay on the ground and confessed his sins. He did this three times during the day and three times during the night. This ordeal was said to be particularly beneficial during the winter, with the priest standing in snow and ice.

YAMADA Toshiaki

▣ Kohn 1993b, 107–12; Lagerwey 1981b, 156–58; Maspero 1981, 384–86

※ *zhai*

*waidan*

外丹

external elixir; external alchemy

The term *waidan* conventionally denotes a broad and diverse range of doctrines and practices focused on the compounding of elixirs whose ingredients are minerals, metals, and—less frequently—plants. This designation is often contrasted to ★*neidan* or “inner alchemy,” but the two terms originated within the context of *neidan* itself, where they initially referred to facets or stages of the inner alchemical process (Robinet 1991).

*Waidan* has a history of about fifteen centuries, from its origins in the Han period to its culmination in the Tang, followed by its decline in the Song and Yuan and its virtual disappearance in Ming times. Its extant literature consists of about one hundred sources preserved in the Taoist Canon. These texts show that while early *waidan* was mainly concerned with the world of gods and demons and with the performance of ceremonies and other ritual actions addressed to deities, the later tradition used alchemical symbolism to represent the origins and functioning of the cosmos, and the return to the original state of being. This shift took place between the end of the Six Dynasties and the beginning of the Tang, and played a crucial role in the development of *neidan*.

*History.* The first mention of alchemy in China is associated with ★Li Shaojun, a ★*fangshi* who, around 133 BCE, suggested that Han Wudi (r. 141–87) should perform an alchemical method in preparation for the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 rituals to Heaven and Earth. The ingestion of elixirs is first mentioned in the *Yantie lun* 鹽鐵論 (Discourses on Salt and Iron), dating from ca. 60 BCE. Around the same time, Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–8 or 6 BCE) also tried to compound alchemical gold based on a text entitled *Hongbao yuanbi shu* 鴻寶苑祕術 (Arts from the Garden of Secrets of the Vast Treasure). Bibliographic sources confirm that this and other works compiled under the patronage of Liu An 劉安 (179?–122; see ★*Huainan zi*) contained materials on alchemy.

After these fragmentary and often unclear details, the earliest known corpus of texts related to *waidan* is the one belonging to the ★*Taiqing* (Great

Clarity) tradition, which developed from the early third century CE. Its main scriptures were the ★*Taiqing jing* (Scripture of Great Clarity), the ★*Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs), and the ★*Jinye jing* (Scripture of the Golden Liquor), three works that, according to ★Ge Hong and other sources, were revealed to ★Zuo Ci at the end of the Han. Both Ge Hong's ★*Baopu zi* and the received versions of these scriptures in the Taoist Canon show that the Taiqing tradition developed in Jiangnan in close relation to local exorcistic and ritual practices. Fifty years after Ge Hong, the ★Shangqing school of Taoism accepted some earlier *waidan* works into its revealed scriptures (see under ★*langgan*). Although Shangqing used the *waidan* process mainly as a support for meditation practices, the language, techniques, and rites in these works are largely the same as those of the Taiqing scriptures.

Around the time the Shangqing doctrines were taking shape, the ★*Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*) also circulated in Jiangnan. Its original version, related to the Han “studies on the Changes” (*yixue* 易學), was augmented during the Six Dynasties and became, from the Tang period onward, the main scripture of both *waidan* and *neidan*. Unlike the earlier Taiqing tradition, which focuses on ritual, the *Cantong qi* is based on correlative cosmology and uses cosmological, astronomical, and alchemical emblems to describe the relation of the Dao to the cosmos. The two main emblems at the basis of its discourse are Real Mercury (*zhenhong* 真汞) and Real Lead (*zhenqian* 真鉛), corresponding to Original Yin and Original Yang, respectively. This new view of the alchemical process not only influenced the later development of *waidan*, but also paved the way for the rise of ★*neidan*.

During the Tang dynasty, which is often called “the golden age of Chinese alchemy,” the tradition based on the *Cantong qi* acquired importance and methods based on mercury and lead became typical of the tradition. This development is reflected in several works related to the *Cantong qi*, which explain their preference for processes based on lead and mercury instead of cinnabar, saying that Yang (cinnabar) alone cannot produce the elixir. Although the majority of Tang *waidan* texts are related to the *Cantong qi*, an important example of methods based on the refining of cinnabar is found in the works of ★Chen Shaowei. Also in the Tang, imperial patronage of *waidan* intensified, but elixir poisoning caused the death of Wuzong (r. 840–46), Xuanzong (r. 846–59), and possibly also Xianzong (r. 805–20).

*Waidan* progressively declined from the late Tang onward, and sources dating from the Song and later periods mostly consist of anthologies of earlier writings and methods. By that time, the soteriological import of alchemy had already been transferred to *neidan*.

*Doctrines.* The two main *waidan* subtraditions outlined above present different views of the alchemical process. The Taiqing sources have virtually no concern for the abstract notions of cosmology; in these texts, the compounding of the elixir is part of a sequence of actions marked by the performance of rites and ceremonies for the transmission from master to disciple, the protection of the laboratory, the kindling of the fire, and the ingestion of the elixir. The alchemical medicines are valued not only for their property of conferring longevity and immortality, but also for enabling adepts to communicate with divinities and keep away dangerous spirits, especially those that cause illnesses.

In the tradition based on the *Cantong qi*, however, the system of correlative cosmology has primary importance. Substances, instruments, and processes have an emblematic meaning, and the purpose of making the elixir is to trace in a reverse order the stages of cosmogony, which are in the first place ontologic states. Accordingly, each stage of the alchemical process is related to a stage of the cosmogonic process, and is designed to move the adept back through the corresponding cosmological configurations: from Yin and Yang as they appear in the conditioned cosmos (native lead and native cinnabar, respectively), to the recovery of authentic Yin and Yang (refined mercury and refined lead, respectively), ending with their merging into Oneness, represented by the elixir itself.

The *Cantong qi* and its related texts also introduced a new view of time into the alchemical doctrines. While the Taiqing sources do not explicate the cosmological basis of their heating methods, several later texts describe the system of fire phasing (*huohou*), which patterns the heating of the elixir on the major time cycles of the cosmos. The correspondences between the compounding of the elixir and the larger cosmological cycles allow alchemists to perform in a short time the same task that nature would achieve in thousands of years. The definition of the elixir as a “time-controlling substance” (Sivin 1980, 243) aptly describes this facet of the alchemical work in the tradition based on the *Cantong qi*.

*Instruments and methods.* The alchemical process takes place in a laboratory, called Chamber of the Elixirs (*danshi* 丹室, *danwu* 丹屋, or *danfang* 丹房). The furnace (*lu* 爐; see ★*dinglu*) or stove (*zao* 竈) is typically placed on a three-stage platform or “altar” (*tan* 壇). The crucible (★*fu*) or tripod (*ding* 鼎) is arranged over the stove or sometimes inside it.

The main methods of the *waidan* tradition are those for the preparation of the Reverted Elixir (★*huandan*), a designation that refers to several different processes. Prominent among them are those for refining mercury from cinnabar and for joining lead and mercury. Several sources describe the preparation of the Golden Liquor (★*jinye*), another term applied to different elixirs. Typical processes also include aqueous solutions, used as intermediary stages in the compounding of elixirs (see ★*Sanshiliu shuifa*), and the Flowery Pond (*huachi* 華池), an acetic bath often used to soak the ingredients before they are placed in the crucible.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 370–437; Chen Guofu 1983; Eliade 1978, 109–26; Ho Peng Yoke 1979; Meng Naichang 1993a; Murakami Yoshimi 1983; Needham 1976; Needham 1980; Pregadio 1996; Pregadio 2000; Pregadio 2006b; Seidel 1989–90, 262–64; Sivin 1968; Sivin 1976; Sivin 1980; Zhao Kuanghua 1989; Zhao Kuanghua and Zhou Xihua 1998

※ *jindan*; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.3 (“Alchemy”)

Wang Bi

王弼

226–49; *zi*: Fusi 輔嗣

Wang Bi, the author of commentaries to the *Daode jing*, the ★*Yijing*, and the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects) of Confucius, played an important role in the “pure conversations” (★*qingtan*) that were in vogue within the ★*Xuanxue* (Arcane



Learning) milieu. He devised new arrangements of the *Daode jing* and the *Yijing*, and established standard editions of both works. A short note on his life is appended to Zhong Hui's 鍾會 (225–64) biography in the *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms; trans. Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 2: 179–80).

In contrast to the exegesis of Han times, Wang Bi's works show no concern for longevity techniques or for cosmological patterns based on numerical symbolism. Wang views the world as a whole, pervaded by a single Principle. He deemphasizes the naturalistic, numerological, and polemical approaches to the *Yijing*, simplifying its interpretation and offering a new exegetical model widely accepted by later scholars. Focusing on the ontological level, he highlights the constant order and “reason” (*li* 理) that underlie the fluctuations of the world. For Wang, this “reason” is knowable; one can take it as a guide in one's life and behave according to the cosmic and temporal situation and the position a thing occupies within it.

This perspective lays the foundations of a society ordered according to the hierarchical and moral principles of Confucianism. As Howard L. Goodman (1985) has convincingly shown, however, this influence is more apparent in Wang's commentary to the *Yijing* (completed by Han Kangbo 韓康伯, ?–ca. 385) than in his exegesis of the *Daode jing*. In the latter work, Wang gives the word *dao* 道 a metaphysical meaning close to the one it has in the ★*Zhuangzi* and the ★*Huainan zi*. The Dao is ★*wu* or Non-being, an absence of substance or entity, even conceptual. It is indescribable, unique, and cannot be matched to anything. It is the source of the world not in the temporal sense but in the sense of an atemporal priority: as shown by the *Zhuangzi*, the notion of “beginning” can only lead to a *regressus ad infinitum* and to the absence of any temporal beginning.

In Wang Bi's apophatic thought, *wu* or Non-being is the Absolute that cannot and should not endure determination by name, qualification or form. *Wu* is a synonym of the Ultimate (*ji* 極; see ★*wuji* and *taiji*), the Beginning (*shi* 始), and the permanent (*chang* 常). It is “that by which” (*suoyi* 所以) things are, their true existence to which they are bound to return (★*fan*). This can be accomplished through a “decrease” (*sun* 損) similar to the work of a gardener who clears away the weeds. Paradoxically, those who do so become complete because they are redirected to *wu*, which is equivalent to the One.

Although the notion of the Dao as absence of anything implies its transcendence, this does not mean there is no connection between Non-being

and Being (★*you*), the phenomenal world. Quiescence, says Wang Bi, is not the opposite of movement, nor is silence the opposite of speech. *Wu* must be mediated by *you* because “it cannot be made manifest by *wu*.” Being, therefore, is the manifestation of Non-being. However, Wang Bi emphasizes the importance of Non-being much more than that of Being.

In Wang Bi's view, the sage is one who does not “name” things; he is not, therefore, the Confucian sage who applies “correct names” (*zhengming* 正名) to things. Wang's ideas in this respect draw both from the *Yijing* and from the notion of the Taoist saint (★*shengren*). As in the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, a portion of the *Yijing*), the sage pays attention to change, discerns the moment in which an event takes shape, and relies on the underlying order of the world, which he illuminates; as in the *Daode jing*, he is intuitively in harmony with the Way and “hides his light,” which reaches into the dark. As in both of them, he is compliant and modest.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Chan A. K. L. 1991b; Chan A. K. L. 1998; Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 2: 179–89; Lou Yulie 1980 (crit. ed.); Lynn 1994 (trans. of *Yijing* comm.); Lynn 1999 (trans. of *Daode jing* comm.); Mou Zongsan 1974, 100–168; Robinet 1977, 56–77; Robinet 1987f; Rump 1979; Wagner 1986; Wagner 1989; Wagner 2000

※ *qingtān*; Xuanxue

## Wang Bing

王冰

fl. 762; *hao*: Qixuan zi 啟玄子 (Master Who Inaugurates the Mystery) or Qiyuan zi 啟元子 (Master Who Inaugurates the Origin)

Wang Bing is known as the editor and commentator of the *Suwen* 素問 (Plain Questions; see ★*Huangdi neijing*), presented to the throne in 762. Apparently,

he held the post of Director of the Imperial Stud (*taipu ling* 太樸令) in that year, but apart from this hardly any biographical details are known. His commentary to the *Suwen* as well as his *hao* would suggest that he moved in Taoist circles. Furthermore, he states in his preface to the *Suwen* that from early on he practiced the arts of Nourishing Life (*yangsheng*). In that preface he also names two persons with surnames Guo 郭 and Zhang 張 as his masters, and in the preface to another work attributed to him, the *Xuanzhu miyu* 玄珠密語 (Secret Sayings of [Master] Mysterious Pearl), which unlike the *Suwen* commentary is written in a rather rustic style, he mentions yet another master called Xuanzhu 玄珠 (Mysterious Pearl), a name that can be traced to the *Zhuangzi* and may reveal a Taoist commitment.

This Taoist orientation is evident in several other works attributed to Wang Bing, all of which deal with the doctrine of the “five circulatory phases and six seasonal influences” (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣). These include most notably the *Suwen liuqi Xuanzhu miyu* 素問六氣玄珠密語 (Secret Sayings of [Master] Mysterious Pearl on the Six Seasonal Influences of the Plain Questions; also known as the above *Xuanzhu miyu*) in ten or seventeen *juan*, the *Tianyuan yuce* 天元玉冊 (Jade Fascicles of Celestial Primordiality) in twenty-eight or thirty *juan*, the *Zhaoming yinzhi* 昭明隱旨 (Concealed Directions on the Bright Light) in three *juan*, and the *Yuanhe jiyong jing* 元和紀用經 (Scripture on the Use of the Calendar of Original Harmony) in one *juan*. Seven chapters in the *Suwen* are entirely written in terms of this doctrine, namely *juan* 66–71 and 74, and received opinion has it that these chapters were interpolated by Wang Bing; they constitute about one third of the *Suwen*.

Elisabeth HSU

Despeux 2001; Ma Jixing 1990, 101; Yang Shizhe et al. 1998, 174–76

Wang Changyue

王常月

?–1680; original *ming*: Ping 平; *hao*: Kunyang zi 崑陽子 (Master of Yang

of Mount Kunlun)

Wang Changyue is a key figure credited with the promotion of the ★Quanzhen “renaissance,” which allegedly took place in the late Ming and early Qing periods under the name of the ★Longmen branch (Esposito 2000, 627–32). In 1656, as the abbot of the ★Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing, Wang was said to have revived the ancient tradition of ★Qiu Chuji (1148–1227) and to have restored Taoist discipline. More precisely, Wang may be regarded as the state-approved founder of the Longmen lineage. Under his guidance, Longmen became a genuine school with an “orthodox” lineage and organized temples. In this lineage, Wang figures as the seventh patriarch and marks the beginning of new era. The compilation of a putative work called *Bojian* 鉢鑑 (Examination of the Bowl) is also attributed to him. It is regarded as the fundamental source of Longmen history and lineage to which ★Min Yide's *Jingai xindeng* 金蓋心燈 (Transmission of the Mind-Lamp from Mount Jingai) refers.

According to some biographers, Wang was born in 1521, but others give a date of 1594. He came from a Taoist family of the prefecture of Lu'an 潞安 (Shanxi). When he was still an adolescent, he left his family and travelled to famous mountains to search for enlightened masters. In 1628, he is said to have finally met the sixth Longmen patriarch Zhao Fuyang 趙復陽 on Mount Wangwu (★Wangwu shan, Henan). Zhao gave him the lineage name of Changyue (Everlasting Moons, which alludes to the several months Wang had to wait before receiving teachings from Zhao) along with teachings on Taoist discipline. After practicing them and having progressed in his study of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism), he met master Zhao again in the Jiugong mountains (Jiugong shan 九宮山, Hubei). This last meeting served to confirm Wang's spiritual progress and to proclaim him as the seventh Longmen patriarch of the Vinaya Line (*lüshi* 律師), entitled to transmit the Longmen discipline. Zhao is also said to have foretold Wang's future role as abbot of the Baiyun guan, a prophecy confirmed in 1655. In 1656, Wang built an ordination platform (*jietan* 戒壇; see [fig. 75](#)) at the Baiyun guan to perform public ordinations for Taoist novices.

The content of these ordinations was established by Wang in his work entitled ★*Chuzhen jielü* (Initial Precepts and Observances for Perfection) as

well as in a later compilation by Wang's disciples known as *Biyuan tanjing* 碧苑壇經 (Platform Sūtra of the Jasper Garden). This text (whose title alludes to the famous *Platform Sūtra* of the sixth Chan patriarch, Huineng 慧能) is found in the first volume of the *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書 (Collection of the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 184–86) and in the ★*Zangwai daoshu* (vol. 12). Another version known under the title *Longmen xinfa* 龍門心法 (Core Teachings of Longmen) is also included in the *Zangwai daoshu*. It consists of discourses given during an ordination held by Wang in 1663 at the *Biyuan guan* 碧苑觀 (Abbey of the Jasper Garden) in Nanjing.



Fig. 74. Wang Changyue. Reproduced from *Zhongguo daojiao xiehui* 1983.

Wang Changyue's teachings focus on the progressive path of the “three-stage great ordination” (*santan dajie* 三壇大戒, lit., “ordination of the

threefold altar”): Initial Precepts for Perfection (*chuzhen jie* 初真戒), Intermediate Precepts (*zhongji jie* 中極戒), and Precepts for Celestial Immortality (*tianxian jie* 天仙戒). This system represented the sine qua non for realizing an “orthodox enlightenment” and was said to be attainable only under the guidance of a Longmen Vinaya master (*lüshi*).



Fig. 75. Ordination platform (Jietan 戒壇). ★Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), Beijing.  
Reproduced from Zhongguo daojiao xiehui 1983.

From Wang Changyue onward, an official Longmen lineage was established at the Baiyun guan. Its abbot was chosen from among Longmen Vinaya masters and was responsible for public ordinations. In this way, Longmen became the main school in charge of public ordinations for all Taoist priests in north and south China. Wang Changyue is said to have ordained thousand of disciples in Beijing, Nanjing, Hangzhou, Wudang and elsewhere, and thanks to him the Longmen has remained the dominant lineage to this day.

*Monica ESPOSITO*

▣ Despeux 1990, 147–55; Esposito 2001; Esposito 2004c; Mori Yuria 1994;

Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 77–100; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 392–93

※ *Chuzhen jielü*; *jie* [precepts]; Longmen; MONASTIC CODE

## Wang Chuyi

王處一

1142–1217; *zi*: Yuyang 玉陽; *hao*: Yuyang zi 玉陽子 (Master of Jade Yang), *Tixuan zhenren* 體玄真人 (Real Man Who Embodies the Mystery)

Wang Chuyi is one of the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)) who epitomize the first generation of ★Quanzhen masters. His religious life began before his encounter with ★Wang Zhe: as a child he had revelations, and from then on he lived as an eccentric hermit with his mother. Wang Zhe converted him to ★*neidan* ascetic training at the age of twenty-six, but their association lasted only for a year. Wang Chuyi probably continued his Taoist education under other masters, and eventually became famous enough to be summoned to the Jin court in 1188 and again in 1198. His standing seems to have greatly helped the Quanzhen's negotiations with the state in 1190–97, when a conflict erupted over the order's reluctance to abide by the directive to register monasteries and clergy. From 1197 until his death, he directed a sizable monastic community in Shandong.

Wang stands apart in the group of the Seven Real Men for several reasons. He was graced with an individual hagiographic work, the *Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu* 體玄真人顯異錄 (Account of the Miraculous Manifestations of the Real Man Who Embodies the Mystery; CT 594). This work sheds more light on his liturgical activities than do the collective Quanzhen hagiographies—for example, the ★*Jinlian zhengzong ji*—which insist on ascetic training. Although Wang Chuyi is not a member of Wang Zhe's inner circle of four favorite disciples, who receive the best of the later hagiographers' attention, his role in fashioning Quanzhen self-identity is larger than it may at first appear. First, his political influence in the 1190s helped in the development of the order's institutional independence. Moreover, when Quanzhen, around

the 1230s, had fully absorbed all the major liturgical lineages of traditional Taoism (including those of the ★Lingbao grand ritual and the various newer ★*leifa* or Thunder Rites), the importance of Wang Chuyi's contribution to this process of integration became clear. Several second-generation Quanzhen masters reportedly learned their ritual skills from him. With ★Qiu Chuji, he is also one of the two early Quanzhen masters known to have performed large scale official ordinations as early as 1201, and therefore to have adapted the older monastic ordination procedures to the nascent Quanzhen institutions. Furthermore, Wang seems to have played a major role in fashioning the Quanzhen's sacred history, especially regarding the advent of the cult addressed to Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence).

Like all the Seven Real Men except ★Sun Bu'er, Wang has left a poetical anthology, the *Yunguang ji* 雲光集 (Anthology of Cloudy Radiance; CT 1152), entitled after the grotto where Wang attained enlightenment. This work actually documents spiritual teachings largely homogeneous with those of his fellow-disciples. Of special note are Wang's exchanges with the five lay associations (*hui* 會) founded by Wang Zhe in Shandong, which proves how deeply Wang Chuyi was involved in Quanzhen's institutional development and its popularization of *neidan* meditation practices.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 66 and 163–65; Endres 1985; Marsone 2001a, 105–6; Mori Yuria 1992b

※ Quanzhen

Wang Jie

王玠

?–ca. 1380; *zi*: Daoyuan 道淵; *hao*: Hunran zi 混然子 (Master of Chaotic Origin)



A native of Nanchang (Jiangxi), Wang benefited from the teachings of ★Li Daochun (fl. 1288–92), and devoted himself to interpreting contemplative treatises, or to interpreting texts as contemplative treatises. Besides arranging for the publication of Master Li's *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 清庵應蟬子語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Master Who Responds to the Cicadas in the Pure Retreat; CT 1060), edited by Chai Yuangao 柴元皋 in 1288, Wang also collated Li's essays on salvation called the *Santian yisui* 三天易髓 (The Mutable Marrow of the Three Heavens; CT 250).

The first chapter of Wang's own compilation, the *Huanzhen ji* 還真集 (Anthology of Reverting to Perfection; CT 1074), includes diagrams, followed by instructions for imagining the creation of the inner elixir (★*neidan*) within the body. The second chapter amplifies the next stages of the contemplative process and discusses some of its potential results, including the route to becoming long-lived and a transcendent. Praise for the unity of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) is also an important theme in this text, which boasts a preface dated to 1392 by the forty-third Celestial Master, ★Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410). While remarking on the practical usefulness of Wang's text, which he first acquired in 1392 from his disciple Yuan Wenyi 袁文逸, Zhang also emphasizes that Li Daochun is heir to ★Zhang Boduan's (987?–1082) approach to compounding the inner elixir. In the annotations Wang gives to two scriptures, the *Xiaozai huming miaojing zhu* 消災護命妙經注 (Commentary to the Wondrous Scripture on Dispelling Disasters and Protecting Life; CT 100) and the *Qingjing miaojing zuantu jiezhu* 清靜妙經纂圖解注 (Compilation of Illustrations and Explications on the Wondrous Scripture of Clarity and Quiescence; CT 760), he uses inner alchemy and cosmological language to explicate each text.

Lowell SKAR

☞ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 183–84

※ Li Daochun; *neidan*

Wang lingguan

## 王靈官

### Numinous Officer Wang

Numinous Officer Wang, also referred to as Marshal Wang (Wang Yuanshuai 王元帥), is best known as the guardian deity of Taoist temples. His image is often housed in a Hall of the Numinous Officer (Lingguan dian 靈官殿) at the entrance to a Taoist temple or monastery, one vivid example being at the Abbey of the White Clouds (★Baiyun guan) in Beijing (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1979, 250–51). Numinous Officer Wang is also mentioned in novels like the *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West) as a guardian of the palace of the Jade Sovereign (★Yuhuang).

Some hagiographic accounts of the Numinous Officer claim that his name was Wang Shan 王善, and that he had been a disciple of ★Sa Shoujian (fl. 1141–78?), a renowned practitioner of Thunder Rites (★*leifa*). His cult appears to have been popular in southwest China, where he was worshipped as a thunder god or a fire god, although some stories mentioning child sacrifice hint at perhaps more sinister origins of his cult. A Taoist from Hangzhou (Zhejiang) named Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451) is said to have practiced rituals to Wang in Beijing during the reign of the Yongle Emperor (1403–24), which may have contributed to his cult's legitimacy and historical development.

Above all, Wang is worshipped as an exorcistic deity who can ward off or expel demons, as can be seen in rituals invoking him preserved in the ★*Daofa huiyuan* (j. 241–43). He also takes the stage during performances of ritual operas in order to exorcise demons.

*Paul R. KATZ*

■ van der Loon 1977; Lü Zongli and Luan Baoqun 1991, 881–86

※ TEMPLES AND SHRINES

Wang Qinruo

## 王欽若

962–1025

Wang Qinruo was one of the most successful and influential officials of his day, enjoying the attentive ear of Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) from 997 until his forced retirement from the office of Chancellor in 1019. He made a comeback in 1022 under Song Renzong (r. 1022–63) and died in office in 1025. He was an able administrator who thoroughly enjoyed, and sometimes abused, the exercise of power. His ultimate place in history, however, rests on his leading role in state ritual affairs throughout the Zhenzong reign.

In 1005, the Song had concluded the Shanyuan Treaty with the Khitan, widely perceived as dishonorable because they were forced to accept of their enemy on equal ritual terms, and because of the inclusion of indemnities. The treaty initiated a period of relative internal and external peace, in which Zhenzong and his advisors placed Song imperial authority on a stronger footing through the public, large-scale enactment of the emperor's function as ritual center of All-under-Heaven (which included the Khitan and other non-Chinese groups). Wang Qinruo played an important role in these activities. In 1005, he took part in a court debate on the southern suburban rituals (*jiaosi* 郊祀). He was also active in the compilation of the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature; 1013), a compendium of administrative documents from past dynasties to serve as an aid in government. He was, moreover, in charge of compiling the imperially ordered Canon of 1016, the *★Da Song Tiangong baozang*, and engaged himself in matters of content as well. Nonetheless, he was not a Taoist priest, nor did he advise his emperor from an exclusively Taoist point of view.

The central ritual event in Zhenzong's reign was the performance of the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 ceremonies to Heaven and Earth at Mount Tai (★Taishan, Shandong) in 1008, preceded by the well-orchestrated receipt of “letters from Heaven” (*tianshu* 天書), auspicious omens, and repeated requests by local people from the Mount Tai region to carry out these sacrifices. As it had been with the earlier Chinese emperors who had considered performing the *feng* and *shan* ceremonies, and often proceeded at great length with the preparations before desisting, deliberations at the Song court were extremely circumspect. Wang Qinruo was the decisive influence

in carrying out the rituals, with Zhenzong in the appropriate role of an emperor worried about overburdening his people.

In essence, Wang Qinruo and Zhenzong merely brought to its logical conclusion a ritual program for building dynastic legitimacy that had been started by the dynastic founders Taizu (r. 960–76) and Taizong (r. 976–97). Taoist rituals were an important—but by no means exclusive—part of this program. The increasingly negative historiography in the following decades reflects the subsequent victory of a different view on legitimation, which deemphasized the direct intervention of Heaven in the bestowal of its mandate to rule and stressed the moral nature of imperial rule, which quasi-automatically bestowed the Heavenly Mandate (*tianming* 天命). From this point of view, Wang Qinruo was a manipulator of heavenly signs and imperial rituals, or even a Taoist in Confucian disguise, whereas he and other early Song ritual specialists were merely continuing Tang and older traditions of imperial ritual practice supported by large segments of the political-scholarly elite of their day. Since in those days Taoist and state ritual traditions were still very close to each other, early Song legitimation activities naturally showed similarities with Taoist ritual in general and involved the performance of specific Taoist rituals and the support of Taoist institutions. Ultimately, the ritual specialist was the emperor, not a Taoist priest, and his advisors were secular officials, not Taoist priests. The common qualification of these activities as Taoist results from a biased historiography, which prefers to associate such rituals with superstition or a supposedly marginal religious tradition, rather than mainstream Confucianism or state ritual.

Although Wang Qinruo wrote extensively, only one of his works is entirely preserved, the *Yisheng baode zhuan* (Biography of [the Perfected Lord] Assisting Sanctity and Protecting Virtue). Otherwise, only shorter pieces of his are extant, of which the prose texts (in complete or summary form) have been gathered in the *Song quanwen* 宋全文 (Complete Prose of the Song).

*Barend ter HAAR*

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 83–86; Cahill 1980; Chen Guofu 1963, 131–33; Eichhorn 1964; van der Loon 1984, 29–37; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 534–93; Schmidt-Glitzner 1981; Wechsler 1985, 107–22 and 170–94; Yamauchi M. 1976

Wang Weiyi

王惟一

fl. 1264–1304; *zi*: Jingyang 景陽; *hao*: Leiting sanli 雷霆散吏 (Vagrant Official of the Thunderclap)

This major disciple of ★Mo Qiyān (1226–94), hailing from Songjiang 松江 (near Shanghai, Jiangsu), practiced and promoted both the Thunder Rites (★*leifa*) and inner alchemy (★*neidan*) during Yuan times. Although he received a classical education in his youth, Wang later used his understanding of matters of life and death based on the *Daode jing* as a point of entry for studying modes of longevity and transcendence. This led him to seek out teachings on inner alchemy, and may have brought him into contact with someone in the circle of ★Li Daochun (fl. 1288–92).

His eventual enlightenment led him to compose one of his works that is still extant in the Ming Taoist Canon, the *Mingdao pian* 明道篇 (Folios on Elucidating the Way; CT 273), which structurally resembles the ★*Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection) by ★Zhang Boduan (987?–1082). The second work bearing Wang's name, the *Daofa xinchuan* 道法心傳 (Heart-to-Heart Transmission of Taoist Rites; CT 1253), has an author's preface dated 1294. A collection of mnemonic instructional verses, it is grounded in the traditions Wang learned from Mo Qiyān, who practiced the Thunderclap Rites (*leiting* 雷霆; see ★*leifa*). Wang explains that these rites are superior to the various ritual practices that make heavy use of talismans (★FU) because they depend solely on concentrating one's inner vital powers for ritual purposes. In both of these texts, Wang uses the quatrain form to praise the values of internally creating the powers of thunder to subdue the demonic agents troubling the world.

Lowell SKAR

※ Mo Qiyān; *leifa*; *neidan*

## Wang Wenqing

王文卿

1093–1153; *zi*: Shudao 述道; *hao*: Chonghe zi 冲和子 (Master of the Unfathomable Harmony), Yuyi ren 遇異人 (The One Who Encounters The Marvellous); also known as Wang Jun 王俊

Wang Wenqing, who came from Jianchang 建昌 (Jiangxi), was a Thunder Rites (*★leifa*) specialist of the *★Shenxiao* legacy. Shenxiao enjoyed a high status during most of Song Huizong's reign (1100–1125), but his imperial favor was terminated in 1119. After *★Lin Lingsu*'s disappearance from the capital in that year, Wang became the main Shenxiao representative at court. In 1122, Huizong, seemingly reconciled with the Taoists, offered Wang residence in the Jiuyang zongzhen gong 九陽總真宮 (Palace of the Complete Perfection of the Ninefold Yang) and granted him the honorific title of Elder of the Unfathomable Emptiness and the Wondrous Dao (Chongxu miaodao xiansheng 冲虛妙道先生). Huizong's ephemeral successor, Song Qinzong (r. 1125–27), also conferred a title on Wang and posthumous titles on his parents. However, Wang soon decided to renounce the world and live in retirement. In 1143, Song Gaozong (r. 1127–62) invited him to court, but he declined the summons. He died ten years later at the Qingdu guan 清都觀 (Abbey of the Clear Metropolis) in Nanfeng 南豐 (Guangdong).

Wang Wenqing is attributed with several sections of the ritual compendium *★Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual) dealing with the Thunder Rites, including the “Xuanzhu ge” 玄珠歌 (Song of the Mysterious Pearl; *j.* 70), Thunderclap (Leiting 雷霆) writings (67.11a–29a, and the whole of *j.* 76), and prefaces to the Five Thunder Rites of Yushu 玉樞 (Jade Pivot; *j.* 56) and the Five Thunder Rites of Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean; *j.* 61). An illustrated supplement to the *★Duren jing*, entitled *Duren shangpin miaojing futu* 度人上品妙經符圖 (Talismans and Diagrams of the Wondrous

Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 147), is also ascribed to him. Another work, the *Chongxu tongmiao shichen Wang xiansheng jiahua* 冲虚通妙侍宸王先生家话 (Teachings of Elder Wang of the Unfathomable Emptiness and the Pervading Marvel, Servant of the Emperor; CT 1250), reports conversations between Wang and his disciple Yuan Tingzhi 袁庭植.

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 26–30; Hymes 2002, 147–70; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 321–22

※ *leifa*; Shenxiao

## Wang Xuanfu

王玄甫

1. ?–345 or 365; *hao*: Zhongyue zhenren 中嶽真人 (Perfected of the Central Peak) 2. *hao*: Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence), Donghua zi 東華子 (Master of Eastern Florescence), Zifu Shaoyang jun 紫府少陽君 (Minor Yang Lord of the Purple Bureau [Grotto-Heaven]), Huayang zhenren 華陽真人 (Perfected of Flourishing Yang)

There are two transcendents named Wang Xuanfu. The first is a minor figure first mentioned in the ★*Zhengao* (14.7b–8a), and the second is an important figure in ★*Quanzhen* Taoism.

The first Wang Xuanfu was one of many persons who attained immortality in 365, while the ★*Shangqing* deities were appearing before ★*Yang Xi*. Some versions of his biography in the Taoist Canon, however, report his ascension occurring in 345. Wang was a man from Pei 沛 (Jiangsu) who, by a combination of techniques, including meditating for thirty-four years, ascended to heaven in broad daylight on a cloud-carriage drawn by dragons. He was appointed Perfected of the Central Peak with his friend

Deng Boyuan 鄧伯元 at the Northern Terrace of the Mysterious Garden (Bei Xuanpu tai 北玄圃臺).

The second Wang Xuanfu, better known as Donghua dijun, was the first of the Five Patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖) of Quanzhen Taoism (see [table 17](#)). The obscurity of his origins and even the dynasty when he lived on earth seems to indicate that his name was selected to bring the origins of Quanzhen teachings further back into hoary antiquity. The only points of agreement among his biographies is that he had a distinctive appearance at birth, that he received a set of scriptures from the Supreme Perfected of the White Clouds (Baiyun shangzhen 白雲上真), and that he passed his teachings to ★Zhongli Quan (★*Jinlian zhengzong ji*, 1.1a–b; *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳, CT 174, 13b–14a; ★*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, 20.5a). His ascent to heaven is celebrated on the sixteenth day of the tenth lunar month. As the Divine Lord of Eastern Florescence, he is associated with the paradisiacal isle of Fangzhu 方諸 (★*Soushen ji*, 1.6b–8b).

*Thomas E. SMITH*

Reiter 1985

※ Quanzhen; Shangqing; HAGIOGRAPHY

Wang Yuan

王遠

fl. 146–95; *zi*: Fangping 方平

Wang Yuan, who was a native of Donghai 東海 (Shandong), is primarily known from his biography in the ★*Shenxian zhuan* in which he is associated with the immortal ★Magu. In this biography Wang is described as having a reasonably standard official career, despite an interest in esoteric texts and an ability to foretell the future, before resigning to cultivate the Dao. In typical fashion, he refuses to serve Han Huandi (r. 146–168 CE) and, instead, lives in



the house of the official Chen Dan 陳耽. After some thirty years, Wang announces his imminent transformation and attains release from the corpse (★*shijie*) in 185 (this date is ascertained by cross-checking with the details of Chen Dan's career as it is revealed in the *Hou Hanshu* or *History of the Later Han*).

After transformation, Wang departs for Mount Guacang (Guacang shan 括蒼山, Zhejiang). On the way, he visits the house of one Cai Jing 蔡經, a commoner who Wang instructs as he is fated for transcendence. Cai, in turn, transforms. Ten years later Cai Jing returns home to announce that Wang Yuan will soon arrive. Wang arrives in glory and, in turn, summons Magu. When the three of them are present, they perform the cuisine ritual (see ★*chu*) along with Cai Jing's family. Then the whole party gets drunk on Heavenly wine. Later, in conversation, it is revealed that Wang “normally rules over Mount ★Kunlun and comes and goes to the Luofu Mountains (★Luofu shan) and Mount Guacang” and that he “sets in order the affairs of the Heavenly departments.” (For other details on the story of Wang Yuan, Cai Jing, and Magu, see under ★Magu.)

Wang Yuan's identity is, however, somewhat more complex. The ★*Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi) lists Wang Fangping as a transformation of Laozi, placing him in the Han, immediately preceding Laozi's manifestations near Chengdu in the Yangjia reign period (132–36 CE). This Wang Fangping is clearly too early to be the same as the Wang Yuan of the *Shenxian zhuan*. On the other hand, texts related to the twenty-four parishes (★*zhi*) of the early Celestial Masters (preserved in the ★*Yunji qiqian* as well as in ★Du Guangting's *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記, CT 599) have Wang Fangping receiving a revelation from Laozi.

In addition to this confusion, Wang Yuan has also been identified as Lord Wang of the Western Citadel (Xicheng Wangjun 西城王君). An equivalence between Wang Yuan and Lord Wang of the Western Citadel is of significant interest as Lord Wang of the Western Citadel plays a major role in the transmission of certain texts and techniques that are central to ★Shangqing Taoism and was, notably, the teacher of Mao Ying 茅盈 (see ★Maojun). In his ★*Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Perfected Numinous Beings), ★Tao Hongjing lists Lord Wang (under his extended title), with the commentary (by ★Lüqiu Fangyuan, transformed 902) claiming

that he is “Wang Yuan, *zi* Fangping.” Lord Wang's biography in the ★*Maoshan zhi* (early fourteenth century), a treatise dealing with the spiritual home of Shangqing Taoism, is unambiguous in making this identification. The same identification is made in the ★*Qingwei xianpu* (Register of Pure Tenuity Transcendents) of 1293, which is related to the ★Qingwei scriptural tradition.

Unfortunately, Lord Wang of the Western Citadel appears to have been active in the first century BCE (as in the ★*Santian neijie jing*) and in the early years CE, at least a century and a half before Wang Yuan attained transcendence.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 213 and 351–52; Campany 2002, 259–70; Chen Guofu 1963, 12; Seidel 1969, 68

※ Wangwu shan; HAGIOGRAPHY

## Wang Yuanzhi

王遠知 (*or*: 王遠智)

528–635; *zi*: Deguang 德廣

Wang Yuanzhi was the leader who stimulated the Tang rulers' allegiance to Taoism. He was the successor to the spiritual authority of the preeminent Taoist of the late Six Dynasties period, ★Tao Hongjing. In the annals of the ★Shangqing order, Wang is designated as the tradition's tenth patriarch or Grand Master (*zongshi* 宗師). Beyond his involvement in drawing rulers toward Taoism, relatively little is known of Wang's life. No writings are attributed to him, and we know virtually nothing of his beliefs or practice. His importance thus lies in his establishment of the political eminence of Taoism at the outset of the Tang, and in his transmission of that eminence to ★Pan Shizheng and ultimately to ★Sima Chengzhen.

Wang has biographies both in the dynastic histories (*Jiu Tangshu*,

192.5125–26; *Xin Tangshu*, 204.5803–4) and in the *Daozang* (e.g., *Zhenxi* 真系, in YJQQ 5.11a–13a; ★*Maoshan zhi*, 22.1a–11a). Wang's parents had both been members of the elite of south China, but Wang turned to the religious life, studying under a little-known disciple of Tao named Zang Jin 臧矜. In time, Wang became sufficiently well known to be summoned both to the court of the short-lived Chen dynasty of south China (557–89) and to that of Sui Yangdi (r. 604–17). Though known as a supporter of Buddhism, Yangdi formally summoned Wang to court and “personally performed the ceremonies of a disciple,” thereby recognizing the centuries-old paradigm of the Taoist master as the teacher of sovereigns (*diwang shi* 帝王師). When Yangdi proposed moving the capital to the south, Wang warned against the move, but Yangdi ignored his advice. That act apparently persuaded Wang that Yangdi was no longer the legitimate Son of Heaven, a position that had needed Taoist confirmation for hundreds of years. Wang therefore turned his attention to Li Yuan 李淵 (Gaozu, r. 618–26), the future founder of the Tang dynasty: Wang reportedly told Li that he would become the next emperor, and “secretly transmitted to him the [Taoist] sacred registers and the [Heavenly] Mandate.”

Some scholars have argued that Wang initiated the prophecies that identified Li's ancestor as the Taoist sage Laozi, an identification that became a crucial element of Tang legitimacy doctrine and justified the extensive Tang promotion of Taoism. There is little evidence to support the argument that it was Wang who initiated such ideas. But in 621 he did recognize Gaozu's successor, Taizong (r. 626–49), as “the Son of Heaven of Great Peace” (*Taiping tianzi* 太平天子). Taizong reportedly offered Wang a government position, but Wang naturally declined, whereupon the emperor built an abbey for him at Mount Mao (★*Maoshan*, Jiangsu). Just before Wang's death in 635, Taizong issued a rescript expressing gratitude for Wang's gracious and conscientious attentions. In 680 Tang Gaozong (r. 649–83) canonized and ennobled Wang, and in 684 Empress Wu lauded Wang in an edict. The Standard Histories suggest that Wang lived some 126 years, but the Taoist biographies establish that he died 1 November 635, at the age of 107.

*Russell KIRKLAND*

▣ Barrett 1996, 28; Benn 1977, 31–43; Chen Guofu 1963, 47; Kirkland

1986b, 43–44; Reiter 1998, 20–28; Wechsler 1985, 69–73; Yoshikawa Tadao 1990

※ Shangqing

## Wang Zhe

王嘉

1113–70; original *ming*: Zhongfu 中孚; *zi*: Yunqing 允卿, Zhiming 知明;  
*hao*: Chongyang 重陽 (Double Yang)

Wang Zhe (Wang Chongyang), the founder of the ★Quanzhen order, was born into a wealthy family near Xianyang 咸陽, west of Xi'an (Shaanxi). When he was a teenager, the area became engulfed in the war between the Jin and the Song, and was not at peace until the 1160s. This situation curtailed Wang's ambitions, and he seems to have eventually renounced efforts to become a scholar and then to build a military career. He moved to the area just north of the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山), where apparently he turned into a drunkard and a local bully. In 1159 he reportedly met two “extraordinary persons,” later identified by the Quanzhen tradition as ★Lü Dongbin and ★Zhongli Quan, who made a profound impression on him. He met them again one year later and began to devote himself to self-cultivation.

From 1160 to 1163, he lived in a self-made grave called “tomb of the living dead” (*huosi ren mu* 活死人墓), then moved to a hermitage shared with two other ascetics. In 1167, he burned the hermitage down and headed for faraway Shandong, where his predication met with great success. In each of the five districts at the tip of the Shandong peninsula, he founded a lay association (*hui* 會) with a name beginning with “Three Teachings” and a specific denomination. Each association had a meeting hall (*tang* 堂) where devotees convened for prayer and meditation. Wang visited these groups regularly and wrote for them prose and poetic texts conveying his ethical and ★*neidan* pedagogy. Later tradition isolates among his disciples a

paradigmatic group of seven, known as the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真): ★Ma Yu, ★Tan Chuduan, ★Liu Chuxuan, ★Qiu Chuji, ★Wang Chuyi, ★Hao Datong and ★Sun Bu'er (see [table 17](#)). Wang wanted to take them back to Shaanxi to convert his native area, but he died on the way, in Kaifeng (Henan).

Wang belongs to the hagiographic category of people who create new religions. The construction of his legend includes the portrait of a sinner converted fairly late—at the age of forty-six—to religious life, and of a forceful and independent man more akin to a soldier than an official. Whereas Quanzhen's later history is well charted by a host of sources (mainly inscriptions), Wang's life stands apart since no contemporary records except his own works are extant. The first comprehensive accounts of his life are an inscription dated 1232 and several later hagiographic documents. These, on the other hand, are very rich and cover a vast array of genres, including a pictorial representation of his life among the murals of the ★Yongle gong. A comparison of this hagiography with Wang's extant poetry, which we have no reason to consider spurious, reveals that the broad outlines of his life's events are reliable, but the real character behind them is rather difficult to apprehend.

One of the most fascinating accounts of Wang's life is an autobiographical poem, the “Wuzhen ge” 悟真歌 or “Song on Awakening to Reality” (in ★*Chongyang Quanzhen ji*, 9.11b–12b). Many themes in this text later became standard elements of the Quanzhen self-image and were repeatedly employed in inscriptions and hagiographies. For instance, when Wang decides to devote himself to the pursuit of immortality, he breaks off his relationship with his wife and children in an abrupt way, telling them that their plight is not anymore of his concern. This violent scene was included in many later Quanzhen Taoists' biographies, and was represented in excruciating detail in a theatre play (see under ★Ma Yu).

Wang Zhe wrote a considerable amount of poetry that circulated as isolated pieces: there has never been a unique authoritative collection. Much of what we have was collected by Ma Yu and his disciples in the 1180s, and so emphasizes Wang's privileged relation with Ma. These works consist of a large collection of poems in various genres entitled ★*Chongyang Quanzhen ji* (Anthology on the Completion of Authenticity, by [Wang] Chongyang; CT 1153), and of two compilations of his poetic exchanges with Ma, the *Jiaohua*

*ji* 教化集 (Anthology of Religious Conversions; CT 1154) and the *Fenli shihua ji* 分梨十化集 (Anthology of the Ten Stages of Pear-Slicing; CT 1155). Many poems are found in two of these three works, which suggests an intricate compilation process. On the other hand, the *Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershisi jue* 重陽真人授丹陽二十四訣 (The Twenty-Four Instructions Given to [Ma] Danyang by the Real Man [Wang] Chongyang; CT 1158) seems to be apocryphal. Other works in the *Daozang* attributed to Wang are also of highly doubtful authenticity. These include a short exposition of the Taoist lifestyle, entitled ★*Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun* (Fifteen Essays by [Wang] Chongyang to Establish His Teaching; CT 1233), and an original ★*neidan* treatise, the *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions on the Golden Chain and the Jade Lock; CT 1156).

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 143–48; Eskildsen 2001; Hachiya Kunio 1992a; Kubo Noritada 1987b; Marsone 2001a, 97–101; Marsone 2001b; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 328–29; Reiter 1994; Wong Shiu Hon 1981

※ *Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun*; *Chongyang Quanzhen ji*; Quanzhen

## Wang Zhijin

王志謹

1178–1263; *hao*: Qiyun zi 棲雲子 (Master Dwelling among the Clouds)

Wang Zhijin is one of the most famous ★Quanzhen masters of the third generation. He became an adept at the age of twenty under the tutelage of ★Hao Datong. After Hao's death in 1213, he led an ascetic vagrant life before settling on Mount Pan (Panshan 盤山), a small mountain with a long Buddhist tradition located between today's Beijing and Tianjin. When ★Qiu Chuji returned to Beijing from his famous journey to Chinggis Khan's camp, Wang formally became one of his disciples. When Qiu died in 1227, Wang left Mount Pan to set up new communities and, after the final demise of the

Jin rule, was one of the first Quanzhen masters under Mongol authority to go on missionary tours in the valley of the Yellow River. His lifetime task was to build a large monastery in Kaifeng, on the spot where ★Wang Zhe had died; this was to become the Chaoyuan gong 朝元宮 (Palace of the Audience with the [Three] Primes), of which one tower is still standing. Although Wang's teaching and ritual activities extended throughout the whole of northern China, where he travelled tirelessly, most of his branch communities, often named Qiyun guan 棲雲觀 (Abbey of Dwelling among the Clouds) after his *hao*, were located near Kaifeng, in the northern part of present-day Henan. His national prestige was recognized in 1263 when, while still alive, he was awarded with a six-character title of *zhenren*.

Wang's major legacy is surely his recorded sayings, the *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* 盤山棲雲王真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Real Man Wang Qiyun from Mount Pan; 1247; CT 1059). This was the most famous Quanzhen ★*yulu*, as attested by its inclusion in the ★*Xiuzhen shishu* (j. 53) and by numerous later quotations and prefaces, including one by the famous late-Ming philosopher Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541–1620). The received text is well established: the *Daozang* and a Yuan edition kept at the Beijing National Library are identical, while the *Xiuzhen shishu* edition is almost the same, except for the entirely different order of the 101 anecdotes. This is remarkable for a collection of random jottings, compiled without a preconceived plan during the author's lifetime and written in colloquial language. Throughout this lively work, Wang appears as a passionate preacher, not averse to using Chan-like tricks, jokes or riddles to elicit enlightenment in his audience, but especially prone to tell the stories of immortals and Quanzhen patriarchs inflicting trials upon their followers to test their control over body and mind. Qiu Chuji figures prominently in many anecdotes, and appears as a paragon of the search for immortality whom all adepts should emulate. Although the *Panshan yulu* does not display theoretical peculiarities, it has a voice of its own in the larger corpus of Quanzhen literature. The pervasive theme of death, and the preference of absolute fluidity of mind over the use of mental symbols in meditation techniques, show that Wang's teachings as well as his person were all about directly coming to grasp the “great affair of life and death” (*shengsi dashi* 生死大事).

Vincent GOOSSAERT

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 170–72 and 236

※ Hao Datong; Quanzhen

## Wangwu shan

王屋山

Mount Wangwu (Henan)

Mount Wangwu, on the Henan-Shanxi border about 50 km north of Luoyang, gained special prominence within ★Shangqing Taoism, which made it the domain of Lord Wang of the Western Citadel (Xicheng Wangjun 西城王君; see under ★Wang Yuan). Numerous Shangqing scriptures and methods are said to have been revealed or secreted on Mount Wangwu. Accordingly, the mountain was listed as the foremost of the ten great Grotto-Heavens (*da dongtian* 大洞天) in the systematized sacred geography by ★Du Guangting, the *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記 (Records of Grotto-Heavens, Blissful Lands, Peaks, Rivers, and Famous Mountains; CT 599). The *Wangwu shanzhi* 王屋山志 (Monograph of Mount Wangwu) by Li Guiyi 李歸一, originally compiled in 877, also provides much topographic and biographical information.

Due to its proximity to the capital and the prominence of the Shangqing lineage, Mount Wangwu became a focus of imperial attention during the Tang dynasty. It was a site for imperial rites of “casting the dragons” (see ★*tou longjian*) as well imperially sponsored Taoist establishments. The local god of Mount Wangwu aided in quelling the An Lushan 安祿山 and Shi Siming 史思明 uprisings (755–63) and was ennobled by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) as Celestial King of the Numina and Spirits (Zongling mingshen tianwang 總靈明神天王).

Among the important establishments on the mountain was the Yangtai guan 陽臺觀 (Abbey of the Yang Platform), the residence of ★Sima Chengzhen (646–735). Repaired at the order of Tang Xuanzong in 725, it was the



site for a Golden Register Retreat (★*jinlu zhai*) in 735, performed by Princess Jade Perfected, daughter of Tang Ruizong (r. 684–90, 710–12), who is said to have studied here before her Taoist initiation in 711 (see Benn 1991).

Du Guangting's preface to the *Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji* 天壇王屋山聖迹記 (Records of Traces of the Saints on Mount Wangwu, the Celestial Altar; CT 969) provides a Taoist view of the history and geography of the mountain. The main peak, named Celestial Altar (Tiantan 天壇), is the locus for regular assemblies of transcendent officials of all the mountains and Grotto-Heavens who examine and judge the students of the Dao. This was also the site for the Yellow Emperor's (★Huangdi) encounter with the Queen Mother of the West (★Xiwang mu), whose envoys, the Mysterious Woman (★Xuannü) and the Azure Lad (★Qingtong), presented him with esoteric devices to repel the demon Chiyu 蚩尤. Du refers to an annual assembly on the mountain which was held on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month. The main text elaborates on these narratives, and includes a detailed description of the mythical topography of the mountain, a short biography of Sima Chengzhen, and several verses, among them two attributed to Tang Ruizong.

*Gil RAZ*

📖 Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 201–5

※ Wang Yuan; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*wangye*

王爺

Royal Lords

In premodern China, personages of authority with the Chinese character *wang* 王 (lit., “king”) in their titles, ranging from imperial princes (*qinwang* 親王) to bandit leaders (*shanzhai dawang* 山寨大王), were frequently addressed using the respectful title of *wangye* (lit., “my lord” or “your

lordship/highness”). Throughout much of Fujian and Taiwan, the term *wangye*, usually translated as Royal Lord, was and frequently still is used to refer to a wide variety of demons and deities, including plague spirits (*\*wenshen*), vengeful ghosts (*ligui* 厲鬼), plague demons (*yigui* 疫鬼), and historical figures such as Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功, 1624–62; ECCP 108–9).

The origins of the *wangye* remain murky, but the term appears in Qing-dynasty gazetteers from Fujian, some of which claim that temples to these deities existed as early as the Song dynasty. While relatively little research on Fujian's *wangye* had been done until the 1990s, a significant body of scholarship exists on this cult in Taiwan (for bibliographic information see Kang Bao 1997, 248–57; Lin Meirong 1997). Government-compiled statistics on registered temples, while seriously underreporting actual numbers of temples, reveals the popularity the *wangye* enjoyed throughout Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation (1895–1945) and postwar periods. The data indicate that in 1918 the number of Royal Lords temples registered with the Japanese colonial government was 447 (12.86% of all temples), second only to Earth God (*\*Tudi gong*) temples (669; 19.25%). The 1930 survey lists 534 Royal Lords temples (14.59%; again second to Earth God temples at 674 and 18.41%). Four temple surveys conducted after 1945 indicate that among registered temples those to Royal Lords had attained a position of supreme popularity, with 677 Royal Lords temples (17.63%) in 1960, 556 (13.26%) in 1966, 747 (13.99%) in 1975, and 753 (13.59%) in 1981 (Yu Guanghong 1983, 81–82). Most of these temples are located along the southwestern coast of Taiwan, but *wangye* are worshipped throughout the island. Numerous *wangye* temples may also be found in the Pescadores (Penghu 澎湖; Huang Youxing 1992; Wilkerson 1995), as well as Quemoy (Jinmen 金門).

Taiwan's most popular *wangye* has always been Lord Chi (Chi Wangye 池王爺), whose cult appears to have developed in Fujian and can be traced back to the cult of the plague-fighting martial deity *\*Wen Qiong*. In Taiwan, Lord Chi is worshipped individually as the main deity (*zhushen* 主神) or a subsidiary deity (*peishen* 陪神) of numerous temples, and as one of a group of five very popular *wangye* known as the Lords of One Thousand Years of the Five Prince's Palaces (Wufu qiansui 五府千歲). Other popular *wangye* include plague spirits such as the Great Emperors of the Five Blessings (Wufu dadi 五福大帝), whose cult may be traced back to the Five Envoys of

Epidemics (Wuwen shizhe 五瘟使者), as well as the Lords of One Thousand Years [Who Appear on Earth Every] Five Years (Wunian qiansui 五年千歲), whose cult may be traced back to the Twelve Year-Controlling Kings of Epidemics (Shi'er zhinian wenwang 十二值年瘟王).

Many different hagiographies of the *wangye* still circulate, but the most popular one is based on the hagiography of Wen Qiong and states that the *wangye* sacrificed their own lives to prevent plague spirits from poisoning local wells. Other stories describe the *wangye* as scholar-officials who died in battle or during a shipwreck, or who had been executed by China's first emperor Qin Shi Huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE). One story, which appears to be based on an account preserved in ★Dunhuang manuscripts (Waley 1960, 124–44), states that Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) attempted to test the spiritual powers of the ★Tianshi dao patriarch by ordering these scholars to hide in a cellar at the imperial palace and play music. The emperor then told this Taoist patriarch that the palace was haunted, and asked him to perform an exorcism, which he accomplished by locating the scholars in their hideout using a mirror. He then put them to death, prompting the emperor to erect a shrine to appease their spirits (Zheng Zhiming 1988a). What all these stories have in common is the theme of untimely and wrongful death, and it appears that most *wangye* are in fact demons who ended up being worshipped as divinities.

At present, Taiwan's most renowned *wangye* temples are the Daitian fu 代天府 (Hall [of the Royal Lords] who Represent Heaven) of Madou 麻豆 and Nankunshen 南鯤鯓 (Tainan), the Zhen'an gong 鎮安宮 (Palace of Securing Tranquillity) at Mamingshan 馬鳴山 (Yunlin), and the Donglong gong 東隆宮 (Palace of Eastern Beneficence) in Donggang 東港 (Pingdong; Hiraki Kōhei 1987; Kang Bao 1991; Li Fengmao 1993b). The island's largest and most popular plague expulsion festivals (commonly called ★*wenjiao*) are also staged at these sites, as well as the Qing'an gong 慶安宮 (Palace of Felicitous Tranquillity), a ★Mazu temple in Xigang 西港 (Tainan; Jordan 1976).

*Paul R. KATZ*

■ Cai Xianghui 1989; Harrell 1974; Katz P. R. 1987; Katz P. R. 1992; Katz P. R. 1995a; Katz P. R. 1995b; Kang Bao 1997; Liu Zhiwan 1983b; Maejima Shinji 1938; Mio Yuko 2000; Schipper 1985b; Xu Xiaowang 1993; Yu

Kuang-hung 1990; Zheng Zhiming 1988a

※ Wen Qiong; *wenshen*; *wenjiao*; DEMONS AND SPIRITS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## Wangzi Qiao

### 王子喬

Wangzi Qiao (whose name is also transliterated as Wang Ziqiao) appears in numerous early sources as an exemplary model for a successful adept. His hagiography in the ★*Liexian zhuan* (trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 109–14) identifies him as Jin 晉, heir to King Ling of Zhou (Lingwang, r. 571–545 BCE). After studying with Fu Qiu 浮丘 on Mount Song (★Songshan, Henan) for over thirty years, he disappeared riding a white crane. Shrines were erected on Mount Goushi (Goushi shan 緱氏山, Henan) and on Mount Song. A distinct, and probably older, tradition is preserved in the *Tianwen* 天問 (Heavenly Questions) poem of the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 122–51) and in Wang Yi's 王逸 (second century CE) commentary, which describe Wangzi Qiao manifesting himself as a rainbow before transforming into a great bird.

Wangzi Qiao's fame grew during the Han culminating in the *Wangzi Qiao bei* 王子喬碑 (Stele to Wangzi Qiao), erected in 165 at the prompting of Han Huandi (r. 146–168) at the shrine of the Wang family of Meng 蒙 (in Henan), to commemorate the transcendent's appearance in 137 CE during the *la* 臘 festival (the popular New Year's day; Bodde 1975, 49–74). Among the Perfected who appeared to ★Yang Xi, Wangzi Qiao later was recognized in the ★Shangqing scriptures as the official in charge of the Golden Court Cavern (Jinting dong 金庭洞) below Mount Tongbo (Tongbo shan 桐柏山, Zhejiang; ★*Zhengao*, 1.2b; ★*Zhenling weiye tu*, 5a). In 711, Tang Ruizong (r. 684–90, 710–12) sponsored the establishment of the ★Tongbo guan (Abbey of the Paulownias and Cypresses). During his residency there, ★Sima Chengzhen wrote a hagiography describing Wangzi Qiao's historical appearances, the *Shangqing shi dichen Tongbo zhenren zhentu zan* 上清侍帝

晨桐柏真人真圖讚 (Appraisals to Authentic Pictures of the Perfected of Tongbo, Director Aide to Imperial Dawn of Highest Clarity; CT 612).

During the Five Dynasties, Wangzi Qiao was designated Perfected Lord and Primordial Aide (Yuanbi zhenjun 元弼真君). He was entitled Perfected Lord of Primordial Response (Yuanying zhenjun 元應真君) by Song Huizong in 1113, and Perfected of Benefic Munificence and Wide Deliverance (Shanli guangji zhenren 善利廣濟真人) by Song Gaozong during the Shaoxing reign period (1131–62).

*Gil RAZ*

▣ Company 1996, 193–95; DeWoskin 1983, 52–53; Holzman 1991; Kaltenmark 1953, 109–14; Ngo 1976, 86–87

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

### *Wanli xu daoang*

### 萬曆續道藏

#### Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Period

The *Da Ming xu daoang jing* 大明續道藏經 (Scriptures in Supplement to the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming) is popularly known as the *Wanli xu daoang*. It dates to the thirty-fifth year of the Wanli reign period (1607) and serves as an addendum to the so-called ★*Zhengtong daoang* (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period) issued in 1445. Just how this supplement arose remains somewhat of mystery. What is clear is that, like the Zhengtong Canon itself, the compilation of this body of texts resulted from an imperial decree issued to the prevailing patriarch of the Celestial Master, or ★Tianshi dao lineage.

The scant bibliographic data on this work to survive suggest that this supplement expanded over time, with components added one after the other. One clue comes from three different editions of the ★*Daoang mulu xiangzhu* (Detailed Commentary on the Index of the Taoist Canon) compiled in 1626.

Each edition of this index provides a variant form of the table of contents for the supplement. One lists titles encompassed in nine cases bearing labels from *du* 杜 to *fu* 府, according to the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand-Word Text) classification sequence. Another provides the table of contents for a total of eleven cases, adding those labelled *luo* 羅 and *jiang* 將. The third form of the table of contents corresponds to the received version of the supplement, accounting for altogether thirty-two cases, the last of which is labelled *ying* 纓.

Variant forms of a colophon dating to the year Wanli 35 (1607) appear throughout the supplement itself, typically but not always recorded at the end of the last fascicle in a case. Eleven are dated to the fifteenth day of the first lunar month (*shangyuan jieri* 上元吉日) and one, the most concisely worded colophon, is dated to the fifteenth day of the second lunar month (*eryue shiwu ri* 二月十五日). Each colophon states that ★Zhang Guoxiang (?–1611) undertook collation and publication by imperial command. All but the colophon with the variant date include a title conferred on Zhang by the Wanli Emperor (r. 1573–1620) in 1605. One also includes reference to his position as the fiftieth patriarch of the Celestial Master lineage. Another version of the colophon is also found at the close of the *Da Ming xu daoze jing mulu* 大明續道藏經目錄 (Index of the Scriptures in Supplement to the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming). An additional line here indicates that the blocks were entrusted to the Lingyou gong 靈佑宮 (Palace of Numinous Support). The construction of this hall in a temple complex outside Beijing can be dated to 1603.

The table of contents, appended to that of the *Da Ming daoze jing*, lists some fifty titles printed in 185 *juan*, or chapters. They were cut on 4,440 block surfaces, raising the total for the Ming Canon from 74,080 to approximately 78,520. The work on the supplement would appear to have been completed in a fairly short period of time. Prior to its compilation, the Wanli Emperor granted copies of a 1598 printing of the Zhengtong Canon to a number of temple compounds. A stele inscription marking his gift to the Chongxuan guan 冲玄觀 (Abbey of the Unfathomable Mystery) at Mount Wuyi (★Wuyi shan, Fujian) dates to 1605. Such bestowals are known to have been made on behalf of the emperor's mother, but the story behind his authorization of a supplement to the Canon remains to be discovered.

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 179–81; Chen Yuan 1988, 1298–99; van der Loon 1984, 59–61; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 15–17; Zhu Yueli 1992, 156–58

※ Zhang Guoxiang; *Zhengtong daoze*; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

## Wei Huacun

魏華存

251–334; *zi*: Shen'an 腎安; *hao*: Nanyue furen 南嶽夫人 (Lady of the Southern Peak)

Wei Huacun is the main divine being who transmitted sacred scriptures to ★Yang Xi between 364 and 370. Those scriptures formed the nucleus of the ★Shangqing corpus, and Wei was later designated the first Shangqing Grand Master (*zongshi* 宗師)—the only woman to play a role of such eminence within Taoism.

Various sources contain fragmentary accounts of her life, the most detailed of which is in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period; 978; j. 58). Similar but shorter accounts are found in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial Readings of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period; 983; j. 678) and the ★*Yunji qiqian* (4.2a–b). Other relevant materials are in *juan* 3 of ★Tao Hongjing's ★*Dengzhen yinjue*. Finally, the *Xianquan ji* 峴泉集 (Anthology of Alpine Springs; CT 1311; 4.7b–9a), compiled by the forty-third Celestial Master ★Zhang Yuchu, contains three hagiographies of Wei.

According to these sources, Wei Huacun was born in Rencheng 任城 (Shandong) as the daughter of Wei Shu 魏舒 (209–90), Minister of Education at the Jin court and a ★Tianshi dao adept. From an early age, Huacun read widely from the Taoist classics and practiced longevity techniques. She wanted to pursue a secluded life devoted to Taoism, but at

the age of twenty-four she was forced to marry Liu Wen 劉文, Grand Guardian (*taibao* 太保) in Nanyang 南陽 (southern Henan), with whom she had two sons, Pu 璞 and Xia 瑕. Later, Wei retired in Xiuwu 修武 (northern Henan) to practice Taoism, and there she was appointed Tianshi dao libationer (*★jijiu*). In 288, she received the visits of four immortals. One of them, Wang Bao 王褒, the Perfected of Clear Emptiness (Qingxu zhenren 清虛真人), became her spiritual patron and transmitted to her thirty-one scriptures, including the *★Dadong zhenjing* which later became the central Shangqing scripture. Some time later, Wei also received the *★Huangting jing* from the Perfected Jinglin (Jinglin zhenren 景林真人). In 317, when the Eastern Jin dynasty took power, she fled to southeastern China with her two sons, and died there at the age of eighty-three.

Wei also became, by divine order of the Queen Mother of the West (*★Xiwang mu*), the holy spouse of Mao Ying 茅盈 (see *★Maojun*), forming a divine couple that was an ideal model for many generations of Shangqing adepts. She was later venerated as the Lady of the Southern Peak, an honorary title alluding to the first revelation she received on a mountain in the *★Hengshan* 衡山 range (Hunan). In the Tang period both Hengshan and Linchuan 臨川 (Jiangxi), another important site in her spiritual journey, became centers of intense worship of Wei. Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–85), the eminent district magistrate and scholar of the Linchuan area, restored the remains of an old shrine dedicated to her and wrote a commemorative stele (trans. Schafer 1977b), which is one of the main extant Tang hagiographic texts.

*Elena VALUSSI*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 31–32; Despeux 1990, 56–60; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 336–39; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 232–33; Robinet 1984, 2: 399–405; Strickmann 1981; Schafer 1977b; Schafer 1979

※ Shangqing; HAGIOGRAPHY

Wen Qiong



## 溫瓊

also known as Wen Yuanshuai 溫元帥 (Marshal Wen) and Zhongjing Wang 忠靖王 (Loyal and Defending King)

Wen Qiong was one of south China's most popular deities during the late imperial era. A number of different hagiographies about him survive, but most texts state that he resided in Wenzhou 溫州 (Zhejiang) during the Tang dynasty, and that after his death he joined the chthonic bureaucracy of the Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak (★Dongyue dadi). Vernacular novels and folktales about Wen describe him as sacrificing his own life to prevent plague spirits (★*wenshen*) from poisoning local wells, and he was frequently worshipped as a powerful martial figure who specialized in preventing or stopping outbreaks of epidemics.

Temples to Wen began to be built in southern Zhejiang during the twelfth century, including one in Yueqing 樂清 district allegedly supported by the renowned Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). Wen also figured prominently in exorcistic rituals performed by ★Shenxiao Taoists during the Song and Yuan dynasties (some of these texts are preserved in the ★*Daofa huiyuan*), and ★*daoshi* helped spread his cult throughout south China and founded some of his oldest temples (see ★taoism and local cults). By the late Ming, large-scale plague expulsion festivals devoted to Wen had begun to appear throughout Zhejiang, the most famous being in Wenzhou and Hangzhou.

Wen's cult began to revive after the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76; see for example Lao Gewen and Lü Chuikuan 1993). He is also worshipped in Fujian and Taiwan as Lord Chi (Chi Wangye 池王爺), one of the most popular Royal Lords (★*wangye*) in these regions.

*Paul R. KATZ*

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 97–99; Katz P. R. 1990; Katz P. R. 1995a; Lagerwey 1987c, 241–52; Little 2000b, 264–65; Schipper 1985b

※ *wangye*; *wenshen*; DEMONS AND SPIRITS; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## Wenchang

### 文昌

The Imperial Lord Wenchang was revered throughout late imperial China as the patron saint of literature, guardian of morality and giver of sons. Wenchang first occurs in the *Yuanyou* 遠遊 (Far Roaming) poem of the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Kroll 1996b, 662) and Han astronomical works as a constellation, consisting of six stars in *Ursa Major*, arrayed in a crescent above the ladle of the Northern Dipper (*★beidou*). Among these stars were the Director of Destinies (*siming* 司命; see *★Siming*) and Director of Emoluments (*silu* 司祿), which suggested a role in the administration of destiny. There is occasional mention of the constellation in Taoist scriptures of the Six Dynasties period, and an increasing association of the stars with literature at the popular level, no doubt linked to reinterpretation of the name as Literary Glory.

Worship of Wenchang grew rapidly after the association of the asterism with the god of a northern Sichuanese community named Zitong 梓潼. The god of Zitong began as the thunder-wielding snake deity of Mount Qiqiu (Qiqiu shan 七曲山, Sevenfold Mountain) just north of Zitong. The cult had a role in the early myth cycle of Sichuan and grew through the absorption of surrounding cults, such as the River-Flooding God (Xianhe shen 陷河神) of Qiongzhusi 邛都 and Transcendent Zhang (Zhang xian 張仙) of Chengdu. Positive, human traits of the god were promoted and the primitive, theriomorphic identity suppressed until by the Song the god was a heroic figure credited with suppressing rebellion and protecting the Sichuan region. The cult temple was situated on the main road from Sichuan to the capital and the god developed a reputation for predicting the results of supplicants on the civil service examinations, first through displays of meteorological phenomena, then through incubatory dreams, finally by spirit writing (see *★fuji*). A series of spirit-writing revelations in the late twelfth century established a new identity for the god as a high Taoist deity responsible for revealing a corrected version of the *★Dadong zhenjing* (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern) entitled *Wenchang dadong xianjing* 文昌大洞仙經 (Immortal Scripture of the Great Cavern by Wenchang; CT 5). The

★*Wenchang huashu* (Book of Transformations of Wen-chang) recounted a salvific mission encompassing numerous human avatars and divine appointments, culminating in the god's apotheosis and appointment as Wenchang, keeper of the Cinnamon Record (*guiji* 桂籍) that determines the fate of all literati.

The god's identity as Wenchang and role in the official canon of sacrifices was formally recognized by the Yuan in 1314 and maintained through most of late imperial China, despite occasional attacks by conservatives who sought to limit worship of the god to the Sichuan region. As the patron deity of the examinations, the god was worshipped by literati throughout China and a Wenchang Pavilion (Wenchang ge 文昌閣) became a common feature in the Confucian temple (Wenmiao 文廟). He is commonly portrayed as a seated official of stern visage flanked by the monstrous Kuixing 魁星, whose pictorial representational often forms the character *kui* 魁 or “top examinee,” and Zhuyi 朱衣, a red-robed official carrying the record of fated examination results. Alternately, he may be flanked by two boys, Heavenly Deaf (Tianlong 天聾) and Earthly Dumb (Diya 地啞), whose physical disabilities encourage them to maintain the secrecy of the celestial records and the profane examination system. The god continues to manifest to spirit-writing groups in Taiwan and Hong Kong today and is a particular favorite of those studying for the college entrance examinations.

*Terry KLEEMAN*

▣ Kleeman 1993; Kleeman 1994a; Kleeman 1996; Maspero 1981, 129–31

※ *Wenchang huashu*; TAOISM AND LOCAL CULTS; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*Wenchang huashu*

文昌化書

Book of Transformations of Wenchang

The *Book of Transformations of Wenchang*, also known as the *Book of Transformations of the Imperial Lord of Zitong* (*Zitong dijun huashu* 梓潼帝君化書), is a first-person chronicle of the lives and experiences of ★Wenchang, patron deity of literature, literati, and the examination system. The text dates from the Southern Song, and was first revealed through spirit writing (see ★*fujī*) to devotees of the god of Zitong in Northern Sichuan. In addition to serving as a charter for the worship of Wenchang, the *Book of Transformations* is also one of the earliest examples of the “morality book” (★*shanshu*) genre and was widely reprinted during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

The earliest hagiography of the god of Zitong was the *Qinghe neizhuan* 清河內傳 (Inner Biography of Qinghe), a short work detailing only one human incarnation of the god and his apotheosis. It was revealed through a Sichuanese spirit-writing medium named Liu Ansheng 劉安勝 around 1170. In 1181 Liu, his relatives, and supporters collaborated in producing the first seventy-three episodes of the *Book of Transformations*; this portion of the scripture is common to all editions. Anecdotes were assimilated from two other local Sichuanese deities, the River-flooding Dragon of Qiong Pool (Qiongchi Xianhe shen 邛池陷河神) and Transcendent Zhang (Zhang xian 張仙), a fertility god from Chengdu. It culminated with the god being appointed to supervise the Cinnamon Record (*guiji* 桂籍), that determines the fate of all literati, in the Wenchang Palace during the Jin 金 dynasty. The same medium also produced a new recension of the ★*Dadong zhenjing* (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern), entitled *Wenchang dadong xianjing* 文昌大洞仙經 (Immortal Scripture of the Great Cavern by Wenchang; CT 5), and a *Precious Register* to this scripture that tied it into Zitong cult lore.

Episodes 74–94 of the *Book of Transformations* were added in 1194 by Feng Ruyi 馮如意 and Yang Xing 楊興. These chapters relate the further activities of the god, including the encounters with Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) and Tang Xizong (r. 873–88) that won the god his first official ennoblements and the god's activities on behalf of the Song. The final three episodes of the Song edition, added in 1267 by person or persons unknown, depict the god's role in the suppression of the rebellion of Wu Xi 吳曦 in 1206 and unsuccessful attempts to oppose the Mongol invaders in 1231 and

1255. In 1316, coinciding with the reinauguration of the civil service examinations, a new recension of the *Book of Transformations* was revealed. Presenting a new, authoritative collation of various printed and manuscript editions then in circulation, this new recension also excised all portions of the 1194 and 1267 additions that were unfavorable to non-Chinese peoples. It is this Yuan version that is preserved in the Ming Taoist Canon (*Zitong dijun huashu* 梓潼帝君化書; CT 170).

The *Book of Transformations* was reprinted widely in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The earliest surviving edition dates to 1645. The text was often included in collections of Wenchang scriptures and essays, such as the great compendium of Wenchang scriptures, *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書 (Complete Writings of the Imperial Lord Wenchang), first published in 1743, and transmitted in this form to Japan and Korea. All these texts are based on the Song recension, which was reprinted in the ★*Daozang jiyao* of 1906 (vol. 23).

Terry KLEEMAN

▣ Kleeman 1994a (trans.)

※ Wenchang; *shanshu*

## Weng Baoguang

翁葆光

fl. 1173; *zi*: Yuanming 淵明; *hao*: Wuming zi 無名子 (Master With No Name), Xiangchuan weng 象川翁 (Gentleman of Xiangchuan)

Weng Baoguang, a native of Xiangchuan 象川 (Sichuan), is mainly known for his commentary to ★Zhang Boduan's ★*Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection) and the three essays collected in the *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sansheng biyao* 悟真直指詳說三乘祕要 (Straightforward Directions and Detailed Explanations on the *Wuzhen pian* and the Secret Essentials of the Three Vehicles; 1337; CT 143). Weng received the *Wuzhen*

*pian* from Liu Yongnian 劉永年 (fl. 1138–68), a bibliophile who also published the ★*Zhouyi cantong qi* in 1158.

Weng's commentary to the *Wuzhen pian* is available in two versions: the *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 悟真篇注釋 (Commentary and Exegesis to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 145), with an undated preface, and the *Wuzhen pian zhushu* 悟真篇注疏 (Commentary and Subcommentary to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 141), with a preface dated 1173. The ★*Xiuzhen shishu* (CT 263, j. 26–30) also quotes from two versions, using the *hao* Wuming zi and Xiangchuan weng to distinguish them. Weng's commentary was soon falsely attributed to ★Xue Daoguang, and appears under the latter's name in the *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 悟真篇三注 (Three Commentaries to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 142). This error was corrected by Dai Qizong 戴起宗 (fl. 1332–37), who edited the work in 1335 as the *Wuzhen pian zhushu* (CT 141).

Dai Qizong's edition also includes a preface dated 1174 by Chen Daling 陳達陵, a contemporary and admirer of Weng Baoguang (CT 141, preface, 4b–5a). Elsewhere, Dai says that he possessed an edition of Weng's commentary which included a short preface dated 1174 by Zixu zi 子虛子 (Master of Emptiness) that preceded Chen Daling's introduction (CT 143, 22b–23a). According to Dai, Zixu zi had condensed and distorted Weng's preface; moreover, he had divided the *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo* into three sections, adding them at the beginning of each chapter of Weng's commentary (this indeed is the arrangement found in the *Wuzhen pian zhushi*). Dai also states that Zixu zi's interpretation of the *Wuzhen pian* was sexual and represented heterodox teachings (*xiezhong* 邪宗); therefore he dared not divulge his name and used instead the appellation Zixu zi. Others, however, believed Zixu zi and Weng Baoguang to be the same person. Thus through the Chen edition Weng became associated with the sexual interpretations of ★*neidan*.

In his works, Weng Baoguang combines the terminology of the ★Zhong-Lü school with the language of the *Cantong qi* and the ★*Yinfu jing*. His *Wuzhen pian zhushi* presents the poems of the original text in a different order compared to other versions; moreover, Zhang Boduan's Buddhist poems are not reproduced. The commentary emphasizes the practice of acquiring the ingredients of the Golden Elixir, nurturing and refining them, and then using the elixir to transform one's viscera and bones into Yang. After a ten-month gestation period, the Embryo of Sainthood (★*shengtai*) is

completed. Weng adds that only at this level should the adept withdraw from the world and practice *baoyi* 抱一 (embracing the One) for nine years.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 174; Chen Bing 1985, 37–38

※ *neidan*; Nanzong

### *wenjiao*

### 瘟醮

### plague expulsion rituals

*Wenjiao* are plague expulsion Offering rituals (★*jiao*) featuring the floating away or burning of a “plague boat” which have been performed by Taoist specialists throughout south China and Taiwan for at least a millennium. Strictly speaking, the term *wenjiao* refers only to those rites performed by Taoist priests, but sometimes local communities refer to the entire plague festival (which includes a large procession and communal feasting) as a *wenjiao*. In different parts of China, *wenjiao* are also referred to by other autonyms and exonyms, including Festival of the Eastern Peak (*dongyue hui* 東嶽會), *nuo* 儺, Sending off the Lords’ Boat (*song wangchuan* 送王船), Sending off the Plague Spirits (*song wenshen* 送瘟神), Welcoming the Lords (*yingwang* 迎王), and so forth.

The exact origins of *wenjiao* are unknown, but they appear to derive from boat expulsion rites performed by Han and non-Han peoples in south China during the Dragon Boat Festival, which was held annually on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month to prevent outbreaks of epidemics during the summer months. In some areas, individuals burned or floated away miniature dragon boats, but in others one large dragon boat was built to represent the entire community (Eberhard 1968, 391–406; Huang Shi 1979; Katz P. R. 1995a; Kang Bao 1997).

The earliest surviving liturgical text for a *wenjiao* is a ★Shenxiao

exorcistic rite performed for individuals entitled *Shenxiao qianwen songchuan yi* 神霄遣瘟送船儀 (Divine Empyrean Liturgy for Expelling Epidemics and Sending off the Boats), which is preserved in the *★Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual, *j.* 220). According to this text, the officiating Shenxiao priest first consecrated the altar by performing rites such as the Pace of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步; see *★bugang*). Then, thirteen different groups of spirits were invited to descend to the altar, including Shenxiao patriarchs and deities (groups 1–4), local and household deities, and deities capable of controlling plague spirits (groups 5–7), plague spirits (*★wenshen*) such as the Twelve Kings of Epidemics (groups 8–11), and other demonic forces seen as responsible for various social misfortunes (groups 12–13). A small boat used to expel the plague spirits and other demonic creatures was then carried to the sick person's room or the main room of the house. All the spirits invited to the ritual were offered a banquet, with the plague spirits and other demons receiving meat dishes and the Shenxiao and protective deities receiving purely vegetarian items and incense. The Shenxiao master proceeded to read a Statement (*shuwen* 疏文) which described the plague deities as carrying out Heaven's will by observing human behavior, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. The text warns that those who follow the Dao shall flourish, while those who counter the Dao shall perish. After the Statement had been read, the Shenxiao master ordered the martial deities serving him, as well as stricken person's household deities, to capture the plague deities and force them onto the boat. Finally, the boat was taken out of the house and burned. Related texts may be found in *j.* 219, 221, and 256 of the *Daofa huiyuan*. Qing-dynasty liturgical texts from Sichuan include the *Hewen zhengchao ji* 和瘟正朝集 (Anthology of the Orthodox Audience of the Pacification of Plagues) and the *Hewen qianzhou quanji* 和瘟遣舟全集 (Complete Collection of the Pacification of Plagues Ritual for Expelling the Boats), both of which are reprinted in the *★Zangwai daoshu* (see Katz P. R. 1995a; Katz P. R. 1995b).

As we are unable to determine the exact origins of the *wenjiao*, so do we encounter numerous difficulties attempting to trace its spread. We do not know exactly how it was transmitted throughout south China, although this was apparently done by *★Zhengyi* *★daoshi* and their disciples. These rituals continued to follow the ritual structure presented above, but also began to be performed for entire communities. Local gazetteers and other sources from



south China composed during the late imperial era reveal that boat expulsion festivals for entire communities had become increasingly common in these provinces' coastal regions, and that *daoshi* were usually summoned to perform *wenjiao* at these events. Some of the most famous *wenjiao* were held in urban centers such as Fuzhou (Fujian; Xu Xiaowang 1993) and Wenzhou 温州 (Zhejiang; Katz P. R. 1995a; Xu Hongtu and Zhang Aiping 1997, 31–33, 45–47, and 136–46), although smaller scale rites are also held in other parts of south China (Xiao Bing 1992; Xu Hongtu 1995a, 85–86; Xu Hongtu 1995b, 32, 37, and 50). *Wenjiao* spread from Fujian to Taiwan during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and are still regularly performed at *wangye* (Royal Lords) temples along the island's southwestern coast, the most famous being at Donggang 東港 (Pingdong district; Hiraki Kōhei 1987; Kang Bao 1991; Li Fengmao 1993b) and Xigang 西港 (Tainan district; Jordan 1976). Liturgical texts belonging to *daoshi* from Tainan district may be found in the collection edited by Ōfuchi Ninji (1983). Migrants from Fujian and Guangdong also transmitted *wenjiao* to parts of Southeast Asia (Cheu Hock Tong 1988; Tan Chee-Beng 1990a).

Paul R. KATZ

▣ Katz P. R. 1995a; Katz P. R. 1995b; Kang Bao 1997; Li Fengmao 1993b; Li Fengmao 1994; Liu Zhiwan 1983b; Schipper 1985b

※ *jiao*; *wangye*; *wenshen*

*wenshen*

瘟神

plague spirits

Plague spirits are generally conceived of as being deities belonging to the Ministry of Epidemics (Wenbu 瘟部) of the celestial bureaucracy who are charged with punishing wrong-doers by afflicting them with contagious diseases. As such they are often contrasted with vengeful ghosts (*ligui* 厲鬼)

and plague demons (*yigui* 疫鬼), souls of the unruly dead who spread epidemics to extort offerings but do not belong to the celestial bureaucracy. However, some plague spirits (such as the ★*wangye* or Royal Lords of Fujian and Taiwan) were originally conceived of as demons but ended up being worshipped as deities.

Plague spirits are mentioned in early Taoist texts such as the ★*Nüqing guilü* (Demon Statutes of Nüqing) and the ★*Dongyuan shenzhou jing* (see Li Fengmao 1993a), but cults to them do not seem to have become widespread until the Song dynasty. In late imperial China, the most widely worshipped plague spirits were the Five Envoys of Epidemics (Wuwen shizhe 五瘟使者) and the Twelve Year-Controlling Kings of Epidemics (Shi'er zhinian wenwang 十二值年瘟王). In terms of cosmology, the Five Envoys were linked to the ★*wuxing*, while the Twelve Kings were worshipped as underlings of the stellar deity Taisui 太歲 (Jupiter). Temples and small shrines to these deities appear to have been founded by Taoist specialists and local worshippers as early as the Song dynasty (if not earlier), but their cults appear to have been most popular in Fujian (where the Five Envoys were worshipped as the Five Emperors or Wudi 五帝) and Taiwan (where they are worshipped among the island's numerous *wangye*). Migrants from Fujian and Guangdong also brought their cults into parts of Southeast Asia (Cheu Hock Tong 1988; Tan Chee-Beng 1990a). Plague spirits are often propitiated during large-scale Taoist Offering rituals commonly referred to as ★*wenjiao*.

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▣ Doolittle 1865–67, 157–67 and 276–87; Katz P. R. 1995a, 50–59; Li Fengmao 1993a; Li Fengmao 1994; Maejima Shinji 1938; Schipper 1985b; Szonyi 1997; Xu Xiaowang 1993

※ *wangye*; *wenjiao*; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*Wenzi*

文子

## Book of Master Wen

The *Wenzi* is a work with a complex and not yet entirely understood textual history. The bibliography in the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han) states that its author was “a student of Laozi who lived at the same time as Confucius,” but adds that “the work appears to be a forgery.” Later, Li Xian 李暹 of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534) wrote a commentary on it. He gave *Wenzi*'s surname as Xin 辛 and his appellation as Jiran 計然. *Wenzi* reportedly had studied under Fan Li 范蠡 (sixth century BCE), but originally had received teachings from Laozi.

These early editions of the *Wenzi* are lost, but in 1973, bamboo strips of the text were excavated from a tomb in Dingxian 定縣 (Hebei). As this was the grave of Liu Xiu 劉修, who died in 55 BCE, and as the bamboo fragments are basically consistent with the received text, they are likely part of the original *Wenzi*. The received text, nevertheless, certainly represents a considerable revision of the original. The oldest fully extant version today is the twelve-chapter edition annotated by Xu Lingfu 徐靈府 (ca. 760–841), which is included in the Taoist Canon as the *Tongxuan zhenjing* 通玄真經 (Authentic Scripture of Pervading Mystery; CT 746). The Canon also contains a *Tongxuan zhenjing* (CT 749) by Zhu Bian 朱弁 (Song) and a *Tongxuan zhenjing zuanyi* 通玄真經續義 (Successive Interpretations of the Authentic Scripture of Pervading Mystery; CT 748) by \*Du Daojian (1237–1318). Five of twelve chapters of the former work have been lost. The twelve chapters of the latter work are divided into 188 sections; the commentary largely depends on the interpretations of Xu Lingfu and Zhu Bian, and the prose is clear. The titles of the versions in the Taoist Canon derive from the appellation Real Man of Pervading Mystery (Tongxuan zhenren 通玄真人) that *Wenzi* received in the mid-eighth century

As we know it today, the *Wenzi* takes the form of a record of Laozi's last words. In the course of its explanation of the *Daode jing*, it states that a ruler can bring about harmony in the world not through rewards and punishments, but by practicing non-action (\**wuwei*). Most of the work, though, has no direct textual connection with the *Daode jing*. It includes quotations from the \**Zhuangzi* and the \**Huainan zi*, and shares many passages with early works such as the \**Yijing*, the *Mengzi* 孟子, the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Springs

and Autumns of Mr. Lü), the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Book of Filiality), and the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 (Surviving Documents of the Zhou).

While these references make the *Wenzi* appear as a source of ancient thought, in the form we know it today it is a forgery, with about eighty percent of the text quoted from the *Huainan zi*, and the rest consisting of an amplification of the *Daode jing* or quotations from other texts. The present version contains expressions similar to those found in the Taoist scriptures, such as *dao yue* 道曰 (“the Dao said . . .”) and *dao zhiyan yue* 道之言曰 (“the words of the Dao say . . .”), as well as names that are clearly of a Taoist character, such as *Zhonghuang zi* 中黃子 (Master of the Central Yellow). These elements suffice to show that the extant *Wenzi* was written between the third and eighth centuries, before the time of Xu Lingfu.

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Hebei sheng Wenwu yanjiusuo Dingzhou Han zhengli xiaozu 1995; Kandel 1974; Le Blanc 2000; Mukai Tetsuo 1989

*wu*

無

Non-being (Non-existence, Emptiness, Void)

See ★*wu* and *you* 無 · 有.

*wu* and *you*

無 · 有

Non-being (Non-existence, Emptiness, Void) and Being (Existence)

The term *wu* (non-being) usually has the same meaning as *xu* 虛 or “void” and *kong* 空 or “emptiness” (the latter term has a Buddhist flavor). The notion has different levels of meaning, however, which imply some distinctions.

*Metaphysical or ontological “void.”* The notion of a metaphysical or ontological “void” (or “emptiness”) is found in the *Daode jing* and the ★*Zhuangzi*, and later evolved under the influence of Buddhism. It negates the naive belief in a fundamental entity that lies behind existence, and in an ultimate beginning (*Zhuangzi*) or foundation for the world, and states that the Dao, the Ultimate Truth, is invisible and inconceivable, and has neither form nor name. Everything is fluctuant, and every being is caught in a net of relations and depends on others, so that no one can exist on its own. And the whole world is one; it is a continuum whose parts are only artificially separated (*Zhuangzi*), so that fundamentally and ontologically nothing exists. *Wu* is the absolute Emptiness that logically lies above and before the distinction between negation and affirmation.

Buddhism—particularly the Madhyamaka school—introduced a didactic type of dialectic that Taoism borrowed (especially in Tang times with the ★*Chongxuan*, or Twofold Mystery, school of thought). This dialectic aims at preventing one from thinking that emptiness is *something*: emptiness is nothing, emptiness is empty; emptiness is only a medicine, a device to cure the belief in the substance of things, and must be rejected when one is cured. Real Emptiness (*zhenwu* 真無) is neither empty (*xu*) nor real or “full” (*shi* 實). It is a negation of a negation, and therefore an absolute affirmation. As *wu* is taken as a negation (non-existence of things by themselves) and *you* as an affirmation (existence of things), one has to integrate them and then go beyond them to grasp these “two truths” jointly, blended in a single unity. When one negates the existence of particular things and then affirms them again on the basis of their negation, one attains to the “real non-existence” (*zhenwu*) and the “wondrous existence” (*miaoyou* 妙有), each of which includes its opposite. This absolute vacuity is neutral: as is said of the Dao, it is “neither this nor that, and both this and that”; it is not different and yet different from this world. It does not annihilate the relative vacuity or plenitude that is its manifestation.

*Cosmic “void.”* *Wu*, *xu*, and *kong* are also given a cosmic sense. In its

absolute meaning, *wu* is “the non-existence that has not yet begun to begin” (*Zhuangzi* 2), the absolute and inconceivable absence and immobility, the grand and lone Unity where there is no thing, the primordial Chaos (*\*hundun*) in its etymological meaning of “aperture,” the desert and infinite space-time that is indeterminate, underived, and has “no form.” Yet this original Void—beyond and before the manifestation of the Dao and the emergence of the world—is not nullity, as it is the source of everything and contains “a seed.” Several Taoist texts have given names to primordial Chaos that indicate its emptiness, including *taixu* 太虛 (Great Emptiness), *kongdong* 空洞 (Void Cavern), and *taiwu* 太無 (Great Non-existence). Some state that there are three Voids—namely, *xu*, *wu*, and *dong* 洞 (lit., “cavern”)—that preceded the Three Pneumas (*sanqi* 三氣; see *\*COSMOGONY*) which in turn gave rise to the sacred scriptures and the world.

In their relative meaning, this is a second stage of the formation of the world. Emptiness is the space between the two cosmic polarities (Yin and Yang or Heaven and Earth) that gives place to their *\*qi* (pneuma) so that they can combine and give life to all beings. It is a vacuity in the sense of a womb where everything can take place because it is empty. The necessary intermingling of relative *wu* (absence) and *you* (presence) is one and the same as that of Yin and Yang, which is necessary to give life.

Mythologically, this is the Great Peace (*\*taiping*, lit., Great Flatness), the Great Pervasiveness (*datong* 大通) without boundaries or obstacles, or the Great Equality (*datong* 大同) without discriminations that represents the Golden Age of the beginning of humanity.

“Void” as mental emptying. On the existential and functional plane, akin to the cosmic relative void, there is a relative emptiness, analogous to the absolute emptiness that is indispensable for life to happen, the interstitial void that makes movement possible, the hollow in a vessel that is receptiveness (*Daode jing* 11). As such it is Yin as relative to Yang. It is not “nothing” or else there would not be a void between things; but it is a relative void. It forms a couple with *you*, the existence of the things that delineate its frame. In the same way, it is quiescence (different from immobility, which is absolute absence of movement, which cannot occur in the world; see *\*dong* and *jing*) taking place between two moments of movement, or at the heart of movement.

On a psychological level, this vacuity is an act of emptying. It is the absence of thought (*wunian* 無念) and feelings, will, knowing, yearning, and concerns, which is the state “without heart-mind” (*wuxin* 無心), the absence of the “affairs” (*shi* 事) of the world, the state of purity and quiescence of meditation that is the ordinary way of being and living of the Saint (*★shengren*): not knowing anything (even that one does not know) and not going in search of anything (even of emptiness). The *Zhuangzi* calls this the Fasting of the Mind (*★xinzhai*). This emptiness, which is germane to purity and clarity, is receptivity and freedom. If one searches for the Dao or non-existence, which is not a thing, one gives it an existence and remains far away from it. As long as one has a goal there is no emptiness. It is the difference between the emptiness that is the functioning (*★yong*) of the Dao (or the “small void”) and the Real Emptiness (or the Great Void) that is the last step of the alchemical work, about which there is nothing to say. It is the state of mind, in some ways ecstatic, that *Zhuangzi* 7 depicts as Huzi’s 壺子 (Gourd Master) emptiness when he has “not yet emerged from his source.”

Emptying consists of forgetting all that we have learned, all our striving and aims, and in letting things unfold by themselves, in ourselves as well as in the world. Do not interfere, do not do anything (*★wuwei*), say the Taoists; let the Celestial Mechanism (*tianji* 天機; see *★ji*) operate naturally and freely. The Taoist spontaneous way of acting and living (*★ziran*) is the positive face of emptiness and non-intervention. Emptiness is seeing in darkness and hearing silence within; it is not to be blind and deaf. It is not a disappearance of the visible, but a deliverance from it.

Emptiness is brought forth through analogy in paintings and poems inspired by Taoism and Buddhism—the blank spot left in a painting, or that which is left unsaid in a poem, allows the cosmic pneuma to circulate and make all things move and invisibly join to each other.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Boodberg 1957; Chen E. M. 1969; Chen E. M. 1974; Graham 1959; Graham 1965; Robinet 1977, 108–32; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 325–47; Yu Shiyi 2000, 93–121

※ Dao; COSMOGONY

## Wu Quanjie

吳全節

1269–1346; *zi*: Chengji 成季; *hao*: Xianxian 閒閒 (Tranquil)

As a young Taoist of Mount Longhu (★Longhu shan, Jiangxi), Wu Quanjie was invited by the ★Xuanjiao patriarch ★Zhang Liusun to stay with him at court in 1287, and from then on ascended from honor to honor. He was made heir-patriarch in 1307, succeeded his master in 1322, and for the last twenty-four years of his life ruled over the administration of south China's Taoist clergy.

Wu, even more than his master, was well acquainted with the southern elite scholars. Like all leaders of the Xuanjiao organization, he came from a noted family that would educate at least one son each generation at one of the many colleges on Mount Longhu. These young men entered the Taoist ranks in their early teens; some would later marry, while others, aspiring to a career in the higher ranks of the Taoist administration, would remain celibate. While on the mountain, they would meet their own relatives and make acquaintance with other talented sons of good families. Wu later expanded these wealthy connections through poetic exchanges, family alliances, and favors he could extend as an influential figure at court. The friendships cultivated through these channels explain why several contemporary literati wrote inscriptions, poems, or letters to him that now form the main documentation of his life. Two cases in point are the poet Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348) and the philosopher Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249–1333), who describe Wu as a paragon of Confucian virtues. Such praise may have been dictated by the circumstances, but Wu seems to have lived up to the ideal of detachment and benevolence expected from an accomplished Taoist.

Although Wu played an important role in the religious life of his time, both in his official capacity and as the master of disciples who later rose to prominence, he did not write any works that have reached us. This is surely due to the burden of his work as the court chaplain: every bad omen, unexpected event, or special occasion saw him summoned to the inner palace. Besides regular prayers, the court also often commissioned large rituals that demanded most of the time and energy of those who, like Wu, took upon



themselves the task of maintaining the presence, good name, and aura of Taoism at the highest level of the state.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Little 2000b, 220–23; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 362–63; Sun Kekuan 1968, 156–211; Sun K'o-k'uan 1981

※ Zhang Liusun; Xuanjiao

## Wu Shouyang

伍守陽

1574–1644; *zi*: Duanyang 端陽; *hao*: Chongxu zi 冲虛子 (Master of the Unfathomable Emptiness)

Wu Shouyang, who came from Nanchang (Jiangxi; some write Ji'an 吉安), is the putative founder of the ★Wu-Liu school of ★*neidan*, named after himself and ★Liu Huayang, that was popular in southeastern China during the Qing dynasty. An eighth-generation disciple of the ★Longmen movement, Wu traces his immediate line of transmission to Zhang Jingxu 張靜虛 (fl. 1563–82), Li Zhenyuan 利真元 (fl. 1579–87), and Cao Changhua 曹常化 (1563–1622) whom Wu met in 1593. According to other sources, ★Wang Changyue (?–1680) was also among Wu's teachers.

Scholars have much debated Wu Shouyang's dates, variously indicating them as 1563–1632, 1565–1644, or 1552–1641. According to details provided by Wu himself in his *Tianxian zhengli zhilun zengzhu* 天仙正理直論增注 (Straightforward Essays on the Correct Principles of Celestial Immortality, with Additional Commentaries), he was born in 1574. His father, Wu Xide 伍希德, ranked first in the *huishi* 會試 examination in 1562 and was appointed to various high posts. He was promoted prefect of Weimo 維摩 (Yunnan) in 1578 but died there the following year. Wu's mother was born in 1552 and died in 1640.

In 1612, Wu Shouyang received teachings from Cao Changhua on the common heritage of Buddhism and Taoism. Between 1613 and 1618, he was appointed tutor of Prince Ji 吉王 in Changsha (Hunan), who granted him the title of Instructor of the Country (*guoshi* 國師). Later, he returned to his native province and devoted himself to teaching and writing: the prefaces to his works date from between 1622 and 1640. In the latter year, Wu abandoned all religious activity to be with his mother, and waited for her passing away before becoming a total recluse and entering *samādhi* himself. According to ★Min Yide, he died in 1644 (*Wu Chongxu lüshi zhuan* 伍冲虛律師傳; in ★*Daozang jinghua lu*, vol. 10).

Wu Shouyang describes his Taoist practice as a long, painstaking, and expensive process, and criticizes adepts who soon get discouraged. Wu himself selflessly served Cao Changhua, sometimes going without food to bring meals to his master. He also raised funds for Cao by selling some of his own ancestral land. The theme of financial support appears frequently in Wu's writings and is included among the requirements for the final stages of the practice in order to overcome the four difficulties (*sinan* 四難): time, financial resources, right companions, and choice of an auspicious site.

The following works are attributed to Wu Shouyang in the ★*Daozang jiyao* (vol. 17):

1. *Xian Fo hezong yulu* 仙佛合宗語錄 (Recorded Sayings on the Common Lineage of Immortals and Buddhas), collected by disciples with commentary by his brother, Wu Shouxu 伍守虛 (fl. 1630–40). Includes a supplement entitled *Wu zhenren xiuxian ge* 伍真人修仙歌 (Song of the Perfected Wu on the Cultivation of Immortality).
2. *Tianxian zhengli zhilun zengzhu*, written in 1622, completed with commentaries by Wu Shouyang himself and Wu Shouxu in 1639.
3. *Jindan yaojue* 金丹要訣 (Essential Instructions on the Golden Elixir), transmitted by spirit writing (see ★*fuji*).
4. *Dandao jiupian* 丹道九篇 (Nine Essays on Elixir Techniques), bearing a preface by Wu Shouyang dated 1640.

The above works have been also included in vol. 8 of the Xinwenfeng reprint of the ★*Zhengtong daozaog* (1977), testifying to the importance of the

Wu-Liu school in contemporary Taoism.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 199–202; Chen Zhibin 1974; Liu Ts'un-yan 1984b; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 37–59; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 390–91; Sakade Yoshinobu 1987, 2–3

※ *neidan*; Wu-Liu pai

## Wu Yun

吳筠

?–778; *zi*: Zhenjie 貞節; *hao*: Zongxuan xiansheng 宗玄先生文集 (Elder Who Takes Mystery as His Ancestor)

Wu Yun, posthumously called Zongxuan xiansheng by his disciples, is chiefly known to history as the person responsible for bringing the poetic genius Li Bai 李白 (Li Bo, 701–62) to the Tang court, where both served in the Hanlin Academy, though experts on the biography of the poet have disproved this. Wu was no mean poet himself, especially when describing ecstatic journeys of the soul in the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985) tradition, and in his final years was involved in the literary coterie of the poet-monk Jiaoran 皎然 (730–99) in the lower Yangzi region. But he is equally significant as the Taoist priest he became after quitting the court, even if he does not fit the contemporary stereotype of vast erudition in occult lore favored for Taoist hierarchs. Rather, his Taoist learning, derived from a fellow-disciple of ★Sima Chengzhen in the ★Shangqing tradition, may have gone no further than the mix of simple ★Tianshi dao and Shangqing lore found in ★*Yunji qiqian* 45, which appears to mention him twice—though since it also mentions a work of ★Du Guangting, this particular compilation is clearly much later.

Certainly his surviving prose works, consisting of his “Collected Works,” *Zongxuan xiansheng wenji* 宗玄先生文集 (Collected Works of the Elder

Who Takes Mystery as His Ancestor; CT 1051) in three chapters, and the *Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun* 宗玄先生玄綱論 (Essay on the Outlines of Mystery, by the Elder Who Takes Mystery as His Ancestor) in one chapter (CT 1052; an attached biography, *Wu zunshi zhuan* 吳尊師傳, attributed to Quan Deyu 權德輿 [759–818] is assigned CT 1053), are very restrained in their references to Taoist texts, though well-known scriptures like the ★*Xisheng jing* (Scripture of Western Ascension) are occasionally cited, and lost passages from the ★*Baopu zi* and other works may also be found. Many of Wu's other writings, which according to a preface to the “Collected Works” by Quan once amounted to over four hundred items, have for their part also been lost, apparently including several highly critical of Buddhism.

This makes all the more intriguing his intellectual impact on young Buddhist sympathizers like Quan and Liang Su 梁肅 (753–93; see under ★Li Ao). But if we examine the *Xuangang lun*, presented to the emperor in 754 during his stay at court, and also the ★*Shenxian kexue lun* (An Essay on How One May Become a Divine Immortal Through Training), we find that although they do constitute an invitation to Taoist practice within the traditions of the religion, they also as a preliminary recommend mental self-cultivation, described in terms of “inner nature” and the “emotions” (*xing* 性 and *qing* 情) and other concepts which might be found in early Chinese texts. This appeal to a common language of self-cultivation was taken up by the Buddhists and later by Confucians, ultimately opening up the way for the construction of Neo-Confucianism as a path of personal development rather than a mere curriculum of basic education. Wu's impact may also be measured from the *Nantong dajun neidan jiuzhang jing* 南統大君內丹九章經 (Scripture in Nine Sections on the Inner Elixir by the Great Lord Encompassing the South; CT 1054), which claims to have been written by him for Li Bai's benefit in 818 after he (and presumably the poet) had achieved immortality, and which at the earliest must be taken as a product of continued late Tang admiration for him.

T. H. BARRETT

■ Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1979; Kohn 1998c; de Meyer 1999; de Meyer 2000; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 238–53; Schafer 1981–83; Schafer 1983

※ *Shenxian kexue lun*

## Wu-Liu pai

### 伍柳派

#### Branch of Wu Shouyang and Liu Huayang

The Ming and Qing periods witnessed an increasing number of new religious movements, especially in Jiangxi and the surrounding regions of southeastern China. One of these was the Wu-Liu branch of *★neidan*, named after *★Wu Shouyang* (1574–1644) and his putative disciple, *★Liu Huayang* (1735–99). The name “Wu-Liu” was first used in 1897 in the *Wu-Liu xianzong* 伍柳仙宗 (The Wu-Liu Lineage of Immortality), a compilation edited by Deng Huiji 鄧徽績 (fl. 1897) that includes two works by Wu Shouyang and two by Liu Huayang.

The Wu-Liu school is traditionally affiliated with the *★Longmen* movement, which some sources trace to the *★Quanzhen* patriarch *★Qiu Chuji*. Wu himself claimed to be a Longmen disciple of the eighth generation. Both Wu and Liu advocate Buddhist meditation to rediscover one's inner nature, and Taoist methods to replenish one's vital force (see *★xing* and *ming*). Accordingly, their texts bear such titles as *★Huiming jing* (Scripture of Wisdom and Life) or *Xian Fo hezong* 仙佛合宗 (The Common Lineage of Immortals and Buddhas).

The aim of the Wu-Liu techniques is the joint cultivation (*★shuangxiu*) of innate nature and vital force, corresponding to spirit (*★shen*) and breath (*★qi*) in human beings. As in Quanzhen, however, the alchemical *œuvre* begins with the cultivation of innate nature. This emphasis on spirit requires “reverting to Emptiness to purify the self” (*huanxu lianji* 還虛鍊己), i.e., emptying the mind of all thoughts, desires and emotions. The practice eventually allows one to see one's “original face” (*benlai mianmu* 本來面目) or original nature.

The school arranges the *neidan* practice into three stages (called *sancheng* 三成 or Three Accomplishments). In the first stage, mental concentration activates precosmic pneuma (*xiantian qi* 先天氣) within the lower Cinnabar Field (*★dantian*), providing the basis for all alchemical action. The adept then continues on to “lay the foundations” (*zhuji* 築基) using physiological

methods to strengthen the vital force and prevent its dissipation. This entails opening the inner channels and circulating the *qi* by the method known as the Lesser Celestial Circuit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天; see ★*zhoutian*).

In the second stage, the union of spirit and breath engenders the seed of the inner elixir, which is fixed and nurtured within the middle Cinnabar Field. When the immortal embryo is complete, it is moved to the upper Cinnabar Field, crossing the Three Passes (★*sanguan*) of the spinal column.

The third and last stage includes the method of the Greater Celestial Circuit (*da zhoutian* 大周天; see ★*zhoutian*) or intense concentration (*dading* 大定; see ★*ding*), the egress of the spirit (★*chushen*), and the “suckling” (*rubu* 乳哺) of the infant. This leads one to the rank of “divine immortal” (*shenxian* 神仙). Three more transformations are needed to reach the rank of “celestial immortal” (*tianxian* 天仙). The final process transfiguration is described as “facing the wall for nine years” (*jiunian mianbi* 九年面壁) or “refining spirit and reverting to Emptiness” (*lianshen huanxu* 鍊神還虛). Like other authors, Liu Huayang illustrates this stage with an empty circle.

Despite the complexity of the methods, the basic tenets of the Wu-Liu school are easily comprehensible. The gradual approach to enlightenment held great appeal for adepts of advanced age, which has made this school one of the most popular of our times.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

▣ See the bibliographies for the entries ★Wu Shouyang and ★Liu Huayang

※ *neidan*; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.3 (“Alchemy: Wu-liu pai”)

## *Wuchu jing*

### 五廚經

Scripture of the Five Cuisines

The twenty five-character verses that form the core of the *Laozi shuo wuchu jing zhu* 老子說五廚經注 (Commentary to the Scripture of the Five Cuisines Spoken by Laozi) concern a meditation technique for circulating the energies through the five viscera (★*wuzang*) of the body. The goal is said to be reached through harmonizing and concentrating one's own Original Pneuma (★*yuanqi*) with the Great Harmony (*taihe* 泰和). In this way, one obtains Unity, or the Dao. This method is also recommended by ★Sima Chengzhen in his ★*Fuqi jingyi lun*.

In its independent edition in the Taoist Canon (CT 763), the *Wuchu jing zhu* contains a preface dated 735 and a commentary, both signed by Yin Yin 尹愔 (?–741), who was the head of the Suming guan 肅明觀 (Abbey of Reviving Light) in Chang'an and a high official under Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56). Another edition, entitled *Wuchu jing qifa* 五廚經氣法 (Method of Energy of the Scripture of the Five Cuisines; YJQQ 61.5b–10b), also includes Yin Yin's commentary, with slight variations. Although the presence of Yin Yin's preface might suggest a Tang date for the *Wuchu jing*, the origins of this text may be much earlier. ★Ge Hong, in his ★*Baopu zi*, mentions a *Xingchu jing* 行廚經 (Scripture of the Movable Cuisines) and a *Riyue chushi jing* 日月廚食經 (Scripture of the Cuisine Meals of the Sun and the Moon), which could be the ancestors of the received text. ★Du Guangting, in his ★*Daojiao lingyan ji*, also mentions the *Wuchu jing* with Yin Yin's commentary. Du claims a Taoist origin for the scripture and denounces a Buddhist forgery, saying that the text was fraudulently transformed into a *Fo shuo santing chujing* 佛說三停廚經 (Sūtra of the Three Cuisines Spoken by the Buddha). This counterfeit Buddhist *sūtra* can be no other than the identically-titled apocryphal text found among the Chinese ★Dunhuang and Japanese Kōyasan 高野山 (Mount Kōya) manuscripts, and also in the Buddhist Canon (T. 2894).

Christine MOLLIER

▣ Makita Tairyō 1976, 345–68; Mollier 2000; Verellen 1992, 248–49

※ *chu*

## Wudang shan

### 武當山

#### Mount Wudang (Hubei)

Mount Wudang is one of the holiest sites in Taoist geography, as it is present symbolically, along with Mount Longhu (★Longhu shan), on the altar prepared for all Offering (★*jiao*) rituals. Yet its preeminence is a rather late phenomenon in Chinese religious history. There are mentions of this beautiful mountain site (1600 m high, located in the northern part of Hubei province) in ancient geographical sources, and there were Taoist ascetics associated with it. But Mount Wudang only came to national fame during the late thirteenth century, when it was recognized as the place where the martial exorcist god ★Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior, or Authentic Warrior) had practiced ascetic exercises leading to immortality. By that time, Zhenwu's cult had already been spreading throughout China for about two centuries, in close relation to the new Taoist exorcistic rituals that flourished during the Song. The mountain then came to be understood as the physical trace of Zhenwu's practice, and the pilgrimage trails lead to such spots—for instance, the well where an old lady ground a needle out of a rock (to teach Zhenwu endurance) or the cliff where Zhenwu meditated. This lore was transmitted in numerous books, beginning with Liu Daoming's 劉道明 *Wudang fudi zongzhen ji* 武當福地總真集 (Anthology of the Totality of Real Men from the Blissful Land of Wudang; CT 962; preface dated 1291 but present text later than 1293; see Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 209) and continued in hagiographic works, both written and painted, and a succession of gazetteers. At about the same time, the mountain was gradually becoming covered with monasteries and hermitages.

The early Ming was a period of exuberant imperial patronage of Zhenwu and Mount Wudang, beginning with the Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368–98) and reaching its apex with the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403–24). The latter took Zhenwu as the official protector of the dynasty and constructed a very arcane and elaborate lore around a saint from Mount Wudang, ★Zhang Sanfeng. During the Yongle reign period, Mount Wudang was refashioned (1411–24) with splendid monasteries and temples, culminating with the Golden Pavilion



(Jindian 金殿) on its peak. The mountain became an independent realm, with huge resources managed by eunuchs and military aristocrats who answered directly to the court and remained aloof from the civil bureaucracy. The Qing imperial patronage was incomparably more modest. The mountain suffered rather limited damage during the twentieth century compared with other sites, and thus has preserved valuable samples of Ming and Qing architecture, sculpture, and other works of art.

Mount Wudang was a very active pilgrimage center, and pilgrimage associations that came each year to pray to Zhenwu from faraway places, including the northern plain and the Suzhou area, are well attested by inscriptions and other sources throughout the Ming and Qing periods. The mountain has also been home to the largest Taoist clerical community in China in the modern period, with several hundred Taoists in residence in its five monasteries and dozens of smaller hermitages, most of them sojourning for several months or years for training. Mount Wudang has been, indeed, an important destination for all wandering Taoists. It housed both ★Quanzhen and ★Qingwei clerics, as was the case ever since the Yuan period, and in fact was one of the major points of close interaction between the two orders.

Last but not least, Mount Wudang emerged, apparently during the mid-Qing, at the center of a distinct school of martial arts associated with Zhang Sanfeng, known as ★Taiji quan. Training in Taiji quan, with either Taoists or lay masters, is now one of the major attractions of the mountain.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 119–21; de Bruyn 2004; Hachiya Kunio 1990, 1: 283–89 and 2: 269–82; Lagerwey 1992; Little 2000b, 301–5; Wang Guangde and Yang Lizhi 1993

※ Zhenwu; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*Wudou jing*

五斗經

Scriptures of the Five Dippers

The *Wudou jing* is a set of texts containing talismans of and invocations to the Dippers of the five directions. They are divided according to geographical direction into materials concerning the Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western, and Central Dippers, with two texts devoted to the Northern Dipper:

1. *Beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 北斗本命延生真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Natal Destiny of the Northern Dipper for Extending Life; CT 622)
2. *Beidou benming changsheng miaojing* 北斗本命長生妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Natal Destiny of the Northern Dipper for Prolonging Life; CT 623)
3. *Nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing* 南斗六司延壽度人妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Six Officers of the Southern Dipper for Extending Longevity and Salvation; CT 624)
4. *Dongdou zhusuan huming miaojing* 東斗主筭護命妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Governor of Life Spans of the Eastern Dipper for Protecting Life; CT 625)
5. *Xidou jiming hushen miaojing* 西斗記名護身妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Recording of Names of the Western Dipper for Protecting One's Person; CT 626)
6. *Zhongdou dakui baoming miaojing* 中斗大魁保命妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Great *Kui* [Stars] of the Central Dipper for Guarding Life; CT 627)

These texts purport to record a second major revelation by Laozi to ★Zhang Daoling in 155 CE, granted after he received the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity (*zhengyi mengwei* 正一盟威) in 142. The preface to the *Scripture of the Southern Dipper*, in particular, details these circumstances and summarizes the standard biography of the first Celestial Master. Their actual date is post-Tang, probably Five Dynasties, and there is reason to locate them in Sichuan.

The *Wudou jing* presents sacred spells (*zhou* 咒) associated with the celestial constellation of *Ursa Major* and contains talismans (★FU) for summoning the gods of this constellation. Each of its texts outlines devotional measures for protection involving scriptural recitation (★*songjing*)

and formal rites for the Dippers, preferably undertaken on the devotees birthday, at a new moon, or on generally auspicious days. One says, for example:

To recite this scripture, you must first develop utmost sincerity and purify your mind. Then, facing east, clench your teeth and pay reverence in your heart. Kneeling, close your eyes and visualize the gods [of the Eastern Dipper] as though you physically see the limitless realm of the east. Mysterious numinous forces, imperial lords, realized perfected, and great sages—a countless host lines up before you. Looking at them will help you overcome days of disaster. (CT 625, 2b)

In addition, the texts provide talismans to summon the six officers of the Dipper who protect life and help in difficulties, assuring the faithful that the perfected will respond immediately and grant a life “as long as the Dao itself” (CT 624, 5a). The talismans are used in the presentation of petitions and contain the power to make the gods respond. Today the *Scripture of the Northern Dipper* is among the central texts chanted during so-called Dipper Festivals (*lidou fahui* 禮斗法會) at popular shrines in Taipei, which last three to five days and serve to ensure good fortune.

In a separate development, the Taoist texts also inspired the creation of a Buddhist scripture of the Northern Dipper, the *Beidou qixing yanming jing* 北斗七星延命經 (Scripture of the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper for Extending Destiny; T. 1307), which survives in Chinese, Uighur, Mongolian, and Tibetan versions. Several other *sūtras* on “rites and recitations for the Northern Dipper” that are associated with the eighth-century Tantric masters Vajrabodhi (Jingangzhi 金剛智, 671–741) and Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空, 705–74) do in fact date back to the Yuan dynasty.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Franke H. 1990; Kohn 1998b, 97–100; Matsumoto Kōichi 1997

※ *beidou*

## Wudoumi dao

### 五斗米道

#### Way of the Five Pecks of Rice

Way of the Five Pecks of Rice is an alternative appellation for the Way of the Celestial Masters (★Tianshi dao). Chang Qu's 常璩 *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 (Monograph of the Land South of Mount Hua) explains that, “Their contributions to the Way were limited to five pecks, therefore people of the day referred to them as the Way of Rice (*midao* 米道).” Thus, at least in the early days of the church, it was the obligation of each household of adherents to contribute five pecks of rice (approximately 9 liters) each year toward the maintenance of the organization and its clergy. Ōfuchi Ninji (1991, 389–96) has shown that if this was indeed the case and if this contribution was made in place of the normal annual taxes due the central government, then the practice constituted a significant decrease in the overall burden upon the average peasant.

It is nowhere specified exactly how this grain was used, but it seems likely that, in addition to providing food for certain full-time religious professionals (it is unclear whether the average ★*jijiu* or libationer was such a full-time professional), it provided food for the “charity lodges” (*yishe* 義舍), where it was made freely available to the needy, and for the “cuisines” (★*chu*, a type of communal meal) that each parish (★*zhi*) offered periodically, during the Three Assemblies (★*sanhui*). According to the ★*Xuandu liuwen* (Statutes of the Mysterious Metropolis, 11b), the preferred date for these contributions was the Middle Assembly on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, and payments in the eighth and ninth lunar months won decreasing amounts of merit; grain contributed at the Lower Meeting in the tenth lunar month merely averted punishment. The *Taizhen ke* 太真科 (Code of the Great Perfected; quoted in *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔; CT 463, 10.2a), on the other hand, says, “We revere the five pecks of the rice of faith in order to establish Creation and the pneumas of the Five Virtues (*wuxing* 五行). The register of fates for the household members is tied to the rice. Every year at the appointed time, on the first day of the tenth lunar month, everyone

assembles at the parish of the Celestial Master and pays it into the Celestial Treasury (*tianku* 天庫) and to the Lodges (*ting* 亭) within fifty *li*, lest the poor and destitute, in a time of famine, might while traveling lack food.” Travelers did not pack food with them.

Although the term Wudoumi dao has become common in modern secondary scholarship on early Taoism, there is no evidence that it was ever used among believers; it seems rather to have been a derogatory term used by outsiders to make light of the more prosaic aspects of cult doctrine. A contemporary inscription refers to the group as “rice bandits” (*mizei* 米賊). It should probably be avoided by modern scholars in favor of terms like Celestial Master or ★Zhengyi Taoists, which were used contemporaneously to refer to the movement.

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■ Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 309–406; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 84–91; Robinet 1997b, 55; see also bibliographies for the entries ★Tianshi dao and ★Zhengyi

※ Tianshi dao; Zhengyi

*wugong*

午供

Noon Offering

The Noon Offering is a presentation of offerings to the deities that is performed around noon. In present-day Taiwan, it occurs as part of the ★*zhai* (Retreat) and ★*jiao* (Offering) rituals, but is not considered a formal part of the proceedings. The offering includes incense, flowers, candles, fruit, tea, wine, food (cooked rice and rice cakes stuffed with bean jam), water, and valuables such as gold, silver, and jewels. The priest holds each of these in his hands in turns and presents them while performing movements similar to a dance. During the ritual of Merit (★*gongde*) for the redemption of the deceased, after making the offerings at the altar, the priest moves to the Spirit

Hall (*lingtang* 靈堂) where the deceased is enshrined and presents the offerings in the same way there.

Besides these practices, there is also a custom of offering “five animals” (*wusheng* 五牲, i.e., five kinds of meat, fish, and shellfish) and twelve bowls of cooked food at the outer altar, called the Table of the Three Realms (*sanjie zhuo* 三界卓).

*ASANO Haruji*

▣ Lagerwey 1987c, 54–55; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 263–66 and 494–96

※ *gongde; jiao*

*wuji*

無極

Ultimateless

See ★*wuji* and *taiji* 無極 · 太極.

*wuji* and *taiji*

無極 · 太極

Ultimateless and Great Ultimate

The term *taiji*, or Great Ultimate (lit., “great ridgepole”), appears to have a Taoist origin. In the ★Mawangdui manuscripts, the same notion appears as *daheng* 大恆 (Great Constancy). Taoist sources associate the Great Ultimate with the ★Taiyi (Great One), the star divinity residing in the center of Heaven, and with *huangji* 皇極 (August Ultimate), another term that

designates the center. The Great Ultimate is therefore the cosmic heart (★*xin*) as both the pole star (*jixing* 極星) and the human heart. In the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, a portion of the ★*Yijing*), the Great Ultimate is the prime principle of the world, and in the ★*Xuanxue* (Arcane Learning) milieu it is deemed to be cognate with Emptiness and the *Taiyi*.

Neo-Confucian thinkers used the term in the same sense as the *Xici*. Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–73; SB 277–81), in particular, associated it with the Taoist term *wuji* (Ultimateless, Boundless, Infinite; lit., “without a ridgepole”) in the famous phrase *wuji er taiji* 無極而太極. This phrase can mean either that *wuji* and *taiji* are one and the same thing, or that *wuji* comes first followed by *taiji*. While Neo-Confucians tended to endorse the first meaning, most Taoists adopted the second: for them, the *taiji* is the beginning of the world, but the *wuji* is the unknowable Dao itself. This view derives from the Han “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA), where *taiji* is the last of the five precosmic geneses called Five Greats (*wutai* 五太), representing the instant when pneuma (★*qi*), form (★*xing*), and matter (*zhi* 質) are still merged together but are ready to part from each other (see ★COSMOGONY).

The *taiji* is the One that contains Yin and Yang, or the Three (as stated in *Hanshu* 21A). This Three is, in Taoist terms, the One (Yang) plus the Two (Yin), or the Three that gives life to all beings (*Daode jing* 42), the One that virtually contains the multiplicity. The *taiji* is said to be the function of the Dao, whose substance is Chaos (see ★*ti* and *yong*); the *wuji* is the Dao as the metaphysical One, a neutral “no-number” that is before movement and quiescence (★*dong* and *jing*), unity and multiplicity. Thus, the *wuji* is a limitless void, whereas the *taiji* is a limit in the sense that it is the beginning and the end of the world, a turning point. The *wuji* is the mechanism of both movement and quiescence; it is situated before the differentiation between movement and quiescence, metaphorically located in the space-time between *kun* 坤 ☷, or pure Yin, and *fu* 復 ☱, the return of the Yang. In other terms, while the Taoists state that *taiji* is metaphysically preceded by *wuji*, which is the Dao, the Neo-Confucians say that the *taiji* is the Dao.

These two notions are variously represented in Taoism, as shown by the variants of the diagram usually known as ★*Taiji tu* (Diagram of the Great Ultimate; see [fig. 70](#)). In this diagram, the *wuji* is illustrated as a blank circle, and the *taiji* as a circle with a point in its center that stands for the embryo of

the world, or as a circle that contains Yin and Yang (as two lines, one unbroken and one broken), or as two circles rolled up together, one black and the other white (or each of them half white and half black). In the diagram as it appears in Confucian works, which also has a Taoist origin, *wuji* is the blank circle above the black and white circles of the *taiji*.

The *taiji* is the limit and the juncture between the two worlds, the noumenal world that “antedates Heaven” and the phenomenal world that is “after Heaven and Earth” (see ★*xiantian* and *houtian*). It is the circle that represents the unity of beginning and end, and “turns without ending.” It signifies the fecundity of the Dao, positive and dynamic. The *wuji* or the Infinite is its negative aspect, the invisible that can only be known by its effects but remains hidden even in its manifestations. In this sense *taiji* is synonymous with illumination, divine knowledge, the “real nature” of things, and the elixir. It is the light that lies within each human being, simultaneously the point of departure and the goal of the alchemical work. It is the Mysterious Pass (★*xuanguan*), the “sparkle of light,” the pneuma anterior to Heaven and Earth that a child receives even before conception and that develops and gives life. The Taoists say that the *taiji* is the Center, the mediating central Agent (i.e., Soil; see ★*wuxing*), or the pole star at the center of the sky. In meditation, it is the extreme of quiescence that turns into movement, life and thought, a hinge, an opening that gives way to the unity lying between the “transcendent Non-being” and the “transcendent Being,” and their interpenetration (see ★*wu* and *you*). The *taiji* is the positive way of cognition and the *wuji* the apophatic one, two aspects that are complementary in the divine knowledge, or knowing ignorance, both knowing and ignoring, neither knowing nor ignoring. In the body, the *taiji* is represented by the kidneys because the right one symbolizes the Great Yin (*taiyin* 太陰) and the left one the Minor Yang (or Young Yang, *shaoyang* 少陽), hence the passage from Yin to Yang (★*Daoshu*; 7.12a).

Isabelle ROBINET

& Chen Guying 1993; Li Yuanguo 1985c; Li Yuanguo 1990; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 334–41; Rao Zongyi 1993a; Robinet 1990b; Wang Baoxuan 1993

※ *dong* and *jing*; *wu* and *you*; *xiantian* and *houtian*; *Taiji tu*; COSMOGONY



## *Wuneng zi*

### 無能子

#### Book of the Master of No Abilities

The *Wuneng zi* is a short work of Taoist philosophy in three chapters from the latter part of the Tang dynasty. Wuneng zi's identity is not known. An anonymous preface to the work, ostensibly written by an acquaintance of Wuneng zi himself, claims that the text was written in March and April, 887 in the inn of a Mr. Jing 景 in Zuofu 左輔 in the vicinity of Chang'an. The preface says that Wuneng zi had been an official but had taken up a roving existence in the aftermath of the Huang Chao 黃巢 rebellion (874–84). The only reference within the text that may bear on its provenance occurs in the third chapter where a conversation with one Huayang zi 華陽子 is recorded. Huayang zi was the pseudonym of ★Shi Jianwu (fl. 820–35), a Taoist author, poet, and ★*neidan* practitioner.

The *Wuneng zi* advocates following the path of ★*wuwei* (non-action), being spontaneous and without intention, doing what is fitting without consciously deciding. In doing so, self-preservation is most likely to be achieved. The problems of human life, the text argues, are due to the existence of social organization and the promulgation of the learning of the sages, a major target of Wuneng zi's attacks.

Part of the *Wuneng zi* is written in dialogue form where some well-known figures who lived from the Shang to the Jin—Taigong wang 太公王, Laozi, Confucius, Sun Deng 孫登, among others—endorse Wuneng zi's views.

The *Wuneng zi* appears in the *Daozang* (CT 1028) but the most convenient edition to use is that of Wang Ming (1981). There is a fine unpublished English translation by Nathan Woolley (1997).

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Naundorf 1972; Wang Ming 1981 (crit. ed.); Woolley 1997 (trans.); Zhu Yueli 1983a

## *Wupian zhenwen*

### 五篇真文

#### Perfected (*or*: Authentic) Script in Five Tablets

The full title of this text in the Canon (CT 22) is *Yuanshi wulao chishu yu* [recte: *wu*] *pian zhenwen tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書玉 [五] 篇真文天書經 (The Perfected Script in Five Tablets Written in Red Celestial Writing on the [Celestial Worthy of] Original Commencement and the Five Ancient Lords). As the first text of the early fifth-century ★Lingbao corpus, it narrates the origins of the scriptures in the ethers at creation and reveals the organizing rubrics of Lingbao cosmology and ritual.

The central revelation of the scripture is the Perfected Script, a series of 672 graphs resembling seal-script and divided into five groups, each under the control of one of the Five Ancient Lords of the four directions and center. The translation of this celestial writing is given, with some discrepancies, in the second scripture of the Lingbao canon, the *Lingbao yujue* 靈寶玉訣 (Jade Instructions of Lingbao; now found in *Chishu yujue miaojing* 赤書玉訣妙經, CT 352). The *Wupian zhenwen* relates how this celestial writing appeared in the void at the beginning of time and was refined into permanent form by the Celestial Worthy (Tianzun 天尊) in the Halls of Flowing Fire (*liuhuo zhi ting* 流火之庭) for the salvation of all. The Perfected Script is thus the original form of the scriptures and is displayed on five altars in all Lingbao ritual. For the individual, the graphs serve as protective talismans, guarding the body against demons, flood, and stellar disorders and ensuring the proper handling of one's name in the celestial registers of life (*shengji* 生籍).



Fig. 76. A section of the *Wupian zhenwen. Yuanshi wulao chishu yu* [recte: *wu*] *pian zhenwen tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書玉 [五] 篇真文天書經 (Perfected Script in Five Tablets Written in Red Celestial Writing on the [Celestial Worthy of] Original Commencement and the Five Ancient Lords; CT 22). See Benn 1991, 110.

After describing the origins of the Perfected Script, the scripture relates how the Most High Lord of the Dao (Taishang daojun 太上道君) prevailed upon the Celestial Worthy to release the text for the salvation of mortals. The Five Ancient Lords (Wulao 五老), known from imperial ritual and from Han “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA), control each of

the five sections and ensure the safe passage of the texts' recipients through the calamities of the end-times, which are graphically described. Talismans (★FU) associated with them are also given. Based on the information revealed here, the closely-related *Lingbao yujue* gives the script for a ritual to summon and feast the Five Ancient Lords. This is a version of the earliest extant description of the ★*jiao* (Offering) ritual, drawn from the ★*Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure).

Finally, the scripture gives several lists of dates important for ritual use. The “ten days of apposition” (*shi zhiri* 十直日, the first, eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth days of each lunar month) are the days when the celestials of the Ten Heavens gather to check the records of those under their control. The eight nodal days of the year (*bajie* 八節, equinoxes, solstices, and the first day of each season) are likewise days when celestial records are checked and the good or bad deeds of all recorded. Each of these times are occasions for special rituals, detailed in the *Lingbao* scriptures.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Bell 1988; Benn 1991, 49–54; Bokenkamp 1983; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 105–37; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 17 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 1 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 89–128 passim; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 382–88; Schipper 1991b

※ *jiao*; *Lingbao*

### *Wushang biyao*

無上祕要

Supreme Secret Essentials

The *Wushang biyao*, compiled under imperial auspices between 577 and 588, is the oldest surviving compendium of Taoist literature. Ironically, Wudi (r. 560–78) of the Northern Zhou dynasty commissioned it. Earlier, in 574, he

had proscribed both Taoism and Buddhism, abolishing their abbeys and monasteries. However, he apparently wanted to found a new church that would embrace all believers of whatever persuasion. Such a church would provide ideological support for his ambitious drive to reunite China after more than 250 years of division. One month after the proscription, he established the ★Tongdao guan (Abbey of the Pervasive Way), a Taoist abbey, in his capital. The emperor had decided that Taoism was the proper religion to promote his political goals. It was undoubtedly that “think tank” that was responsible for the compilation of the *Wushang biyao*. Although its staff included Buddhist monks and secular scholars of Taoist thought, its aim was to produce a text derived entirely from the scriptures of Taoist religion.

The editors of the *Wushang biyao* established 292 rubrics to organize their materials. The complete internal structure of the work would have remained unclear had not a manuscript (P. 2861) containing its table of contents dating from the early eighth century been discovered at ★Dunhuang. The manuscript shows that the 292 rubrics were divided into forty-nine sections (see [table 24](#)). Of the one-hundred chapters in the original edition of the text, thirty-three are now missing from the version in the *Daozang* (CT 1138), namely chapters 1, 2, 8, 10–14, 36, 58–64, 67–73, 75, 77, 79–82, 85, 86, 89, and 90. The bulk of the lost material vanished shortly after the text was completed since the bibliographic treatise of the *Jiu Tangshu* (Old History of the Tang) lists it as having only seventy-two chapters (van der Loon 1984, 143). The titles in the history's treatise were copied from a catalogue of the imperial library compiled early in the Kaiyuan reign period (713–41). The disappearance of those chapters means that a substantial number of rubrics in the Dunhuang table of contents have no citations whatsoever.

The *Wushang biyao* is not an encyclopedia in the modern sense of the word. The editors simply extracted passages from Taoist scriptures and pasted them together. There is no analysis, explication or even commentary that defines precisely the meaning of the terms, or rubrics, concerned. In most cases, however, the citations themselves provide the information. There are citations from nearly 120 texts, seventy-seven of which are still extant in the *Daozang*. Its contents were disproportionately derived from ★Shangqing and ★Lingbao works. The most blatant omissions are from the scriptures of the Celestial Master order (★Tianshi dao) for which there are only two quotations, but there are also few extracts from the *Dongshen* 洞神 canon. In 523 or shortly thereafter Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536) compiled the *Qilu*

七錄 (Seven Records), a bibliography now lost in which he listed the titles of 290 Taoist scriptures and precepts (see *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集; T. 2103, *j.* 3). One can only wonder what the other 170 texts overlooked by the compilers of the *Wushang biyao* were. To compound the problem the editors ignored, for whatever reason, whole categories of texts; these include all works on the “arts of the bedchamber” (★*fangzhong shu*; thirteen according to Ruan), alchemical works that were not part of the Shangqing or Lingbao corpora, and texts concerning talismans and charts (seventy according to Ruan).

Table 24

SEC.	RUBRIC	CHAPTER	CONTENT
1	1		Cosmogony: the creation of the universe by the Dao
2	2		Cosmogony: transformation of ★ <i>qi</i>
3	3–26	3–5	Cosmology: celestial realms of the gods; Sun, Moon, and stars; the Three Realms ( <i>sanjie</i> 三界) of desire, form and formlessness; divine mountains, forests and fruits; mountain grottoes, grottoheavens (★ <i>dongtian</i> ), and divine waters; humans
4	27	6.1a–5a	Cosmic cycles
5	28–29	6.5a–10a	Mythological monarchs; imaginary islands and lands
6	30–32	6.10a–12b	Thought and statecraft
7	33	7.1a–2b	Loss of perfection by pursuing worldly matters
8	34	7.2b–4b	Good and evil conduct
9	35	7.4b–6a	Difficulties
10	36	7.6a–8a	Problems
11	37	7.8a–12a	Disasters caused by the interaction of Yin and Yang
12	38–40		Bureaucracy of the unseen world
13	41	9.1a–2a	Promotions and demotions in the unseen world
14	42	9.2a–11a	Assemblies and deliberations in the unseen world
15	43		Life and death
16	44		Hell
17	45–46		Divine responses; “harmonizing with

			the lights” ( <i>heguang</i> 和光)
18	47–66	15–16	Gods
19	67–110	17–23	Gods’ regalia, corteges, music, palaces, and parishes
20	111–14	24	Three Treasures ( <i>sanbao</i> 三寶), True Writs ( <i>zhenwen</i> 真文), celestial omens, and terrestrial portents
21	115–20	25–29	Uses and powers of writs, talismans, petitions, and hymns
22	121–22	30	Scriptures: their origins and names
23	123–24	31.1a–7a	Scriptures: their powers and duration
24	125	31.7a–15a	Fate of those who obtain the scriptures
25	126–27	32	Transmission of scriptures, in heaven and on earth
26	128	33	Penalties for improper transmission
27	129–37	34–40	Transmission of scriptures: ordination rites
28	138–40	41	Liturgical instruments: staffs, boards, and tablets
29	141–42	42	Service to teachers and study
30	143–46	43.1a–4b	Liturgical vestments of the clergy
31	147–48	43.4b–15a	Lectures on and recitation of scripture
32	149–80	44–57	Precepts; ★ <i>zhai</i> (retreats)
33	181–82		Defenses for the scriptures
34	183–85		Immortals
35	186		Retribution ( <i>bao</i> 報)
36	187–89		Averting catastrophes, confessing sins, and fortune/misfortune
37	190–93	65.1a–3b	Becoming a Taoist, eliminating impediments, taboos, and perseverance/accomplishments
38	194–97	65.3b–12b	The tender and frail ( <i>rouruo</i> 柔弱),



			emptiness and quiescence ( <i>xujing</i> 虛靖), retiring to the mountains, and rejecting the mores of the masses
39	198–207	66	Devotional practices: bathing, lighting lamps, burning incense, praying, visualization, etc.
40	208–11		Methods for controlling spirits of the body
41	212–13		Healing and eliminating the three corpses ( <i>sanshi</i> ; see ★ <i>sanshi</i> and <i>jiuchong</i> )
42	214–16		Preservation of the body, treading the path of the three blessings ( <i>sanfu</i> 三福), and dwelling in interior perfection ( <i>neiquan</i> 內全)
43	217–20		Filiality, loyalty, merit, hidden virtue, and felicity
44	221–22	74	Desires and vows
45	223–33	76	Abstention from cereals (★ <i>bigu</i> ), absorbing the Five Pneumas ( <i>fu wuqi</i> 服五氣), etc.
46	234–49	78	Drugs and elixirs for acquiring immortality
47	250–51		Prudence and respect
48	252–88	83–100.2b	Taoists who obtained posts in the bureaucracy of the afterworld; methods of acquiring immortality; ascension to celestial realms
49	289–92	100.2b–9b	Responding to transformations, unification with double forgetfulness, “entering what is so by itself” ( <i>ru ziran</i> 入自然), and “compenetrating obscure silence”

Contents of the *Wushang biyao*. Ch. 1, 2, 8, 10–14, 36, 58–64, 67–73, 75, 77, 79–82, 85, 86, 89, and 90 are lost.

Despite these deficiencies, the *Wushang biyao* is one of the main sources for the study of medieval Taoism. Its citations make it possible to determine what scriptures and parts of scriptures composed in the Six Dynasties have survived in the *Daozang* today. Aside from the ★*Lingbao shoudu yi* (Ordination Ritual of the Numinous Treasure) by ★Lu Xiujing, it contains the oldest liturgies for performing ordinations and Retreat rites (★*zhai*) extant. Although edited at Emperor Wudi's insistence and abbreviated by the compilers, there are no other datable manuals for those rituals until the end of the Tang.

Finally, the table of contents to the *Wushang biyao* from the Dunhuang manuscripts supplies an excellent, if incomplete, overview of Taoist beliefs in the Six Dynasties. The editors of the collection systematized the tenets, rituals, and practices of the religion, providing a tool for exploring given topics. They also ordered the subjects in ascending or descending hierarchies of priority that reveals the values placed on them by Taoists (Lagerwey 1981b, 33 and 44). The compendium is an invaluable tool for guiding research in a number of areas.

*Charles D. BENN*

■ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 228–29; Lagerwey 1981b; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 337–44, 370–75 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 747–75 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.); Ōfuchi Ninji 1997, 297–407; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 60–107 (list of texts cited); Ozaki Masaharu 1983c, 189–92; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 123–56

※ Tongdao guan

*Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*

# 無上黃籙大齋立成儀

## Standard Liturgies of the Supreme Great Yellow Register Retreat

Assembled in the early thirteenth century, the *Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* (CT 508) focuses on the Yellow Register Retreat (★*huanglu zhai*) rites to save the dead. It contains the teachings of the itinerant ritual master from Hubei, Liu Yongguang 留用光 (1134–1206), who studied ★Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity), ★Tongchu (Youthful Incipience), Thunder Rituals (★*leifa*), and probably the ★Tianxin zhengfa (Correct Method of the Celestial Heart), before becoming head Taoist in Hangzhou in 1203. Liu's teachings were codified by his disciple, the official Jiang Shuyu 蔣叔輿 (1162–1223), who compiled a series of works on ★Lingbao ritual during two decades of comparing ritual systems.

In giving a well-structured overview of the three-day Yellow Register Retreat, Jiang wanted to make sure that authentic rites (*zhengfa* 正法) of Lingbao programs—especially the texts and scriptures issued by ★Lu Xiuqing, but also those by ★Zhang Wanfu and ★Du Guangting—would remain central to ritual practice. Relying on Zhengyi forms of submitting petitions to heaven, Jiang condemns the ritual practices of the ★Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure). His praises for Tianxin, ★Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean), and ★Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way), and ★Lu Shizhong's (fl. 1120–30) Yutang 玉堂 (Jade Hall), are also noteworthy.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Asano Haruji 1999b; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 41–43; Davis E. 2001, 171–76; Lagerwey 1994

※ *huanglu zhai*

*wuwei*

無為

non-action; non-interference; non-intervention

*Wuwei* or “non-action” means to do things the natural way, by not interfering with the patterns, rhythms, and structures of nature, without imposing one's own intentions upon the organization of the world. The term appears first, and most prominently, in the *Daode jing*, where it is coupled several times with the phrase *wu buwei* 無不為, “and there will be nothing that is not done.” In this early text, non-action means retaining an inner core of quietude and letting the world move along as it naturally proceeds. It is a quality of the sage (★*shengren*), and thus also of the ideal ruler, that will ensure a general sense of harmony and well-being in the world.

In the ★*Zhuangzi*, non-action appears as a more psychological mode and is a characteristic of spontaneity (★*ziran*), the main quality of the embodied Dao. It means to be free in mind and spirit and able to wander about the world with ease and pleasure (see ★*yuanyou*), to engage in an ecstatic oneness with all-there-is. Yet another dimension of non-action evolved with the rise of cosmological thought in the Han. In the thought of ★Huang-Lao Taoism, non-action meant to be in perfect alignment with the movements of the seasons, the planets, and the times. Yin and Yang in their various alterations were the key pattern to follow and non-action meant less the not doing of something than the doing of the right thing at the right time. From this point onward, and in mainstream Chinese thought, non-action became a form of action, coinciding with the best possible action or *youwei* 有為 in both social and political practice.

A different slant on the topic was produced by the primitivists or anarchists whose texts have survived in parts of the *Zhuangzi*. Rejecting all forms of government and social or other organization, they proposed a radical vision of non-action as doing absolutely nothing. Any kind of interference, management, or organization could inevitably lead only to ruin. This radical position has been echoed in modern times, when Taoist revivalist thinkers have used the ancient thinkers to counter Communist policies.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Duyvendak 1947; Fukunaga Mitsuji 1965; Liu Xiaogan 1991; Liu Xiaogan 1998; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 269–72

※ Dao

*wuxing*

五行

Five Phases; Five Agents

The system of the *wuxing* forms an integral part of what A. C. Graham has called the “correlative cosmology” that had taken shape by the early imperial age under the Former Han. Various English translations have been attempted, but “five agents” and “five phases” are nowadays most commonly used by scholars.

In the case of Yin-Yang thinking, one draws up a list of entities under the two headings Yin and Yang, so that the cosmos is organized into sets of paired and parallel relationships (for some examples, see [table 1](#)). In the case of the *wuxing*, the list is organized into five columns, headed by the labels Wood (*mu* 木), Fire (*huo* 火), Soil (*tu* 土), Metal (*jin* 金), and Water (*shui* 水). With Yin-Yang the basic relation implied between the paired items is one of complementary alternation. With the fivefold scheme, however, the potential relationships are considerably more complex. The phases or agents are ordered in two ways (see [fig. 77](#)): the “production” or “generation” sequence (*xiangsheng* 相生) and the “conquest” sequence (*xiangke* 相克). It is easy to see the way the two sequences work, at least with reference to the natural entities after which the phases or agents are named. In the production order, Wood grows using Water; Fire can come from Wood; Soil (ashes) comes from Fire and (as all ancient peoples thought) Metals grow in the Soil; finally Water condenses on cold Metal. Turning to conquest, Water extinguishes Fire, Fire melts Metal, Metal cuts Wood, Wood (as in an ancient wooden spade) can dig up Soil, and Soil can dam up Water.

One major application of *wuxing* thinking was in the realm of medicine, in which we are concerned with a microcosm—the human body—that was seen as necessarily recapitulating the patterns of the macrocosm—Heaven and Earth. The partial listing given in [table 25](#) serves to indicate how the

correlative system functioned. Through the application of this scheme, the physician is enabled to make immediate sense of some symptoms. The patient who develops eye problems may have a malfunction of the liver; a bitter taste in the mouth may be indicative of heart trouble; a depressed patient may have overactivity of the phase or agent Metal associated with the lungs. But more subtle decisions can be guided by this system of thinking. Suppose for instance that the physician concludes that the patient is suffering from a liver disorder. Noting that the liver is linked with the phase or agent Wood, a prescription is chosen to strengthen the spleen (Soil) since the doctor knows that the liver disease will be transmitted into the spleen (Wood conquers Soil). This is not just a precaution—in fact the strengthening of the spleen acts round the cycle to strengthen the liver as well.

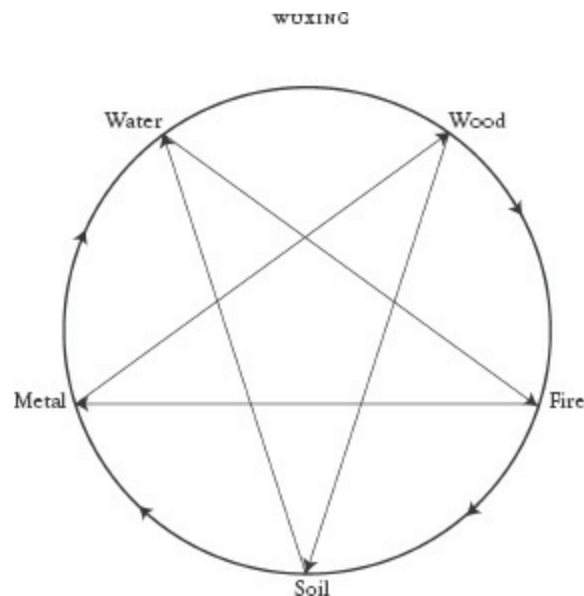


Fig. 77. “Production” sequence (*xiangsheng* 相生, along the circumference) and “conquest” sequence (*xiangke* 相克, inside the circle) of the Five Agents (or Five Phases, *wuxing*).

Like the Yin-Yang scheme, the *wuxing* emerged from the intellectual ferment of the late Warring States in ways that are not easy to trace in detail. There were certainly alternative schemes stressing different numbers of categories. The *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Springs and Autumns of Mr. Lü), which was assembled in 239 BCE, gives the first full and clear evidence of the scheme in action, and its application was developed further during the Former Han. Traditional attributions to Zou Yan 騶衍 (third century BCE) as a

major innovator in *wuxing* thinking are probably baseless. At most he may have stressed the application of the scheme to the revolutions of political power, with each succeeding dynasty arising in connection with one of the phases or agents.

*Christopher CULLEN*

▣ Graham 1986c, 42–66 and 70–92; Graham 1989, 340–56; Ho Peng Yoke 1985, 11–17; Kalinowski 1991; Major 1984; Major 1987b; Major 1991; Major 1993, 29–30; Needham 1956, 273–78; Robinet 1997b, 10–11; Sivin 1987, 70–80

※ COSMOLOGY

Table 25

	WOOD	FIRE	SOIL	METAL	WATER
DIRECTIONS	east	south	center	west	north
SEASONS	spring	summer	(midsummer)	autumn	winter
COLORS	green (or blue)	red	yellow	white	black
EMBLEMATIC ANIMALS	green dragon	red bird	yellow dragon	white tiger	snake and turtle
NUMBERS	3, 8	2, 7	5, 10	4, 9	1, 6
YIN-YANG	minor Yang ( <i>shaoyang</i> 少陽)	great Yang ( <i>taiyang</i> 太陽)	balance	minor Yin ( <i>shaoyin</i> 少陰)	great Yin ( <i>taiyin</i> 太陰)
MUSICAL NOTES	<i>jiao</i> 角	<i>zhi</i> 徵	<i>gong</i> 宮	<i>shang</i> 商	<i>yu</i> 羽
STEMS	<i>jia</i> 甲, <i>yi</i> 乙	<i>bing</i> 丙, <i>ding</i> 丁	<i>wu</i> 戊, <i>ji</i> 己	<i>geng</i> 庚, <i>xin</i> 辛	<i>ren</i> 壬, <i>gui</i> 癸
BRANCHES	<i>yin</i> 寅, <i>mao</i> 卯	<i>wu</i> 午, <i>si</i> 巳	<i>xu</i> 戌, <i>chou</i> 丑, <i>wei</i> 未, <i>chen</i> 辰	<i>you</i> 酉, <i>shen</i> 申	<i>hai</i> 亥, <i>zi</i> 子
PLANETS	Jupiter	Mars	Saturn	Venus	Mercury
VISCERA	liver	heart	spleen	lungs	kidneys
RECEPTACLES	gallbladder	small intestine	stomach	large intestine	urinary bladder
BODY ORGAN	eyes	tongue	mouth	nose	ears
EMOTIONS	anger	joy	ratiocination	sorrow	apprehension
TASTES	sour	bitter	sweet	acrid	salty
CLIMATES	wind	hot	moist	dry	cold
FAMILY RELATIONS	father	daughter	ancestors	mother	son

The five agents (or five phases, *wuxing*) and their main correlations.

Wuyi shan

武夷山

Mount Wuyi (Fujian)

Mount Wuyi, in the Chong'an 崇安 district of Fujian, is part of a larger mountain range that demarcates the border between Fujian and Jiangxi. The highest peak has an elevation of about 700 m. Within Taoist sacred geography, Mount Wuyi was identified as the site of the sixteenth Grotto-Heaven (★*dongtian*). The mountain has a long history of being inhabited and served as an ancient burial ground, perhaps as early as the Shang dynasty. Ancient artifacts known as “coffin boats” (*chuanguan* 船棺; Chen Mingfang 1992), found in caves and niches tucked high up in the cliffs of the mountain, were integrated into Taoism as “boats of the immortals” after the establishment of the new religion within this sacred purlieu.

By the Tang dynasty, Taoist institutions were well established at Mount Wuyi, with the main center of activity being the Abbey of Unfathomable Protection (Chongyou guan 冲佑觀). The Song dynasty master ★Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) established a hermitage on this mountain in 1214. Due to its close proximity to Mount Longhu (★Longhu shan, Jiangxi), Mount Wuyi was also closely connected to the Taoist religious developments there.

*James ROBSON*

▣ Nara Yukihiro 1998, 140–41; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 183–87; Ziegler 1996–97; Ziegler 1998

※ TAOIST SACRED SITES

*wuying*

五營

Five Camps

The Five Camps are the five encampments of “soldiers of the netherworld” (*yinbing* 陰兵), placed to the north, south, east, and west, as well as in the middle, of villages and ritual spaces for their protection. The term is also applied to the soldiers placed in those camps. In Taiwan, the Red-head (*hongtou* 紅頭) ritual masters (see ★*hongtou* and *wutou*) use Five Camps



banners (*wuying qi* 五營旗) and Five Camps heads (*wuying tou* 五營頭, i.e., sculpted heads of the commanders of the Five Camps on thick steel needles) in rituals to summon and dispatch spirit armies.

The commander of the Eastern Camp is Zhang Shengzhe 張聖者 (Fazhu gong 法主公), whose banner is green. The commander of the Southern Camp is Xiao Shengzhe 蕭聖者, whose banner is red. The commander of the Western Camp is Liu Shengzhe 劉聖者, whose banner is white. The commander of the Northern Camp is Lian Shengzhe 連聖者, whose banner is black. The commander of the Central Camp is Li Shengzhe 李聖者 (Nezha taizi 哪吒太子), whose banner is yellow. Each of them leads an army of spirit soldiers. The soldiers are those souls that have no one to venerate them, composing the lowest echelon of the spirit world.

*ASANO Haruji*

▣ Liu Zhiwan 1983b, 216–17; Liu Zhiwan 1983–84, 2: 37–38; Naoe Hiroji 1983, 1040–44, 1046, and 1051–52; Schipper 1985e, 28

*wuyue*

五嶽

Five Peaks; Five Marchmounts; Five Sacred Mountains

The *wuyue* began as sacred mountains for the imperial cult and later took on importance for both Taoists and Buddhists. While some scholars translate this term as “five peaks” or “five sacred mountains,” others prefer “five marchmounts,” as *wuyue* denoted a special set of mountains that were perceived to demarcate and protect the boundaries (or *marches*) of the Chinese imperium.

As commonly understood today, the set of five mountains includes:

1. Mount Tai (★Taishan, Shandong) in the East
2. Mount Heng (★Hengshan 衡山, Hunan) in the South

3. Mount Hua (★Huashan, Shaanxi) in the West
4. Mount Heng (★Hengshan 恆山, Shanxi) in the North
5. Mount Song (★Songshan, Henan) in the Center

The set of five, however, was not a static system, and its formation was the product of a long and involved history that paralleled the shifting political, cosmographic, and religious developments of the late Zhou and early Han dynasties. Originally, in fact, there were only four peaks (Gu Jiegang 1977, 34–45). Some of the mountains in this list, moreover, were sometimes replaced by others, with Mount Huo (★Huoshan, Anhui) often included as the Southern Peak.

Pinpointing the first extant use of the term *wuyue* is difficult and largely dependent on two sources with problematic dates. In the “Da zongbo” 大宗伯 (The Great Minister of Rites) chapter of the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou), which may date to about the mid-second century BCE or slightly earlier, the Five Peaks are mentioned in the category of “earthly deities,” which fall in line behind the ancestral spirits of the nation and the heavenly deities in the Zhou hierarchy of spirits. The *Zhouli*, however, does not state which mountains were considered the Five Peaks at the time of its compilation. The second text that mentions the Five Peaks is the *Erya* 爾雅 (Literary Lexicon). This source presents two incompatible sets of five mountains, both of which include some of those that are later found in the set of Five Peaks. As the *Zhouli* and *Erya* sources reveal, prior to the Han dynasty there was no solidified group of Five Peaks. In fact, the set of Five Peaks that is known today did not coalesce until as late as the Sui dynasty.

*The Five Peaks in Taoism.* While the Five Peaks were initially part of the imperial cult, beliefs about them spread to a wider circle than those concerned with mapping out an imperial sacred geography. During the Han dynasty, for example, the *wuyue* appear in tomb ordinances (Seidel 1987e, 30) and in the “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA). They are also included as a set at the beginning of *j.* 4 of ★Ge Hong's (283–343) ★*Baopu zi* as sites for “attaining the medicines of the transcendents.”

Within Taoism, the Five Peaks became important at different levels and in several contexts. Indeed, the Taoist influence on the Five Peaks has traditionally been understood to be so thorough that they are often referred to

as “Taoist” mountains in opposition to the “Buddhist” Four Famous Mountains (*sida mingshan* 四大名山; Zheng Guoqian 1996). In the *Daozang*, however, there are texts for only three of the Five Peaks: the *Daishi* 岱史 (History of Mount Tai; CT 1472) by Zha Zhilong 查志隆 (fl. 1554–86) for the Eastern Peak; the *Xiyue Huashan zhi* 西嶽華山志 (Monograph of Mount Hua, the Western Peak; CT 307) by Wang Chuyi 王處一 (apparently not the same \*Wang Chuyi as the twelfth-century Quanzhen master) for the Western Peak; and the \**Nanyue xiaolu* (Short Record of the Southern Peak; CT 453) by Li Chongzhao 李冲昭 (ninth century; also known as Li Zhongzhao 李仲昭) and the \**Nanyue zongsheng ji* (Anthology of Highlights of the Southern Peak; CT 606) by Chen Tianfu 陳田夫 (twelfth century) for the Southern Peak.

The Five Peaks were important sites where Taoist anchorites lived and Taoist institutions formed (see separate entries for each mountain). They were perceived to be potent sites of congealed pneumas (\**qi*) that were populated by transcendent beings, filled with the numinous herbs and minerals used to concoct elixirs, and capable of secreting sacred texts such as the \*Lingbao \**Wupian zhenwen* (Perfected Script in Five Tablets). Correlations were further perceived to exist between the Five Peaks on earth, the five viscera (\**wuzang*) in the body, and the five planets (*wuxing* 五星) in the sky. In their more ethereal form, the Five Peaks became the objects of visualizations, and their deities were considered part of powerful spirit armies that adepts could summon. Moreover, the Five Peaks were often used symbolically in Taoist ritual contexts. The talismanic *Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks* (\**Wuyue zhenxing tu*) were seen as powerful simulacra used for protection when entering the mountains, for defending one's home, and for garrisoning the alchemist's “elixir chamber.” The *Charts* were also used in oath-taking rituals (Schipper 1967, and Doub 1979, 134). In these and other ways, the Five Peaks were perceived as important sites that came to pervade much of Taoist doctrine, myth, ritual, and history.

The Five Peaks attained particular importance within Taoism during the Tang dynasty. Their status was elevated with the rise of Taoist influence at the Tang court. This “imperial” Taoist role for the Five Peaks took off most dramatically under Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56). After repeated rank increases for the Five Peaks, the Taoist control over them was finally formalized following the successful lobbying efforts of \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735;

Kroll 1983, 236–37; on the problematic dates of that shift see Barrett 1996, 55). But despite the imperial decree that placed them under the governance of ★Shangqing Taoist deities, the Five Peaks have remained active sites—in varying degrees—for both Buddhist and Taoist institutions up to the present day.

James ROBSON

▣ Cui Xiuguo 1982; Geil 1926; Gu Jiegang 1977, 34–45; Gu Jiegang 1996, 551–85; Kleeman 1994c, 226–30; Landt 1994; Munakata Kiyohiko 1991; Tang Xiaofeng 1997b; Yokote Yutaka 1999; Yoshikawa Tadao 1991a

※ Hengshan [Hunan]; Hengshan [Shanxi]; Huashan; Songshan; Taishan;  
*Wuyue zhenxing tu*; TAOIST SACRED SITES

### *Wuyue zhenxing tu*

### 五嶽真形圖

### Charts of the Real Forms (*or*: True Forms) of the Five Peaks

Two distinct types of configurations bear the designation *Wuyue zhenxing tu*. The more familiar is the set of five insignia displayed on many stelae as well as bronze mirrors ostensibly dating to the Tang. These emblematic figures may very well have been devised in origin as representations of cosmic mountains. But as attested in stelae and texts dating to the fourteenth century, such figures have long been identified with the Five Peaks of Mount Tai (★Taishan, Shandong) in the east, Mount Heng (★Hengshan 恆山, Shanxi) in the north, Mount Song (★Songshan, Henan) in the center, Mount Heng (★Hengshan 衡山, Hunan) in the south, and Mount Hua (★Huashan, Shaanxi) in the west. Their innate apotropaic force is clearly denoted by the variant title “Wuyue zhenxing fu” 五嶽真形符 (Talismans of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks) given the insignia in the *Sanhuang neiwen yibi* 三皇內文遺祕 (Remaining Secrets of the Inner Script of the Three Sovereigns; CT 856). This set of figures stands in sharp contrast to the series of labyrinthine *Charts*

featured in three major anthologies within the Taoist Canon, two of which appear to have been derived from Song printings. Cartographic as well as talismanic function seem to be accommodated by this alternative vision of the five sacred peaks.

A complex body of lore has evolved around the *Wuyue zhenxing tu*. Perhaps the best-known story is found in the sixth-century ★*Han Wudi neizhuan* (Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han). The emergence of the *Charts* according to this account came with the demarcation of cosmic landmarks by Taishang daojun 太上道君 (Most High Lord of the Dao). This is how the deity ★Xiwang mu (Queen Mother of the West) ostensibly answered the inquiries of Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE), to whom she reluctantly conveyed a copy of the *Wuyue zhenxing tu*. Alternative accounts bearing on the origins of the *Charts* are in two texts ascribed to the wonder-worker ★Dongfang Shuo (ca. 160–ca. 93 BCE), both of which also apparently date no earlier than the sixth century. According to the ★*Shizhou ji* (Record of the Ten Continents), the legendary Yu 禹 is said to have had inscriptions carved into the Five Peaks after he brought flood waters under control. A *Wuyue tu xu* 五嶽圖序 (Preface to the Charts of the Five Peaks) fabricated in the name of Dongfang Shuo claims that ★Huangdi created the *Five Charts* following his defeat of the monstrous Chiyou 蚩尤.

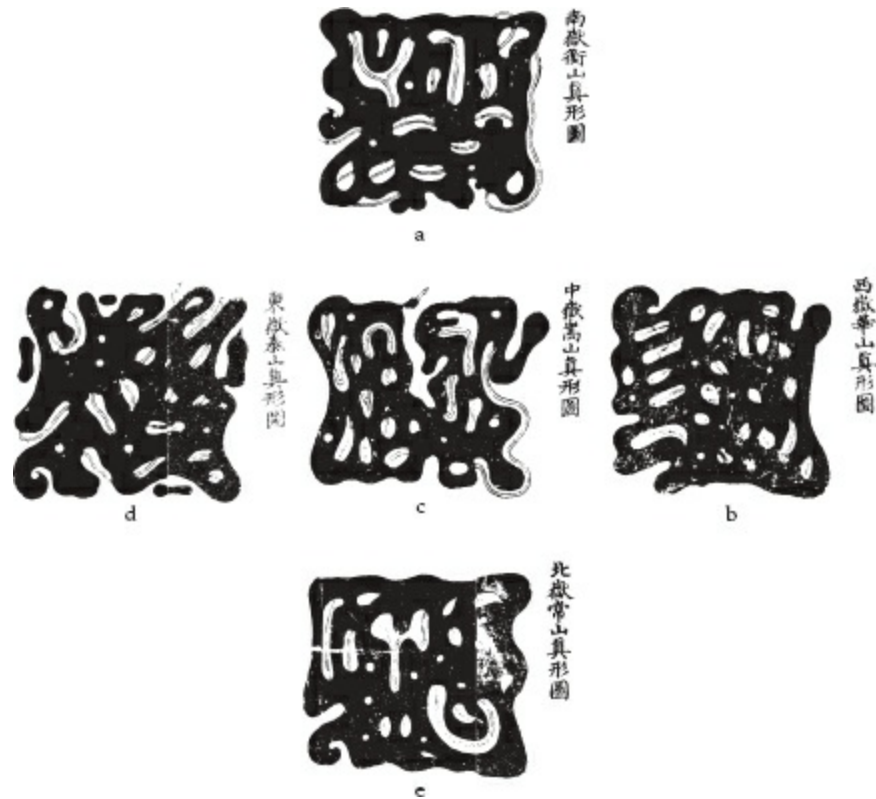


Fig. 78. “Real forms” of the Five Peaks (★*wuyue*): (a) South; (b) West; (c) Center; (d) East; (e) North. *Wuyue guben zhenxing tu* 五嶽古本真形圖 (Ancient Version of the Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks; CT 441), 8b–12a.

Close correspondences to the *Charts* may be found in the pentads of talismanic writ common to both the ★*Shangqing* and ★*Lingbao* codifications. Proponents of the latter laid claim to the *Charts*, apparently based on the accounts given by ★*Ge Hong* (283–343) in the ★*Baopu zi* (Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity). *Ge* writes that his mentor ★*Zheng Yin* (ca. 215–ca. 302) told him nothing surpassed the *Wuyue zhenxing tu* and ★*Sanhuang wen* (Script of the Three Sovereigns). Anyone possessing these sacred writs could reportedly count on divine guardianship at home and on the road. *Ge* states that they were to be passed down from master to disciple once every forty years, but adds that they could also be revealed by mountain deities to adepts like *Bo He* 帛和 (see under ★*Bojia dao*). As told in the ★*Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Transcendents) by *Ge Hong*, the *Wuyue zhenxing tu* came to be disclosed to *Bo* only after he had devoted three years to focusing on the cavern walls at Mount Xicheng (Xicheng shan

西城山, Shaanxi).

Keepers of the Shangqing legacy did not honor Bo He with possession of the *Wuyue zhenxing tu*, perhaps because of their critical views of sacrificial practices pursued by a so-called ★Bojia dao (Way of the Bo Family) prevalent in the south. ★Tao Hongjing (486–536) acknowledges that the family of his disciple Zhou Ziliang 周子良 (497–516) were adherents of the Bojia dao. After Tao bestowed the *Wuyue tu* and *Sanhuang wen* on Zhou in 512, family members who joined them at Mount Mao (★Maoshan, Jiangsu) presumably abandoned such ties.

The renowned protocols of ★Zhang Wanfu (fl. 710–13) not only document the transmission of the *Wuyue zhenxing tu* to ordinands of the highest level, but also record accounts behind their association with Han Wudi. Supplementing this lore is a noteworthy set of instructions that Zheng Yin ostensibly conveyed to his disciple Ge Hong. Considerably amplified collections of texts accruing to the *Charts* appear in:

1. ★*Yunji qiqian* (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds; CT 1032, *j.* 79)
2. *Wuyue zhenxing xulun* 五嶽真形序論 (Preface and Essay on the Real Forms of the Five Peaks; CT 1281)
3. ★*Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of the Highest Clarity; CT 1221, *j.* 17)
4. ★*Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa* (Great Rites of the Superior Scripture of the Numinous Treasure on Limitless Salvation; CT 219, *j.* 21)
5. *Wuyue guben zhenxing tu* 五嶽古本真形圖 (Ancient Version of the Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks; CT 441)

Diverse sets of labyrinthine illustrations are featured in the latter three anthologies. The earliest forms bear no commentary whereas later generations are credited with providing annotated versions identifying various natural features. Of special note in the last text listed above are copies of documents to be exchanged between master and disciple in a ceremony invoking the guardianship of spirits from each of the five peaks. Two fragments recovered from ★Dunhuang provide additional background regarding an annual ritual of repentance by which communities in the sixth

century paid homage to the guardian deities embodied in the *Wuyue zhenxing tu*. Renditions in vermilion and black on silk of high quality are to be carried in a pouch, according to a supporting account concerning Zheng Yin's transmission of the *Charts* to Ge Hong.

Judith M. BOLTZ

■ Boltz J. M. 1994, 16–17 and 27; Chavannes 1910b, 415–24; Chen Guofu 1963, 77–78 and 276–77; Chen Yuan 1988, 1313–14; Little 2000b, 358–59; Schipper 1965, 26–33; Schipper 1967; Ware 1966, 282–83 and 312–16; Yamada Toshiaki 1987a

※ *wuyue*

*wuzang*

五臟

five viscera (lit., “five storehouses”)

### 1. Medicine

In Chinese medicine, *wuzang* refers to a system of “orbs,” “viscera,” or “depositories,” which have some features reminiscent of the organ system known from Western anatomy. The five viscera comprise the liver (*gan* 肝), heart (★*xin* 心), spleen (*pi* 脾), lungs (*fei* 肺), and kidney system (*shen* 腎). Each has an inner and an outer aspect; thus the outer aspect of the liver is the gallbladder (*dan* 膽), that of the heart the small intestine (*xiaochang* 小腸), that of the spleen the stomach (*wei* 胃), that of the lungs the large intestine (*dachang* 大腸), and that of the kidneys the urinary bladder (*pangguang* 膀胱). The five organs mentioned as “outer aspects” of the *wuzang* are five of the “six receptacles” (*liufu* 六腑, lit., “six bureaus”), the sixth being the “triple burner” (*sanjiao* 三焦) that is sometimes identified with the Gate of the Vital Force (★*mingmen*). Generally speaking, the inner aspect has functions of storage, and the outer of transformation, i.e., digestion, which



comprises the absorption of refined ★*qi* (*jingqi* 精氣) and the evacuation of the dregs (*zaopo* 糟粕). The viscera resonate with the five seasons—spring, summer, late summer, autumn, and winter—and in the opening chapters of the *Suwen* 素問 (Plain Questions; see ★*Huangdi neijing*) they are frequently described as being responsible for illnesses that occur according to a seasonal pattern. In other words, seasonal ★*qi* and winds blowing from seasonally distinct directions were considered to stir the *qi* in the viscera in ways that gave rise to illness.

Reasoning in terms of *qi* and the visceral systems provided a means for expressing emotional distress in medical discourse; the *wuzang* refer to a system that makes no distinction between the psyche and the soma. Although it is possible that the recognition of different viscera was derived from dissection, which according to *Lingshu* 靈樞 12 (Numinous Pivot; see *Huangdi neijing*) was conducted on corpses, the *wuzang* are not primarily notions describing an anatomical body. In early medical writings, the heart and liver figure as repositories of strong emotions, grief (*you* 憂), and anger (*nu* 怒). In the *Huangdi neijing*, however, the attribution of specific emotions to the viscera is far from standardized; contemporary Chinese medicine generally attributes anger to the liver, joy (*xi* 喜) to the heart, worry (*si* 思) to the spleen, grief (*you* or *bei* 悲) to the lungs, and fear (*kong* 恐) to the kidneys.

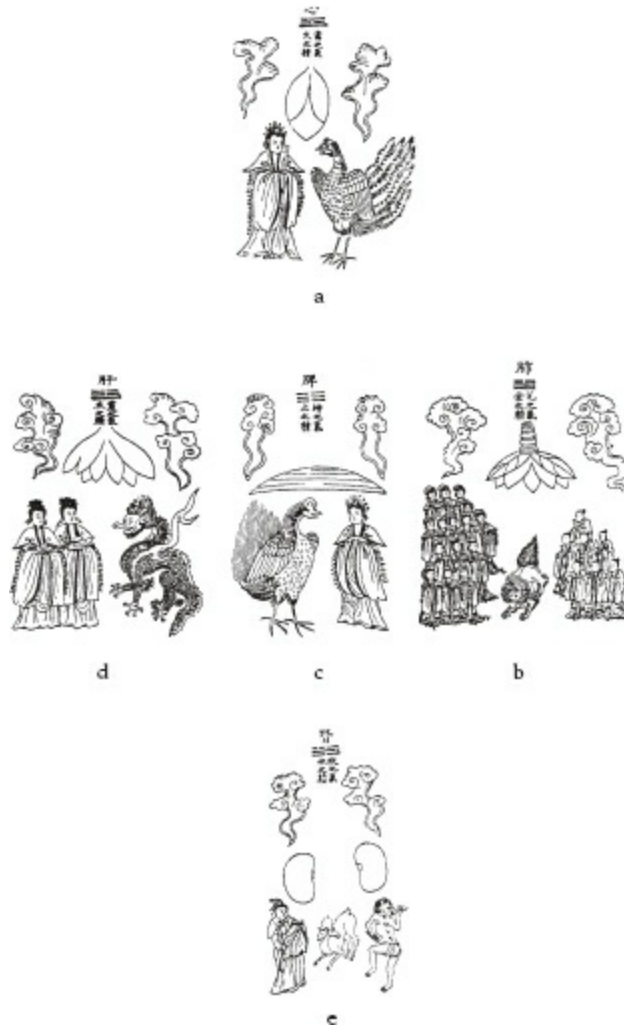


Fig. 79. The five viscera (*wuzang*) with their deities and animal spirits in a Korean medical text: (a) heart; (b) lungs; (c) spleen; (d) liver; (e) kidneys. *Uibang yuch'wi* 醫方類聚 (Classified Collection of Medical Methods; 1477). See also [fig. 12\(c\)](#).

The *wuzang* system went hand in hand with the integration of the Five Phases (*wuxing*) theory into medicine. From the fourth century BCE onward, the system of the Five Phases—Wood, Fire, Soil, Metal, and Water—developed in the context of divinatory calculations as a means for assessing cyclical change. In medicine it gained prominence not only as a schema for classifying many different aspects of the universe, from directions and seasons to colors and flavors, but also as a schema for accounting for physiological and pathological changes, and for changes to be attained through therapeutic intervention. This was so because the Five Phases were conceived cyclically to give birth to one another (*sheng* 生), or cyclically to

“insult” (*wu* 侮) or “overcome” (*ke* 剋) or “multiply” (*cheng* 乘) one another, and their standard sequencing in such cycles of mutual production, insulting, overcoming, or multiplication was used for explaining and predicting the course of bodily processes.

*Elisabeth HSU*

▣ Farquhar 1994, 91–107; Hsu Elisabeth 1999, 198–217; Kohn 1993b, 164–68; Porkert 1974, 107–66; Sivin 1987, 213–36, 349–78; Yin Huihe 1984, 28–53

## 2. Meditation

The five viscera or energy storage centers of the body (liver, heart, spleen, lungs, and kidneys) are visualized variously in meditation—first with the help of different-colored lights, as described in the *Taiping jing shengjun bizhi* 太平經聖君祕旨 (Secret Directions of the Holy Lord on the Scripture of Great Peace; CT 1102; trans. Kohn 1993b, 193–97); then with specific sacred animals or bodily gods residing in them, as outlined in the *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu* 黃庭內景五臟六腑補瀉圖 (Charts of the Strengthening and Weakening of the Five Viscera and the Six Receptacles, According to the Scripture of the Inner Effulgences of the Yellow Court; CT 432) by Hu Yin 胡愔 of the ninth century; and finally, within a Tantric Buddhist context, with sacred Sanskrit letters and holy numbers, as described in the *Wulun jiuzi bishi* 五輪九字祕釋 (Secret Exegesis of the Five Cakras and Nine Characters), a manuscript extant in Japan (Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1964; Tanaka Fumio 1988).

In all cases, the basic system of association is the set of correspondences linked to the ★*wuxing*, which associates specific colors, physical energies, spiritual powers, numbers, and animals with each organ. The system also identifies specific gods and written symbols with each organ, allowing the meditator to reinvent the inner organs of her body as nodes in a larger cosmic network.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Despeux 1994, 108–30 and passim; Ishida Hidemi 1989; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 348–53; Robinet 1993, 60–96

### 3. *Neidan*

In *★neidan*, in which the five viscera are energetic centers where transformation takes place, the term *wuqi* 五氣 (five pneumas) is often used as a synonym for *wuzang*. Besides the five viscera themselves, this term denotes the essence (*★jing*) situated in the kidneys, the spirit (*★shen*) in the heart, the *★hun* in the liver, the *★po* in the lungs, and the intention (*★yi*) in the spleen. Transformation occurs through refining these five components of the human being, and restores the original order of the Dao.

As stated in *★Zhong-Lü* texts, the Jade Liquor (*yuye* 玉液) or the Golden Elixir (*★jindan*) purify the pneuma (*★qi*) of the viscera and transform it into Yang spirit (*yangshen* 陽神). The purification of essence, spirit, *hun*, *po*, and intention is a process of harmonizing them in silence, as stated for instance in the *★Jindan sibai zi* (Four Hundred Words on the Golden Elixir), the *★Zhonghe ji* (Anthology of Central Harmony), and the *★Xingming guizhi* (Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force). The next stage is to join these refined pneumas in the Origin, from which they were generated through the differentiation of the one *qi*. Their return to the Origin corresponds to an advanced stage of inner transformation, called “the five pneumas have audience at the Origin” (*wuqi chaoyuan* 五氣朝元).

Martina DARGA

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1984, 147–48, 157, and 164–66; Darga 1999, 180–82 and 348–53; Despeux 1979, 75–79; Despeux 1994, 117–30 and 152–59

※ MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY

### *Wuzhen pian*

悟真篇

Folios on Awakening to Perfection; Folios on Awakening to Reality

The collection of poems by *★Zhang Boduan* (987?–1082) entitled *Wuzhen*

*pian* is the main work of the Southern Lineage (★Nanzong) of ★*neidan*. The text bears a preface dated 1075 and a postface dated 1078, both signed by Zhang Boduan. The preface reports that Zhang experienced a sudden realization of the Dao when he met a Perfected (★*zhenren*) in Chengdu (Sichuan) in 1069. After that, he wrote a set of eighty-one poems that form the nucleus of the *Wuzhen pian*.

*Format and content.* The title *Wuzhen pian* first designated only the original eighty-one poems (★*Sandong qunxian lu*, 2.9b). According to the traditional account, the first sixteen heptasyllabic *lüshi* 律詩 (regulated poems) illustrate the principle of “two times eight” (*erba* 二八, symbolizing the balance of Yin and Yang); the next sixty-four heptasyllabic *jueju* 絕句 (stopped-short lines) are related to the ★*Yijing* hexagrams; and the final pentasyllabic poem expresses the magnificence of Great Unity (★*taiyi*). Zhang Boduan later appended twelve alchemical *ci* 詞 (lyrics) to the melody of “Xijiang yue” 西江月 (West River Moon), which sum up the twelve stages of fire phasing (★*huohou*). All of the above poems deal with the techniques of “nourishing life and stabilizing the form” (*yangming guxing* 養命固形). Finally, Zhang devoted himself to the study of Chan Buddhism and supplemented the *Wuzhen pian* with a miscellanea of thirty-two poems on the “nature of authentic awakening” (*zhenjue zhi xing* 真覺之性).

The verses of the *Wuzhen pian* are a work of literary craftsmanship and were probably intended to be sung or chanted. They teem with paradoxes, metaphors, and aphorisms, and their recondite style allows multiple interpretations. The verses are widely accepted as an elaboration of the ★*Zhouyi cantong qi*, but their philosophical basis is in the *Daode jing* and the ★*Yinfu jing*. Life, says Zhang Boduan, is like a bubble on floating water or a spark from a flint, and the search for wealth and fame results only in bodily degeneration; thus human beings should search for the Golden Elixir (★*jindan*) to become celestial immortals (*tianxian* 天仙). Although the *Wuzhen pian* does not give practical instructions, it alludes to them in a symbolic way. The primary trigrams *qian* 乾 = (pure Yang) and *kun* 坤 = (pure Yin) are equated with the alchemical laboratory, while *kan* 坎 = (Yang within Yin) and *li* 離 = (Yin within Yang) are the two main ingredients. The sixty-four hexagrams are used to explain the modes of macrocosmic-microcosmic change. The text also outlines the fire phasing that one should apply in the

process of transformation, and refers to the alchemical principle of “reversal” (*diandao* 顛倒).

*Commentaries and interpretations.* The *Wuzhen pian* was completed around 1075, but became widely known only from the mid-twelfth century onward. It is first mentioned in a compilation of 1154, and its earliest extant exegesis dates from 1161. The Taoist Canon includes the following commentaries and closely related texts:

1. *Wuzhen pian*, in ★*Xiuzhen shishu* (CT 263), j. 26–30, with commentaries by Ye Shibiao 葉士表 (1161) and Yuan Gongfu 袁公輔 (1202).
2. *Wuzhen pian zhushu* 悟真篇注疏 (Commentary and Subcommentary to the *Wuzhen pian*; 1173; CT 141), by ★Weng Baoguang, edited with a subcommentary by Dai Qizong 戴起宗 in 1335.
3. *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sansheng biyao* 悟真直指詳說三乘祕要 (Straightforward Directions and Detailed Explanations on the *Wuzhen pian* and the Secret Essentials of the Three Vehicles; CT 143), by Weng Baoguang, edited by Dai Qizong in 1337. Although this text is separately printed in the Taoist Canon, it is a continuation of CT 141 above.
4. *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 悟真篇三注 (Three Commentaries to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 142), with commentaries by ★Xue Daoguang (1078?–1191, actually written by Weng Baoguang), Lu Shu 陸壑 (thirteenth century?), and ★Chen Zhixu (1289–after 1335), edited by Zhang Shihong 張士弘 (fourteenth century).
5. *Wuzhen pian shiyi* 悟真篇拾遺 (Supplement to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 144), by Weng Baoguang (see Wong Shiu Hon 1978b).
6. *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 悟真篇注釋 (Commentary and Exegesis to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 145), with a commentary by Weng Baoguang different from no. 2 above.
7. *Wuzhen pian jiangyi* 悟真篇講義 (Explaining the Meaning of the *Wuzhen pian*; 1220/1226; CT 146), by Xia Yuanding 夏元鼎 (fl. 1225–27).

Among the main later commentaries are the following:

1. *Wuzhen pian xiaoxu* 悟真篇小序 (Short Introduction to the *Wuzhen pian*), by ★Lu Xixing (1520–1601 or 1606).
2. *Wuzhen pian chanyou* 悟真篇闡幽 (Uncovering the Obscurities of the *Wuzhen pian*), by Zhu Yuanyu 朱元育 (fl. 1669).
3. *Wuzhen pian jizhu* 悟真篇集注 (Collected Commentaries to the *Wuzhen pian*; 1713), by ★Qiu Zhao'ao (1638–1713), containing quotations from twenty-five earlier commentaries.
4. *Wuzhen pian zhengyi* 悟真篇正義 (The Correct Meaning of the *Wuzhen pian*; 1788), by ★Dong Dening.
5. *Wuzhen zhizhi* 悟真直指 (Straightforward Directions on the *Wuzhen pian*; 1794), by ★Liu Yiming (1734–1821; trans. Cleary 1987).

Most masters of the Nanzong lineage saw clear guidelines for practice in the poems of the *Wuzhen pian*. Different interpretations are apparent, however, within the two main Nanzong branches. The Pure Cultivation (Qingxiu 清修) branch of Zhang Boduan, ★Shi Tai, Xue Daoguang, ★Chen Nan, and ★Bai Yuchan explained the text according to a Chan-Taoist trend of thought. The Joint Cultivation (★Shuangxiu) branch, whose main representatives are Liu Yongnian 劉永年 (fl. 1138–68), Weng Baoguang, and Dai Qizong, interpreted it as a treatise on sexual practices. These two lines of transmission led to a multiplication of schools in later generations.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

▣ Azuma Jūji 1988; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 174; Cleary 1987 (trans.); Crowe 2000 (part. trans.); Davis and Chao 1939 (trans.); Imai Usaburō 1962; Kohn 1993b, 313–19 (part. trans.); Liu Ts'un-yan 1977; Miyazawa Masayori 1988a; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 745–74; Robinet 1995a, 197–254 (part. trans.); Wang Mu 1990

※ Zhang Boduan; *neidan*; Nanzong

Xi Kang

嵇康

223–62; *zi*: Shuye 叔夜

Xi Kang (or Ji Kang), a native of Qiao 譙 (Anhui), was one of the great literary figures of the Wei dynasty (220–65). His father died while he was still young, leaving him to be raised by an indulgent mother and older brother. Xi Kang would later trace his enduring love of independence and spontaneity back to his undisciplined childhood and his reading of the ★*Zhuangzi* and the *Daode jing*. His unrestrained expression of feelings, a mode of conduct advocated in his *Shisi lun* 釋私論 (Essay on Dispelling Self-Interest; trans. Henricks 1983, 107–19), earned him many enemies and no doubt contributed to his premature death.

He married a princess of the ruling Cao 曹 clan sometime in the 240s, and remained loyal to the Wei for the rest of his life. He refused to hold office after the general Sima Yi 司馬懿 (178–251) seized effective control of the government in 249. When Guan Qiujian 毌丘儉 (?–255) rebelled against the Sima clan in 255, Xi Kang contemplated raising troops to assist him, but was dissuaded from doing so by Shan Tao 山濤 (205–83). In 261, he became entangled in a family conflict involving his friend Lü An 呂安 (?–262). Zhong Hui 鐘會 (225–64), a favorite of the Sima clan whom Xi Kang had slighted on a previous occasion, denounced him in court. Xi and Lü were both put to death in 262. In prison awaiting execution, Xi Kang wrote his famous *Youfen shi* 幽憤詩 (Poem on Anguish in Prison; trans. Holzman 1980, 354–56).

The danger and ultimate futility of Xi Kang's political entanglements no



doubt reinforced his distaste for worldly affairs. This sentiment is eloquently expressed in a letter written to Shan Tao who had recommended him for an official post (*Yu Shan Juyuan juejiao shu* 與山巨源絕交書, or *Breaking Off Relations with Shan Juyuan*; trans. Hightower 1965).

Xi Kang's renunciation of a bureaucratic career left him free to pursue other interests. He was a master of Pure Conversation (★*qingtan*), and became identified as one of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove (Zhulin qixian 竹林七賢), a group said to have met from time to time at his residence to drink, play the lute, and converse. (Besides Xi Kang and Shan Tao, the Seven Worthies include Ruan Ji 阮籍, 210–63; Xiang Xiu 向秀, 227–72; Ruan Xian 阮咸, third century; Wang Rong 王戎, third century; and Liu Ling 劉伶, third century.) Of his thirteen surviving treatises (*lun* 論), all but one follow the structure of the debates popular at the time.

Xi Kang had a strong interest in the practices of Nourishing Life (★*yangsheng*) and the pursuit of longevity, arguing in his *Yangsheng lun* 養生論 (Essay on Nourishing Life; trans. Henricks 1983, 21–30) that the human life span could be extended several hundred to a thousand years. He is said to have wandered in the mountains in search of herbal and mineral drugs, becoming so engrossed that he would forget to return.

He was also an accomplished poet and musician. His *Qin fu* 琴賦 (Rhapsody on the Lute; trans. van Gulik 1941) and *Sheng wu aile lun* 聲無哀樂論 (Essay on the Absence of Sorrow or Joy in Music; trans. Henricks 1983, 71–106) reveal the importance of music in his life and thought. He is said to have calmly strummed the lute in the final hours of his life.

Theodore A. COOK

■ Dai Mingyang 1962 (crit. ed. of various works); van Gulik 1941; Henricks 1983 (trans. of various works); Henricks 1986a; Holzman 1957; Holzman 1980; Little 2000b, 185; Maspero 1981, 299–308

※ *qingtan*; *yangsheng*

*xiang*

# 象

## image

The Dao is “the great image without form,” says the *Daode jing* (sec. 41). “Heaven suspends its *xiang* . . . and the Sage imagines (*xiang* 像) them,” says the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, a portion of the ★*Yijing*), which gives a special meaning to the term *xiang* by relating it to astral bodies and trigrams, and tying it with *fa* 法 (pattern). The alchemical art is said to be the art of the *xiang*, which refers to alchemical metaphors.

The term *xiang* may be rendered as “image,” “figure,” “symbol,” or “configuration.” The *xiang* are images that make things apparent; they are part of reality, and inherently contain and manifest the cosmic dimension of things and their structure. This is why the *xiang* are often considered to be the “real forms” (*zhenxing* 真形) of things, or the fundamental substance (★*ti*) of beings. They are visible but lie before and beyond the world of forms. They allow us to understand the world and to get along in the universe; hence they are guides and models of conduct.

On the subjective level, the *xiang* are the first idea, not yet conceptually formed and still intuitive; an intermediary mode between thought and its expression, as said by ★Wang Bi; and a mediator between human intelligence and the world. On the objective level, the *xiang* are the way things are when they are about to appear and take form: they are their subtle and structural forms or outlines that pertain to Heaven, while the *fa* (patterns) pertain to Earth and are coarser. Related to numbers (*shu* 數), the *xiang* are tools that measure and order the world.

In ★*neidan*, besides these classical significations, the term *xiang* also takes on the wider sense of “metaphor.” Alchemists say that theirs is an art of the *xiang*. In so doing they relate it to the *Yijing* and the diviner's endeavor to rationalize and organize the world. Alchemists criticize Buddhism (especially the Chan school) on the grounds that it operates without images, directly and without mediators; the alchemical language, on the other hand, is metaphorical and therefore can “speak without speaking” and go beyond ordinary language. Alchemists mean by this that their teaching is gradual as it is mediated; images are the mediators that stand midway between the

formless Dao and the material world, between principles (*li* 理) and practice (*xing* 行). Even if the images must be forgotten once the sense they convey has been apprehended (as stated both in the ★*Zhuangzi* and by Wang Bi), they are necessary and one must go through them; they give the alchemical teaching its concrete dimension, which leads one to see in darkness instead of shutting one's eyes and remaining motionless and blind.

In their role as mediators, images also indicate structural relationships. For instance, the Sun as an image represents the Great Yang (*taiyang* 太陽, or Yang containing Yin); the Sun exists in the same relation to the Moon as the day to the night, Heaven to Earth, East to West, and the alchemical Dragon to the Tiger (see ★*longhu*). As images relate different things on various levels to each other, and are movable and interchangeable, they serve as instruments of the analogical mode of thought, which is the main mode of thought in alchemy. They can express a pattern as well as a process, they operate in diverse registers of sense, and they function as terms that indicate relations and functions rather than of particular things. This is why it is hardly possible to assign definitions to them: the sense of each of them is multiple and varies with the context.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Robinet 1989c, 159–62; Robinet 1993, 48–54; Robinet 1995a, 75–103; Wilhelm H. 1977, 190–222

※ Dao; *xing*

*Xiang'er*

想爾

See ★*Laozi Xiang'er zhu* 老子想爾注.

*Xiang'er jie*

# 想爾戒

## The *Xiang'er* Precepts

The *Xiang'er jie* or *Xiang'er* precepts are a set of thirty-six rules (*★jie*), nine expressed as positive imperatives and twenty-seven that are expressed as negative injunctions. Both the nine and the twenty-seven are themselves subdivided into three sets (of three and nine respectively) designated upper, middle, and lower. These divisions do not appear to rank the precepts in terms of importance or seriousness. The precepts, originally extracted from the *★Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing* and the *Daode jing* itself in the case of the nine imperatives, are translated by Stephen R. Bokenkamp (1993, 51 and revised in 1997, 49–50). His translations are used here. As the precepts were originally extracted from the commentary, their date of composition is clearly dependent on determining the date of composition of the commentary itself.

The *Xiang'er* precepts have been identified in three locations in the *Daozang*:

1. *Taishang Laojun jinglü* 太上老君經律 (Scriptural Regulations of the Most High Lord Lao; CT 786), 1a–2a, under the general title *Daode zun jingjie jiuxing ershiqi jie* 道德尊經戒九行二十七戒 (Nine Practices and Twenty-Seven Precepts of the Scriptural Injunctions of the Worthy of the Dao and Its Virtue), with the first group of nine called *Daode zun jing xiang'er jie* 道德尊經想爾戒 (*Xiang'er* Precepts of the Scripture of the Worthy of the Dao and Its Virtue) and the second group of twenty-seven called *Daode zun jingjie* 道德尊經戒 (Scriptural Injunctions of the Worthy of the Dao and Its Virtue)
2. *Taishang jingjie* 太上經戒 (Scriptural Injunctions of the Most High; CT 787), 17b–19a, under the title *Laojun ershiqi jie* 老君二十七戒 (Twenty-Seven Precepts of Lord Lao)
3. *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Excerpts from the Essential Liturgies and Observances; CT 463), 5.4b–5b, under the title *Sanshiliu jie* 三十六戒 (The Thirty-Six Precepts)

However, the most convenient way of consulting the Chinese text is in Ōfuchi Ninji's edited version (1991, 254–57).

One of the main concerns of the precepts is with maintaining religious orthodoxy. Thus, the recipient of the precepts is enjoined “not to delight in deviance,” “not to study deviant texts,” or “not to pray or sacrifice to demons and spirits.” Similarly, their behavior should maintain discipline in “not acting recklessly,” “not pampering the body with good food and fine clothes,” and “not being obstinate.” In several cases the precepts appear to repeat the same message, or similar messages. Thus the fourth of the nine insists that the recipient of the precepts practices “lacking fame,” while the twelfth of the twenty-seven prohibits the practitioner from “seeking fame”; the fifth prohibits “envying the fame of others” and the fourteenth insists on “taking a humble position.” Similarly the first of the nine (in Bokenkamp's interpretation of the *wei* 為 of ★*wuwei* being taken as “artificial, contrived, fabricated, false,” 1997, 51) insists on lacking falseness, while the sixth of the twenty-seven prohibits practicing false arts. This lends credence to the conjecture that the total number of precepts, as well as their subdivisions, is numerologically significant.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Bokenkamp 1993; Bokenkamp 1997, 48–58; Chen Shixiang 1957, 50–57; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 247–308

※ *Laozi Xiang'er zhu; jie* [precepts]; Tianshi dao

*xianglu*

香爐

incense burner

Burning incense is an act of crucial importance in Taoist rites. Rituals can take place without statues or scrolls representing the deities and without memorial tablets, but not without an incense burner placed at the center of the

sacred space. Similarly, the offering of incense during the worship of the deities is of far greater importance than the offering of tea or wine.

The offering of incense in Taoism has its origins in the “roasted offerings” (*fanchai* 燔柴) of ancient China. Under Buddhist influence, both ideas about incense and the variety of its types grew in complexity. During the Six Dynasties, the Way of the Celestial Masters (★*Tianshi dao*) used “quiet chambers” or “oratories” (★*jingshi*) for their ritual practices, along the western wall of which an incense burner was always placed. According to the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Excerpts from the Essential Liturgies and Observances; CT 463), a large-scale “quiet chamber” had a two-storied Hall for the Veneration of Emptiness (*chongxu tang* 崇虛堂) in its center, and on the upper story stood a large incense burner measuring five feet in height. In Taoist rituals in modern Taiwan, a large incense burner is placed in front of the portraits of the Three Clarities (★*sanqing*) on the central table of the altar (the Cavern Bench, *dong'an* 洞案). During the rite of Lighting the Incense Burner (★*falü*), a hand-held burner (*shoulu* 手爐) is used by the high priest (*gaogong* 高功; see ★*dao Zhang*), and incense burners are also placed before each deity.

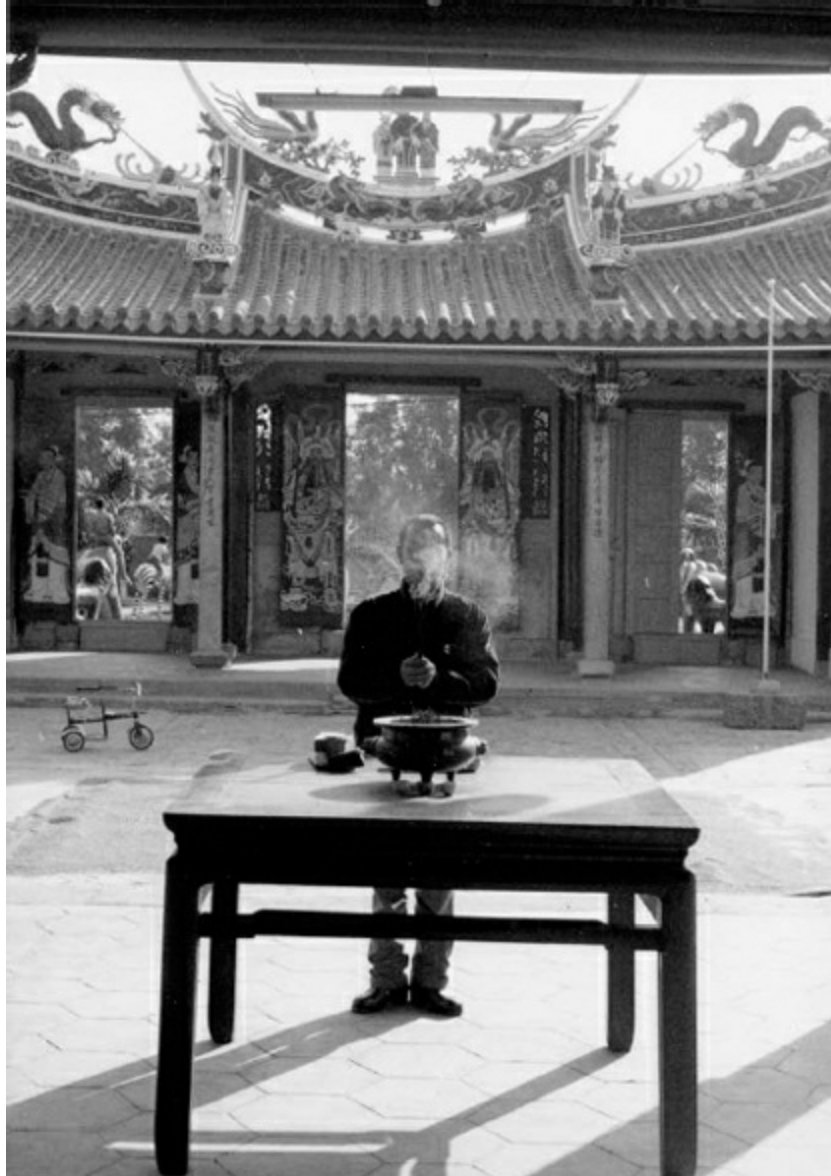


Fig. 80. Worshipper in the Wenchang gong 文昌宮 (Wenchang Palace), northern section of Taichung, Taiwan (November 1977). Photograph by Julian Pas.

In the logic of the ritual, incense performs a mediating function, enabling communication with the deities. Different names are given to it to describe its various functions. According to Wang Qizhen's 王契真 *★Shangqing lingbao dafa* (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; CT 1221, 54.21b–22b), the “incense of the Way” (*daoxiang* 道香) represents the heart (*★xin*), the “incense of Virtue” (*dexiang* 德香) represents spirit (*★shen*), the “incense of non-action” (*wuwei xiang* 無為香) represents the intention (*★yi*),

and the “incense of clarity and quiescence” (*qingjing xiang* 清靜香) represents the body (*shen* 身). Also, the “Wondrous Cavern incense” (*miaodong xiang* 妙洞香) transports the spirit of the Taoist priest to attend the morning audience in the Golden Portal of the Three Heavens (Santian jinque 三天金闕). The same work (56.10a–11a) gives spells for the offering of incense.

Burning incense is also important in Chinese folk beliefs. Incense is invariably offered when venerating ancestors and deities. Even if there is nothing else to represent a deity, an incense burner (the container) and the “incense fire” (*xianghuo* 香火, i.e., fire, smoke, ash) are necessary. The spiritual power of the deity dwells in the “incense fire,” and by dividing the incense this power can be shared. When the “incense fire” for the burner at a shrine is to be renewed, the formal pilgrimage to transport it there is called “offering the incense” (★*jinxiang*) or “partitioning the incense” (*gexiang* 割香). In group worship, it is usual to have someone in charge of the incense (*luzhu* 爐主, “master of the burner”) who is selected through divination.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Feuchtwang 1992, 126–35 and passim; Huang Meiyong 1994; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 225–27

※ *yalu*; *jinxiang*

*xianren*

仙人

immortal; transcendent

A *xianren* is a person who has attained immortality and may possess supernormal powers such as the ability to fly. The word *xian*, now represented by the graph 仙, was originally attached to the graph 僊, which denotes the idea of “transfer” or “relocation,” and refers specifically to



ascending to Heaven by moving one's arms as wings.

Early descriptions of immortals can be found in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian). For instance, the “Fengshan shu” 封禪書 (Book of the *Feng* and *Shan* Ceremonies; *j.* 28) describes how Qin Shi Huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE) “toured the eastern seaboard, made sacrifices to illustrious mountains and great rivers, and sought out companions of the immortal Xianmen [Gao] 羨門 [高].” Elsewhere, the *Shiji* (*j.* 6) tells how ★Xu Fu reported to Qin Shi Huangdi that there were three mountains in the middle of the ocean called ★Penglai, Fangzhang 方丈, and Yingzhou 瀛洲, inhabited by immortals, and asked that young men and women be sent to search them out, having first purified themselves and kept the precepts.

In early times, the paradise of the immortals was said to be located on islands that could not be easily approached (as in the above example) or on the peak of a steep mountain that would not permit easy access for ordinary mortals. Later, this paradise was thought to be in Heaven. The ★*Zhuangzi* says: “After a thousand years of life, he grows weary of the world: he departs and rises up, and riding on a white cloud he reaches the realm of the [Celestial] Emperor” (chapter 12; see trans. Watson 1968, 130) This shows that the germ of the idea that the abode of the immortals was in Heaven had sprouted by the end of the Warring States.

In the *Shiji* accounts such as those referred to above, the immortals are entirely removed from the human realm. There was no thought that ordinary people could become immortals through cultivation or effort. Other than occasional stories in which a mortal either found his way to the abode of the immortals by some miraculous luck, or happened to meet an immortal who gave him the elixir of immortality, the way to eternal youth and life was closed. Even the elixir was something that could only be given; it could not be discovered or compounded by human beings. Later, however, the distance between ordinary people and immortals somehow narrowed, and immortals were drawn closer within the reach of men. Now the immortal had come within human ken, since in principle anyone could gain immortality through his own effort (for an example of this view, see the entry ★*Shenxian kexue lun*). Nonetheless, even ★Ge Hong, who strongly asserted that “one's fate is in one's own hands, not in Heaven” (*wo ming zai wo bu zai tian* 我命在我不在天; ★*Baopu zi* 16), could not escape saying that whether one's life is long or short depends on whether it falls under a good star (*Baopu zi* 7).

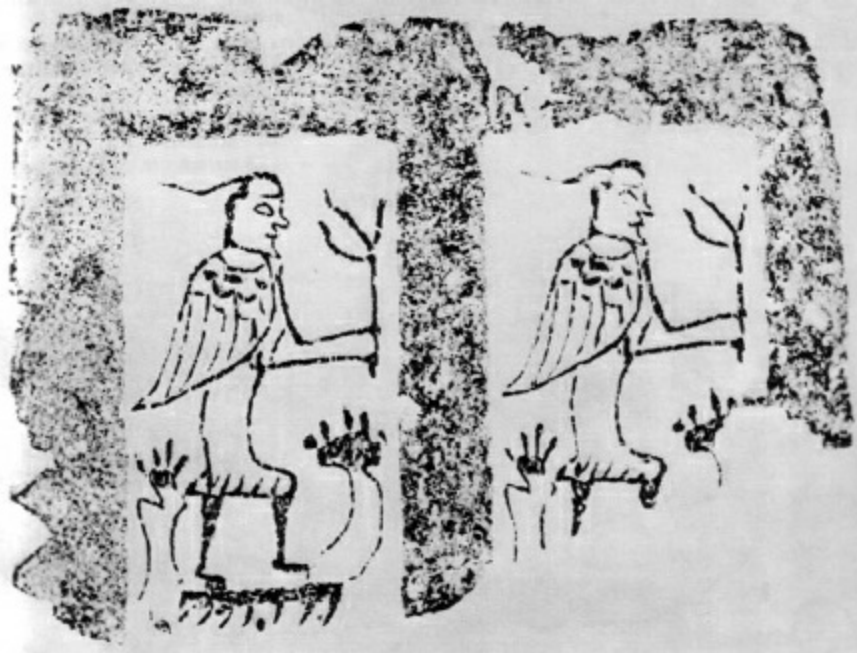


Fig. 81. Early representation of immortals as winged beings walking on clouds and holding a *★zhi* (“numinous mushroom”) in their hands. Source: Nanyang Wenwu yanjiusuo 1990, fig. 171.

When Taoist religion emerged from the womb of conceptions such as those outlined above, changes were also wrought in the world of the immortals. An earthly bureaucratic system was projected into the celestial realm of the immortals, and differences in status were devised for them. In general, ranking descended from celestial immortals (*tianxian* 天仙) through earthly immortals (*dixian* 地仙) to immortals who had obtained “release from the corpse” (*★shijie*). They were associated with the celestial realm, the mountains (Grotto-Heavens, *★dongtian*), and the underworld, respectively. Becoming an immortal and gaining eternal youth and deathlessness was difficult beyond measure, yet Taoists in the Six Dynasties period developed a path for the majority of human beings who died without becoming immortal. They were able to achieve immortality from the status of *★gui* (spirits). Such were the lowest ranked of all immortals, called *guixian* 鬼仙.

MIURA Kunio

▣ DeWoskin 1990; Girardot 1987b; Robinet 1984, 1: 163–66; Robinet 1986b; Robinet 1993, 42–48; Schipper 1993, 160–66; Sofukawa Hiroshi 1993; Yamada Toshiaki 1983b, 335–36

*xiantian*

先天

“before Heaven”; “prior to Heaven”; precelestial

See ★*xiantian* and *houtian* 先天 · 後天.

*xiantian* and *houtian*

先天 · 後天

“before Heaven” and “after Heaven”; “prior to Heaven” and “posterior to Heaven”; precelestial and postcelestial

*Xiantian* and *houtian* are two key notions in the Chinese view of the cosmos. The terms are sometimes translated “former Heaven” and “later Heaven,” but occurrences of the phrase *xian tiandi sheng* 先天地生 (“generated before Heaven and Earth”) in the *Daode jing*, the ★*Zhuangzi*, and other early texts show that *xiantian* and *houtian* designate the ontologic and cosmogonic stages before and after the generation of the cosmos.

In one of the Chinese accounts of cosmogony, Original Pneuma (★*yuanqi*), or Pure Yang (*chunyang* 純陽), generates the cosmic pneuma (★*qi*) through the union of Original Yin and Yang (*yuanyin* 元陰 and *yuanyang* 元陽), also known as Real Yin and Yang (*zhenyin* 真陰 and *zhenyang* 真陽). Cosmic pneuma then once more divides itself to form the cosmic Yin and Yang, or Heaven and Earth (this stage corresponds to the “opening of Heaven,” *kaitian* 開天). Yin and Yang immediately join together again, leading to the final stage of creation, the “ten thousand things” (*wanwu*

萬物). “Before Heaven” refers to the stage before precosmic Yin and Yang join together, while “after Heaven” is the stage after they join and generate the cosmic pneuma. A notable aspect of this process is that the original, precosmic Yin and Yang are each enclosed within their opposites in the cosmos. This notion is referred to by the phrases “Yin within Yang” (*yang zhong zhi yin* 陽中之陰) and “Yang within Yin” (*yin zhong zhi yang* 陰中之陽).

A similar representation of cosmogony is seen in the *xiantian* and *houtian* arrangements of the eight trigrams (★*bagua*), the first of which is traditionally attributed to the legendary emperor Fu Xi 伏羲 and the second to King Wen of the Zhou (Wenwang 文王, r. 1099–1050 BCE; see [fig. 20](#)). The *xiantian* diagram reproduces the stage after Original Yin and Yang (*kun* 坤☷ at due North and *qian* 乾☰ at due South) have joined their essences and have generated the trigrams *li* 離☲ and *kan* 坎☵ (“Yin within Yang” and “Yang within Yin”) at due East and West; the other four trigrams are placed at the intermediate points. Here the cosmos is generated after *li* and *kan* attract each other and join their inner lines. In the *houtian* arrangement, the positions originally occupied by *qian* and *kun* are taken by *li* and *kan*, to show that the shift from the unconditioned to the conditioned state has occurred, and that Original Yin is now found within cosmic Yang (the trigram *li* or Fire), and Original Yang within cosmic Yin (the trigram *kan* or Water).

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

☐ Lagerwey 1987c, 14–16

※ *jing, qi, shen; yuanqi*; COSMOGONY; COSMOLOGY

*Xianyuan bianzhu*

仙苑編珠

Paired Pearls from the Garden of Immortals

The *Xianyuan bianzhu* (CT 596) is a three-chapter anthology of selections from the lives of immortals by Wang Songnian 王松年, a Taoist monk from Mount Tiantai (★Tiantai shan, Zhejiang). Judith M. Boltz (1987a, 59) dates the text to “sometime after 921.” Some of these selections come from named preexisting collections of immortals biographies, such as the ★*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals); some come from named collections that have been lost such as the ★*Daoxue zhuan* (Biographies of Those who Studied the Dao); and some selections are not ascribed to any text.

The *Xianyuan bianzhu* has proved invaluable as a source for the reconstruction of texts that no longer survive and other bibliographical studies. The “paired pearls” of the title refers to the manner of citation where the extract from each of two biographies was listed under one heading (“Duzi changes shape, Guifu alters his appearance” or “Immortal Ge—Lingbao, Lord Wang—Shangqing”), or occasionally where two characters from the same original biography appear in the one extract. This method of citation was borrowed later by the ★*Sandong qunxian lu* (Accounts of the Gathered Immortals from the Three Caverns).

*Benjamin PENNY*

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 59; Chen Guofu 1963, 240–41

✂ HAGIOGRAPHY

## Xiao Fudao

蕭輔道

fl. 1214–52; *zi*: Gongbi 公弼; *hao*: Dongying xiansheng 東瀛先生 (Elder of the Eastern Ying Island)

Xiao Fudao, the fourth patriarch of the ★Taiyi jiao, seems to have been born in the family of Xiao Baozhen 蕭抱珍 (?–1166), the founder of this order. He became patriarch when the third patriarch, Xiao Zhichong 蕭志冲 (1151–1216, born in the Wang 王 family), chose him as his successor. Thus he did

not have to change his name to be adopted and lead this very centralized, family-like order.

Xiao's official career had a difficult beginning. In 1232–34 the Mongol armies vanquished the remnants of the Jin empire in the Yellow River valley. The main Taiyi shrine, the Taiyi wanshou guan 太一萬壽觀 (Abbey of Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of the Great One; renamed Taiyi guangfu wanshou gong 太一廣福萬壽宮 or Palace of Vast Happiness and Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of the Great One in 1252) in Jixian 汲縣 (just north of the river in present-day Henan) was destroyed and Xiao was compelled to go southward into exile. He probably lived in the ★Taiqing gong (Palace of Great Clarity), located at Laozi's supposed birthplace, which was managed by the Taiyi jiao before it shifted to ★Quanzhen's control in the 1250s. Xiao returned to his ancestral seat some twenty years later, when the situation had calmed down, and rebuilt the temple, which seems to have then become a major ordination center. Xiao gained the attention of Khubilai, who was then only the brother of the Mongol Emperor and managed a fiefdom in present-day Hebei. Khubilai visited the Taiyi wanshou guan himself, and heaped honors on Xiao and the whole Taiyi order. Xiao Fudao died shortly thereafter, and was succeeded by Xiao Jushou 蕭居壽 (1221–1280, born Li 李), who had been his disciple since the age of eleven. These two patriarchs witnessed the greatest development of the Taiyi order.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

※ Taiyi jiao

Xiao Yingsou

蕭應叟

fl. 1226; *hao*: Guanfu zi 觀復子 (Master Observing the Return)

Xiao Yingsou was an important Southern Song scholarly ritual master whose commentary to the ★*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation), the *Duren shangpin*

*miaojing neiyi* 度人上品妙經內義 (Inner Meaning of the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 90), stresses the importance of ★*neidan* for understanding this central ★Lingbao scripture. Its memorial of presentation to the emperor bears the date 1226, and an essay on the scripture's cardinal meaning refers to the commentaries included in ★Chen Jingyuan's (?–1094) *Duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 度人上品妙經四注 (Four Commentaries to the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 87), while stressing a mode of interpretation grounded in *neidan* theories and practices. The first chapter draws parallels between the Song ritual innovation known as the ★Lingbao dafa (Great Rites of the Numinous Treasure) and the *neidan* tradition, and includes part of a preface to the scripture said to be composed by Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). Xiao's commentary, meanwhile, uses traditions of the ★*Yijing* and microcosm-macrocosm analogies to link the *Duren jing* to *neidan*. The *neidan* diagrams found in Xiao's exegesis (preface, 6b–9b) are comparable with those in ★Zhang Yuchu's (1361–1410) annotated *Duren jing* (*Duren shangpin miaojing tongyi* 度人上品妙經通義; CT 89, 1a and 4.26b–27a).

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 206 and 210

※ Lingbao dafa; *neidan*

## *Xiaodao lun*

### 笑道論

Essays to Ridicule the Dao

Zhen Luan 甄鸞 (fl. 535–81), an official charged with investigating and impeaching officials in the capital, compiled the *Xiaodao lun* at the behest of Wudi (r. 560–78), ruler of the Northern Zhou dynasty. Between April 16 and May 2 of 569 the emperor convened three conferences of Buddhist monks, Taoist priests and Confucians as well as civil and military officials to discuss

the merits of the three teachings: Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism. The discussants tended to be defensive about the doctrines that they favored so they failed to produce the consensus that the emperor desired. It was his wish that they supply him with a synthesis of the tenets based on Taoism that he could employ to unify the empire ideologically. After the last meeting, Emperor Wu commissioned Zhen, who was a mathematician and astronomer, to carefully calculate the profundity and truth of Buddhism and Taoism. Ten months later, on March 7 of 570, Zhen submitted the *Xiaodao lun* in three fascicles to the throne. The work, a polemic against Taoism, did not please Emperor Wu so he summoned his ministerial corps on June 28 and ordered the officials to scrutinize the text. They concluded that it was deleterious to Taoism. The emperor agreed and ordered the work burned in the courtyard of a palace hall. Zhen made three mistakes in composing his work. First, he misjudged Emperor Wu's motives in commanding him to write the essays. Second, he violated the emperor's instructions by omitting virtually any consideration of Buddhism. Third, he adopted a provocative style of rhetoric that deliberately mocked Taoism. The latter, in particular, opened him to the charge that he was intent on maligning Taoism, and was no doubt the fundamental reason that the ministers condemned his treatise. Although the full text went up in flames, the author preserved an abbreviated version, about one-third of its original size, that still survives today in the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (Expanded Collection Spreading the Light of Buddhism; T. 2103, 143c–152c; on this text see under ★*Hongming ji*).

The *Xiaodao lun* has thirty-six sections, corresponding to the sum total of the twelve subdivisions for the Three Caverns (★SANDONG) of the *Daozang* in the sixth century. Each section consists of two parts. The first is a citation or two from Taoist scriptures, hagiographies, codes, precepts, hymns, or catalogues. The second begins with the phrase, “I ridicule this saying . . . ,” and contains Zhen's attacks on the passages cited in the first. The topics covered include Taoist cosmogony, cosmology, chronology, theogony, demonology, mythology, scriptures, ritual, Laozi's conversion of the barbarians, the Buddha as an avatar of Laozi, immortality, clerical robes, Buddhism as a source of disorder in China, salvation, and sexual practices.

Zhen Luan was a polemicist intent on destroying Taoist pretensions. His focus, however, was narrower than that. He had no objections to the *Daode jing*, that is to Taoist thought, nor to the tenets of the ★Shangqing order, the most esteemed in Taoism. His targets were the ★Lingbao order that had been



the most vigorous in adopting Buddhist doctrines, and the Celestial Master (★Tianshi dao) scriptures and texts related to the “conversion of the barbarians” theory (see ★*Huahu jing*). Zhen saw Taoist attempts to incorporate Buddhist doctrines as inept and ludicrous plagiarisms, which of course in some sense they were. Lingbao Taoists and others were attempting to capitalize on the immense popularity of Buddhism to further their own ends, but they had a poor understanding of what they imitated, and what they absorbed often contradicted their own native ideas. Zhen took issue with Celestial Master tenets because they favored magic in the form of talismans (★FU) and incantations and because they employed sexual rites of “merging pneumas” (★*heqi*). However, Zhen's real object of scorn was the Taoist assertion that Laozi traveled west to “convert the barbarians” and became the Buddha. He was in reality a polemicist attacking a polemic since Taoists were attempting to assert their supremacy over Buddhism on the basis of the doctrine.

Zhen was apparently not a devout Buddhist, but he preferred its doctrines of *karma* and retribution over Taoist notions of immortality. For the most part he was a secularist who attacked Taoist doctrines on rational and textual grounds. He challenged Taoist assertions by exposing contradictions found in their scriptures, anachronisms that the texts contained, unbelievable exaggerations that they asserted, and mathematical and astronomical errors that they made in their cosmology.

In the main, the *Xiaodao lun* is a minor text in comparison with the large Buddhist polemics of the Tang. However, it is important because it contains some citations from Taoist scriptures now lost as well as variations in passages that have survived, and because it demonstrates that there was opposition to Emperor Wu's drive to construct an imperial ideology based on Taoism within his own bureaucracy.

*Charles D. BENN*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 235; Kohn 1995a (trans.); Lagerwey 1981b, 21–28

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

## 心

heart; mind; heart-mind; spirit; center

The term *xin* traditionally designates the ruler of the entire person or, more specifically, the heart as the organ of mental and affective life (hence its translation as “heart-mind”). It is the “master” or “ruler” (*zhu* 主) of ideas, thought, will, and desire: many words expressing mental or affective activities (e.g., *yi* 意 “intention, idea,” *si* 思 “thinking,” *ai* 愛 “love,” and *wu* 惡 “hate”) have *xin* as their semantic indicator. Buddhism, especially the Chan school, gave *xin* the sense of spirit (*shen*), making it a synonym of the Buddha-nature (*foxing* 佛性 or *buddhatā*) and the Ultimate Truth, which is both universal and empty. From the seventh century onward the term took on that definition also in Taoism, especially within *neidan*. Moreover, as Buddhists had before them, Taoists came to say that creation (*zaohua*) issues from *xin*.

*Xin as a physiological organ and as heart-mind.* As a physiological organ, the heart is depicted as a lotus flower with three petals. It is said that the heart of a worldly person has five openings, the heart of an average person has seven, and the heart of a sage has nine. The heart is the abode of the spirit, and its “gates” are the mouth and tongue. It is called Crimson Palace (*jiangong* 絳宮), which relates it to what is above: fire, Yang, south (represented on top in traditional Chinese cartography), the planet Mars, and everything that corresponds to the agent Fire (see *wuxing*). As the center, the heart is also related to the Northern Dipper (*beidou*), whose deities reside in it.

As the heart-mind, *xin* is the center of the human being and the master of the whole body. The body and heart-mind cannot be apart from each other, just as a ruler cannot exist without subjects, and vice versa. As long as one's *xin* is quiescent, vacuous, and balanced, it guards the celestial and spiritual energies and ensures long life, and internal as well as external harmony. Hence one should “empty” one's *xin* (*xuxin* 虛心) or be “without” *xin* (*wuxin* 無心), i.e., without intentional desires or thoughts that stray from the natural course of things. This axiom, which had been expressed since early times in the history of Taoism, remained fundamental in later times. Sometimes,

however, the heart is also compared to a horse or a monkey that one must tame.

Being the center, *xin* represents the center of the world and is located in the three Cinnabar Fields (*★dantian*). Hence there are three *xin*: a celestial one above that generates the essence (*★jing*), a terrestrial one below that generates pneuma (*★qi*), and a human one in the middle that generates blood. In this view, the center of the body is not the spleen but the heart. Moreover, as it is also located in the head, *xin* also denotes what is on high. Whether it is above or in the center, these two locations are equivalent, as they are those of the master and the central “palace” of the body. Therefore the dyad mind-spirit/body (*xinshen* 心身) is analogous to the dyads pneuma/essence (*qijing* 氣精) and fundamental nature/vital energy (*★xing* and *ming*). In the dyad heart/kidneys (*xinshen* 心腎), the heart is Mercury or Dragon and the kidneys are Lead or Tiger (see *★longhu*); they are also paralleled with Heaven and Earth.

“*Human spirit*” and “*spirit of the Dao*.” In *neidan* texts, *xin* takes on a new meaning. As the spirit, it inherits the duality of the Buddhist *xin*, which can be pure or deluded. Taoists adopted the Neo-Confucian formulation, which alludes to a sentence of the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents; trans. Legge 1879, 61) in distinguishing between a “human spirit,” or *renxin* 人心 and a “spirit of the Dao,” or *daoxin* 道心. The “spirit of the Dao” is the Ultimate Truth, absolute and subtle and present in every human being. The “human spirit,” on the other hand, is both the heart-mind and the spirit; it is weak and frail. *Renxin* and *daoxin*, nevertheless, are one and the same, as they are only two aspects of the Ultimate Truth: *renxin* is the function (*★yong*) and the mechanism (*★ji*) of *daoxin*.

In fact, as Taoist texts often state, *xin* is the Dao and the Dao is *xin*. The human *xin* is the heart-mind that is always in motion (*dongxin* 動心); it oppresses the true nature (*xing*) with thoughts and concerns. The *xin* of the Dao is the “radiant *xin*” (*zhaoxin* 照心) and must be distinguished from the heart-mind. The latter should be pacified, stilled, and emptied; its “fire” should move downward, which means, according to certain texts, that one should repress one's anger. The radiant *xin*, however, should be nourished. It is equated with wisdom (*hui* 慧) and awakening, as distinguished from intention (*yi*); but the two cannot be separated. *Xin* is the parcel of precosmic

light that lies in the trigram *kan* 坎 ☵. Some authors also distinguish between the radiant *xin* or *daoxin* and the precosmic light called Heart of Heaven (*★tianxin*), which is represented by the hexagram *fu* 復 ☱ (Return, no. 24).

The *daoxin* is variously located, usually between two organs: it is below and between the kidneys, or above and between the eyebrows, or in the center of the body as the heart. Below, it is found within the trigram *kan* 坎 ☵ (Yang within Yin), which contains Real Metal, the alchemical Lead. Above, it is within the trigram *li* 離 ☲ (Yin within Yang), Mercury or the alchemical Water contained in Fire. Being above, it is associated with pneuma (*qi*) and contains the spirit (*shen*) and the celestial soul (*★hun*); it forms a triad with the body (*shen*) that is associated with the essence (*jing*) and contains the earthly soul (*★po*), and with the “intention” (*yi*) that is the central component of the triad. In terms of time, the *daoxin* is the “gathering” (*cai* 採), the inaugural moment of the alchemical work, when the precosmic light must be captured. As a mediator, *xin* is the “second pass” or the second stage of the alchemical process, the sublimation of pneuma into spirit, which follows the sublimation of essence in pneuma, and precedes the sublimation of spirit into emptiness (*xu* 虛; see *★neidan*). But in reality *xin* cannot be located either in space or in time. It is the Real Emptiness (*zhenwu* 真無; see *★wu* and *you*) to be found in everyday existence and in the phenomenal world. Finding it means rejoining *daoxin* and *renxin*.

In so far as it is situated at the junction between movement and quiescence (*★dong* and *jing*), Non-being and Being, *xin* is the Ultimateless or Infinite (*★wuji*) that is before the Great Ultimate (*★taiji*), before the beginning of the differentiation between movement and quiescence.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Despeux 1990, 230–36; Fukunaga Mitsuji 1969; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 338–60; Nivison 1987a; Robinet 1995a, 191–95; Robinet 1997b, 207–9

※ *yi* [intention]

*xing*

# 形

form, shape

The term *xing* refers to that which has an outline and a structure, and is consequently sensible and intelligible. The term does not share the Platonic flavor of the Western notion of “form,” and does not refer to a reality separated from the sensory world or composed of an invariable essence, as it generally does in Western philosophy.

The emergence of *xing* is a major stage in the formation of the cosmos. Taoist texts often quote the sentence in the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, a portion of the ★*Yijing*) stating that “what is anterior to form (or: “above the form,” *xing er shang* 形而上) is the Dao, and what is subsequent to form (or: “below the form,” *xing er xia* 形而下) are the concrete objects (*qi* 器).” In this sentence, *xing* marks a boundary between the Dao and the phenomenal world, despite the claim often made by Taoists that “the Dao is the phenomena and the phenomena are the Dao.” In cosmogony, form issues from the Formless (*wuxing* 無形), which is a synonym of the Dao; it appears with the One or the Great Ultimate (★*taiji*), both of which are defined as “the beginning of form.” In other instances, form originates with the third of the five states of Chaos in the precosmic geneses called the Five Greats (*wutai* 五太), and comes after pneuma (★*qi*) and before matter (*zhi* 質; see ★COSMOGONY). It emerges through a process of condensation and definition that proceeds from Heaven, the most subtle realm, to Earth, the physical world. In this process, *xing* generally comes after images (★*xiang*) and before names (*ming* 名).

Taoists have often debated whether the One itself has a form. Some texts, including the ★*Zhuangzi*, state that it has no form. According to the ★*Laozi Heshang gong zhangju*, the One has no form but fashions the forms. Other authors distinguish between a formless One and a One that has form. Others maintain that the Great One (★*Taiyi*) pertains to the level of forms and names (*xingming* 形名).

Beyond these distinctions, forms—as well as images and names—are indispensable to know the reality of things, and to make them return (★*fan*) to Ultimate Truth. Accordingly, one of the main roles of Taoist scriptures is to

reveal the forms and names of deities, heavens, mountains, and so forth. Some scriptures contain charts that represent the “real form” (or “true form,” *zhenxing* 真形) of sacred places, i.e., their divine and secret shapes, in order to give access to them. Others are devoted to revealing the “real forms” of deities, which can take various shapes. Important scriptures like the ★*Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks) result from the “mysterious contemplation” of sacred peaks by Daojun 道君, the Lord of the Dao; they are talismans (★FU) that contain labyrinthine drawings revealing the forms and names of the grottoes or “stone chambers” (*shiwu* 石屋) to which hermits withdraw (see [fig. 78](#)). Those who possess these scriptures can travel back and forth between Heaven and Earth.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Lagerwey 1986; Pregadio 2004; Robinet 1993, 21 and 29

※ *bianhua*; Dao; *lianxing*; COSMOGONY

### *xing* and *ming*

性 · 命

inner nature and vital force

Chinese philosophers debated about human nature in an effort to determine whether it was good, bad, or mitigated in its essence. Their conclusions were meant to determine conceptions about modes of government and basic principles of society. To them, Taoists replied by contending that those who consider human nature to be good, bad, or a mixture of both have simply lost sight of its authentic aspect. They are unaware of the “truthful and empty” nature of the human being, its immobile and quiet essence, which the texts refer to as “cavern” (*dong* 洞) or “gate of all wonders” (*zhongmiao zhi men* 眾妙之門). The deluded have no knowledge of the fundamental cosmic nature which itself forms the basis of human nature. This nature is found in the “middle.” It is not the “middle-balance” of Confucians, that is to say, the

state achieved by superior people through the discipline of cultivation in which passions are meticulously harmonized and balanced. It is rather the “middle-center,” which is the state preceding the burgeoning of passions, a prime Middle, that of the Great Ultimate (★*taiji*) that exists before Heaven and gives to humans, before Heaven and before their conception, the “parcel of divine light” that constitutes “nature,” “veritable, one, and divine.”

Taoist alchemy (★*neidan*) contrasts this nature with the “material nature” of which Neo-Confucians speak. Such a “material nature” is composed of “the father's semen and the mother's blood.” In other words, it comes about as a result of copulation and birth according to natural laws. This nature is the “spirit of desire” which, although originally weak, grows progressively stronger by the day. Conversely, the “precelestial breath” tends to weaken as a person's small-mindedness grows. One must thus aim to reverse this process that will inevitably lead to decline and death, and nourish the “precelestial breath” until it becomes perfectly ripe. *Xing* (“nature”) is thus the celestial self, a trace of transcendence.

The principle that corresponds to *xing* is that of *ming*, the vital force (the term also means “destiny” and “order,” “mandate,” or “decree”). *Xing* and *ming* are the Breath (★*qi*) and Spirit (★*shen*), the former in relation to the Earth, the latter to Heaven. It is said that “*xing* is the name given to the divine parcel that is contained within the precelestial supreme Spirit; *ming* is the name given to the parcel of Breath that is contained within the precelestial supreme Essence” (★*Zhonghe ji*, 4.1a). For others, *xing* represents the Dao, quietude, while *ming* embodies the dynamic aspect of life. One is the foundation for the other, while the other is its expression and operation (see under ★*ti* and *yong*). They are two aspects of the Dao, which is transcendent; yet the Dao contains life and dispenses it, hence it is also immanent. While certain texts present *xing* as an intrinsic salvation that exists fundamentally within each of us, they similarly emphasize the importance of *ming*. In this case, *ming* is corporeality, a nature incarnate that requires practice or necessary effort through which *xing* is actualized. One cannot, they say, access *xing* without passing through *ming*. Thus are resolved debates about grace and predestination, about intrinsic and acquired nature.

*Xing* is also the celestial Yin that is found in the *li* 離 ☲ trigram (Sun, Fire, two Yang lines encasing one Yin line), and *ming* is the Yang element found in the *kan* 坎 ☵ trigram (Moon, Water, two Yin lines encasing one Yang line). Thus, the conjunction of *xing* and *ming* is the dynamic of the descending

celestial influx and its subsequent reascension from the earth. *Xing* and *ming* are therefore the “true Yin” and “true Yang,” the Lead and Mercury of the kidneys and heart, which constitute the essential elements of the alchemical process.

*Xing* and *ming* can be considered as two distinct entities, situated at two extreme poles, which must circulate and unite; but they can also be regarded as a unity that is immersed in original Chaos. This unity is lodged in the Mysterious Pass (★*xuanguan*), the dark gate leading to the return to the Source. It contains all elements of the alchemical work and is situated neither inside the body nor outside of it (although “searching for it outside the body is as searching for a fish or dragon outside of water, searching for the Sun and Moon somewhere other than the sky”). It is a mysterious point often compared to the “original face” (*benlai mianmu* 本來面目) of Chan Buddhism or to the “middle” (*zhong* 中) of the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites). This point is said to belong to no time or moment, yet it is a “Yang” time (of light), the immaculate and ungraspable instant when a thought is born (see under ★*zi*); the point of emergence that is “the root of life and death.” It is this instant of immobility that is at the center of all things. It is this atemporal instant that precedes the arising of both the interior and exterior worlds. It is the instant of infinite possibility that precedes all creative action. It is the original base of the entire universe, the alchemist's *materia prima*. As a text relates, this “middle” (*zhong*) in which one must situate oneself is the “center of the compass.” It is neither internal nor external, yet it is at the center of the body and at the very center of the core of thought. That is the space that one must constantly occupy.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Despeux 1990, 223–27; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 294–99; Robinet 1995a, 165–95 and passim

※ *shuangxiu*

*xingdao*

行道



## Walking (*or*: Practicing) the Way

The term *xingdao* is used in texts of the Six Dynasties as a generic term for practicing Taoist methods, but especially with reference to the performance of ritual. It occurs for instance in the ★*Wushang biyao* (j. 26–27), in connection with the description of the uses of the five ★Lingbao talismans, which are worn on the body of the practitioner, as he “cultivates virtue and walks the Way” (*xiude xingdao* 修德行道), and which will eventually confer immortality on him.

In the context of the *Wushang biyao*, the term *xingdao* refers to the activity of the priests in all major rituals, including the central rituals of communication (corresponding to the Three Audiences, ★*sanchao*), the Nocturnal Invocation (★*suqi*), and the ★*jiao* (Offerings) that form part of the Retreat of the Three Sovereigns (*sanhuang zhai* 三皇齋; *Wushang biyao* 49; Lagerwey 1981b, 152–56). The term has the same use in present-day ritual (see for instance Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 273, 288, 300, 358). It is equally true, however, that over time the term had come to be associated in particular with the Three Audiences. The special sanctity of the Audiences (and by implication, of the term *xingdao*) was explained with reference to the idea that they were modeled on the gatherings in the Jade Capitol (Yujing 玉京) of all the gods in heaven, who supposedly come together three times a day in order to have an audience with the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊; ★*Shangqing lingbao dafa*, CT 1221, 57.1a; see also under ★*daochang*).

Poul ANDERSEN

▣ Lagerwey 1981b, 125 and 150–56; Lagerwey 1987c, 106–7 and 121–23; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983, 218–20; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 273 and passim

※ *sanchao*

*Xingming guizhi*

性命圭旨

## Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force

The *Xingming guizhi*, also known as *Xingming shuangxiu wanshen guizhi* 性命雙修萬神圭旨 (Principles of the Joint Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force and of the Ten Thousand Spiritual Forces), is a comprehensive *neidan* text dating from the Ming period. Its authorship is ascribed to an advanced student of Yin Zhenren 尹真人 (Perfected Yin), but the identities of both master and disciple are unclear. After its first edition in 1615, it was published several times during the Qing dynasty and again in a recent but undated edition of the *Baiyun guan* (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing. Another edition is in the *Daozang jinghua lu*. The text includes four prefaces, written by She Yongning 佘永寧 (sixteenth/seventeenth century, dated 1615), Zou Yuanbiao 鄒元標 (1551–1624, undated; on Zou see DMB 1312–14), You Tong 尤侗 (1618–1704, dated 1669), and Li Pu 李樸 (?–1670, dated 1670).

The *Xingming guizhi* is usually considered to be a document of the Northern Lineage (Beizong 北宗; see under *neidan*) or the Central Branch (Zhongpai 中派) of Ming and Qing *neidan*. Its ideas are mainly based on *Li Daochun's* (fl. 1288–92) *Zhonghe ji* (Anthology of Central Harmony) and on *Zhang Boduan's* (987?–1082) *Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection), and are also closely related to *neidan* texts associated with the *Quanzhen* school. Although the *Xingming guizhi* promulgates the joint cultivation (*shuangxiu*) of inner nature and vital force (*xing* and *ming*), it does not attach much importance to physiological practices and emphasizes the spiritual aspects of inner transformation. The four books into which the work is divided give an overview of all basic principles of *neidan*. The foundations, dealt with in the first book, are explained in more detail in the following three books, whose chapters are organized to correspond to nine stages of transformation of the adept. Each book contains three main chapters, and each of the latter deals with one alchemical phase. Several chapters contain illustrations accompanied by short texts, frequently in the form of rhyming poems.

Compared to earlier *neidan* texts, the *Xingming guizhi* is characterized by lengthy and detailed explanations, many illustrations, the explicit representation of nine stages of transformation, and a pronounced syncretistic

tendency. It integrates Taoist, Confucian, and Buddhist ideas—in particular those of the Yogācāra school—along with numerous quotations from sources related to these three teachings. One of the main concerns of the *Xingming guizhi* is to lead the adept through the multitude of alchemical methods and writings to the core of the true path of *neidan*. This core is to be sought at the basis of all phenomena and is proof of the undivided unity and the unchanging nature of the Dao. The author approaches this core from a variety of perspectives, employing a wealth of concepts but always returning to the central theme. He does not give any practical instructions for practicing inner alchemy, however; in fact, he dissociates himself from specific exercises, as these belong to the phenomenal domain from which he tries to lead away his readers.

*Martina DARGA*

▣ Darga 1999 (part. trans.); Despeux 1979, 21; Little 2000b, 348–49; Liu Ts'unyan 1970, 306; Needham 1983, 229

※ *neidan*

*xingqi*

行氣

circulating breath

Methods for circulating breath are attested during the period of the Warring States, became well known during the Six Dynasties, and developed during the Tang and Song periods. Their most ancient source is an inscription dating from ca. 300 BCE that describes the circulation of breath throughout the body (see Harper 1998, 125–26). In the Han period, circulating breath is mentioned in several texts, including the ★*Huangdi neijing* (*Lingshu* 靈樞, sec. 11.73).

Circulating breath is often associated with gymnastics (★*daoyin*) and breath retention (★*biqu*). It is generally performed in a reclining position for 300 breaths, before one expires the breath slowly and inaudibly. One begins

with retaining breath for twelve breaths (the so-called “small cycle,” *xiaotong* 小通), and then progresses up to 120 breaths (the “great cycle,” *datong* 大通). Tang documents add to this classical model a circulation of inner breath in which Intention (★*yi*) plays a major role. This technique is described in the *Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing* 嵩山太無先生氣經 (Scripture on Breath by the Elder of Great Non-Being from Mount Song; CT 824, 1.5b–6a; trans. Huang Jane 1987–90, 19–22) and the *Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue* 幻真先生服內元氣訣 (Instructions on the Ingestion of the Inner Original Breath According to the Elder of Illusory Perfection; CT 828, 3b–5a, and YJQQ 60. 17a–18b; trans. Despeux 1988, 72–75, from the version in the ★*Chifeng sui*).

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1988, 34–38; Hu Fuchen 1989, 290–94; Li Ling 2000a, 341–81; Maspero 1981, 473–74 and 484–95

※ *yangsheng*

### *Xinyin jing*

#### 心印經

#### Scripture of the Mind Seal

The *Xinyin jing* is a short ★*neidan* scripture associated with the ★Quanzhen school, and routinely read by Taoist masters every morning and evening. Its complete title is *Gaoshang Yuhuang xinyin jing* 高上玉皇心印經 (Scripture of the Mind Seal, by the Most Exalted Jade Sovereign), and it is said to have been spoken by the Great Lord of the Dao of the Golden Portal of Supreme Mysterious Eminence (Wushang Xuanqiong zhu Jinque Da daojun 無上玄穹主金闕大道君; see ★Jinque dijun). It probably dates from the late Tang period.

Besides the edition without commentary entitled *Xinyin miaojing* 心印妙

經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Mind Seal; CT 13), the *Daozang* also includes the *Jiuyou bazui xinyin miaojing* 九幽拔罪心印妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Mind Seal for Removing Faults in the Nine Shades; CT 74) and the *Jiuyao xinyin miaojing* 九要心印妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Mind Seal and Its Nine Essentials; CT 225), which bears a *neidan* commentary attributed to ★Zhang Guolao. Four other editions with annotations are found in the ★*Daozang jiyao* (vol. 7):

1. *Gaoshang Yuhuang xinyin miaojing* 高上玉皇心印妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of the Mind Seal, by the Most Exalted Jade Sovereign), which includes eight commentaries.
2. *Zhongnan Bazu shuo Xinyin miaojing jie* 終南八祖說心印妙經解 (Explication of the Wondrous Scripture of the Mind Seal, by the Eight Patriarchs of Zhongnan).
3. *Gaoshang Yuhuang xinyin jing* 高上玉皇心印經 (Scripture of the Mind Seal, by the Most Exalted Jade Sovereign) by Baozhen zi 抱真子 (Master Who Embraces the Real; Five Dynasties).
4. *Yuhuang xinyin jing* 玉皇心印經 (Scripture of the Mind Seal, by the Jade Sovereign), with a commentary attributed to the Imperial Lord of the Mysterious Valley (Xuangu dijun 玄谷帝君) edited by Gao Shiming 高時明 of the Ming period.

The text, consisting of only fifty sentences of four characters each, teaches that by merging essence (★*jing*) with spirit (★*shen*), spirit with pneuma (★*qi*), and pneuma with reality (*zhen* 真), one will naturally be filled with Great Harmony (*taihe* 太和).

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Balfour 1884, 66–67 (trans.); Olson 1993

※ Yuhuang; *neidan*; Quanzhen

*xinzhai*

## 心齋

“fasting of the mind” (or: “fasting of the heart”)

Chapter 4 of the ★*Zhuangzi* reports an imaginary dialogue between Yan Hui 顏回 and Confucius. Yan Hui, who had been urged by Confucius to fast, replies that he has not drunk wine or eaten spicy foods for several months and asks whether this means that he has fasted. Confucius replies:

That is the fasting you do before a ceremony, not the Fasting of the Mind. . . . Make your will one. Don't listen with your ears, but with your mind. Indeed, don't even listen with your mind, but with your pneuma (★*qi*). Your ears are limited to listening and your mind is limited to tallying, but pneuma is empty and awaits all things. Since the Dao only gathers in emptiness, emptiness is the Fasting of the Mind. (See also trans. Watson 1968, 57–58)

In other words, Fasting of the Mind means releasing the mind of all cognitive thought and desire, and maintaining an empty mind, a condition of non-self. This state of mind and its practice also underlie the ideas of “mourning the self” (*sangwo* 喪我) mentioned in chapter 2, “sitting in oblivion” (★*zuowang*) in chapter 6, and “guarding the One” (★*shouyi*) in chapter 11 of the *Zhuangzi*.

In later times, the idea of Fasting of the Mind in the *Zhuangzi* was developed in two main directions, as the practice of “fasting and keeping the precepts” (*zhaijie* 齋戒) and as the practice of “restraining the mind” (*shouxin* 收心). To understand these shifts in meaning, one has to consider that *zhai*, in addition to “fasting,” also means “purification practices” or “purification rites,” and is also the general term that designates Taoist rituals (see the entry ★*zhai*). “Fasting and keeping the precepts” represents the incorporation of *xinzhai* into the system of ritual and ethical rules. The ★*Zhaijie lu* (Register of Retreats and Precepts) divides the practice of “fasting” into three components: accumulating virtue and dispelling sin (*shengong zhai* 設供齋), harmonizing the mind and extending the length of life (*jieshi zhai* 節食齋), and releasing the mind from desire and defilements and suppressing cognitive thought (*xinzhai*). The first two could be practiced by middle-rank practitioners, but the third was for those of the highest

achievement. (The same text is contained in other works, including the *Liuzhai shizhi shengji jing* 六齋十直聖紀經, CT 1200, and the *Zhiyan zong* 至言總, CT 1033.) In ★Liu Yiming's (1734–1821) *Xiuzhen biannan* 修真辨難 (Discussions on the Cultivation of Authenticity), six forms of “fasting” (of the body, intention, eyes, ears, nose, tongue) are established, plus a seventh, called “complete fasting of the mind's domain” (*xinjing yizhai* 心境一齋), which doubtless is influenced by the *Zhuangzi*'s idea of Fasting of the Mind.

★Sima Chengzhen's (647–735) ★*Zuowang lun* (Essay on Sitting in Oblivion) signals a different development of Fasting of the Mind, toward the practice of “restraining the mind.” In modern times, ★Chen Yingning (1880–1969) called this “listening to the breath” (*tingxi* 聽息) and attempted to revive it as a ★*qigong* practice. According to Chen, the *Zhuangzi* passage about the Fasting of the Mind can be interpreted as a five-stage training method. The five stages are:

1. “Making your will one.” Concentrating the mind and freeing it of all extraneous thoughts.
2. “Don't listen with your ears, but with your mind.” Here “listening” means listening to the sound of one's own breathing; since there is no sound, it is said to be “listening with the mind.”
3. “Don't listen with your mind, but with your pneuma.” The state in which mind and *qi* are one; however, some degree of sensation persists.
4. “Your ears are limited to listening and your mind is limited to tallying.” What tallies with or attaches (*fu* 符) to the mind is the spirit (★*shen*), so this is the state in which *shen* and *qi* are one, and the intellect vanishes.
5. “Emptiness is the Fasting of the Mind.” The last stage, spontaneous entry into the realm of emptiness, without self-consciousness.

MIURA Kunio

☐ Schipper 1993, 195–208; Soymié 1977

✕ *xin*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

## Xishan

### 西山

#### Western Hills (Jiangxi)

Of the many highlands named Xishan in China, arguably the most renowned are those found south of Lake Poyang 鄱陽. These hills, also known as Xiaoyao shan 逍遙山 and located about 15 km northwest of Nanchang (Jiangxi), contained the twelfth of thirty-six minor Grotto-Heavens and were known as the thirty-eighth node in the web of seventy-two Blissful Lands in China's religious geography (see ★*dongtian* and *fudi*).

At the spiritual center of these highlands and sanctuaries, however, is the shrine to the official from Sichuan ★Xu Xun (trad. 239–374), who served in the area. The early shrine, called the Abbey of the Flying Curtain (Youwei guan 游帷觀), marked the site of Xu Xun's ascension. This was also the site of his cult's renewal by 682, which became an important movement known as the Pure and Bright Way (★Jingming dao). For Song and later adepts, it was the haunt of alchemist-poet ★Shi Jianwu (fl. 820–35) and his preceptors, ★Zhongli Quan and ★Lü Dongbin. Both remained subordinate, however, to Xu's cult center at the ★Yulong wanshou gong (Palace of the Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Jade Beneficence) and the later movement known as the Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality (Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道). All these developments occurred as northern Jiangxi experienced an economic, cultural, and spiritual ascension in late imperial China.

*Lowell SKAR*

📖 Schipper 1985d

※ Xu Xun; TAOIST SACRED SITES

*Xishan qunxian huizhen ji*

西山群仙會真記



## Records of the Gathered Immortals and Assembled Perfected of the Western Hills

The *Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* is the third main text of the ★Zhong-Lü corpus, after the ★*Lingbao bifa* (Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure) and the ★*Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (Anthology of Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Dao to Lü Dongbin). Besides the independent edition in the Taoist Canon (CT 246), the mid-twelfth-century ★*Daoshu* (Pivot of the Dao, *j.* 38) includes an abbreviated and slightly variant version.

This ★*neidan* text is attributed to ★Shi Jianwu (fl. 820–35), a famous poet and recluse of the Western Hills (★Xishan, Jiangxi), but its authorship is highly doubtful. The bibliographic treatise of the *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang; van der Loon 1984, 160) mentions a Shi Jianwu from Muzhou 睦州 (Zhejiang) as the author of the *Bianyi lun* 辯疑論 (Essay on Resolving Doubts), a short work found in the Taoist Canon as the *Yangsheng bianyi jue* 養生辯疑訣 (Instructions on Resolving Doubts in Nourishing Life; CT 853, and YJQQ 88). Muzhou is also mentioned in Shi Jianwu's biography in the ★*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (45.3a–3b). The *Daoshu* and other sources, however, state that Shi came from Jiujiang 九江 (Jiangxi). The attribution of the *Qunxian huizhen ji* was already challenged in the Song period, with the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Annotated Register of Books in the Zhizhai Studio; van der Loon 1984, 108) suggesting that the poet Shi Jianwu and the author of the present text are two different people. Internal evidence, in fact, shows that the *Qunxian huizhen ji* dates from after the late tenth century, as it mentions Zhang Mengqian 張夢乾 (1.6a) who, according to other sources, died in 998.

The work is divided into five *juan* that represent the ★*wuxing*. Each chapter is further arranged into five sections, corresponding to the five “pneumas” (★*qi*) of each phase. The subjects discussed in the five *juan* are:

1. Recognition (*shi* 識), i.e., the ability to recognize the right Way, method, master, season, and ingredients.
2. Nourishment (*yang* 養) of the vital principle, body, pneuma, mind, and life span.
3. “Repairing” (*bu* 補) the damage to the interior organs, pneuma, seminal

essence, and diminished vitality, through techniques of visualization and breathing.

4. The true alchemical ingredients, i.e., the authentic Dragon and Tiger (★*longhu*), Lead and Mercury, Fire and Water, Yin and Yang.
5. Transmutation (or refining, *lian* 鍊) using methods to enter the authentic Way; transformation of the body into pneuma, of pneuma into spirit (★*shen*), and the union of spirit with the Dao, with a final section that underscores the importance of transmitting the doctrine only to the right disciples.

The theory and practices described in the *Qunxian huizhen ji* are similar to those of the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*, another work ascribed to Shi Jianwu. The author often compares the methods of the Xishan adepts to those of the Zhong-Lü tradition, stating for instance that the technique for transforming pneuma into spirit is similar to the one described in the *Lingbao bifa*.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

▣ Akizuki Kan'ei 1978, 45–46; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 139; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 301–3; Sakauchi Shigeo 1985, 40–44

※ *neidan*; Zhong-Lü

## *Xisheng jing*

西昇經

Scripture of Western Ascension

The *Xisheng jing* can be dated to the late fifth century. It survives in two Song editions, one by ★Chen Jingyuan of the eleventh century entitled *Xisheng jing jizhu* 西昇經集注 (Collected Commentaries to the Scripture of Western Ascension; CT 726) and one by Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) simply entitled *Xisheng jing* (CT 666). The former consists of six *juan* and contains five commentaries, which were edited independently during the

Song.

The *Xisheng jing* is first mentioned in connection with the theory of the “conversion of the barbarians” (*huahu* 化胡; see ★*Huahu jing*), because it begins with Laozi's emigration to India and is connected with the transmission of the *Daode jing* to ★Yin Xi. It seems, however, that the text was never primarily a conversion scripture but rather employed the motif of the emigration as a framework narrative for an essentially mystical doctrine, which was closely based on the *Daode jing* and couched in the form of oral instructions given by Laozi to Yin Xi.

The text has thirty-nine sections, which can be divided into five parts. First, it establishes the general setting, narrates the background story, outlines Yin Xi's practice, and discusses some fundamental problems of talking about the ineffable and transmitting the mysterious. Next, the inherence of the Dao in the world is described together with an outline of the way in which the adept can make this inherence practically useful to himself or herself. A more concrete explanation of the theory and practice, including meditation instruction, is given in the third part. The fourth part deals with the results of the practice and with the way of living a sagely life in the world. The fifth and last part is about “returning” (★*fan*); it describes the ultimate return of everything to its origin, and explains the death of the physical body as a recovery of a more subtle form of participation in the Dao.

The history of the text can be glimpsed through the five commentaries extant in Chen Jingyuan's edition. The oldest is by Wei Jie 韋節 who, according to his Yuan-dynasty biography (★*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, 29.4a), lived in north China from 497 to 559 (Kohn 1991a, 167–87). He was originally a Confucian official who struck up a friendship with the Taoist master Zhao Jingtong 趙靜通 of Mount Song (★Songshan, Henan) while serving in a district close by. He spent many years writing commentaries to a large variety of texts, including the ★*Yijing*, the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects) of Confucius, the *Miaozhen jing* 妙真經 (Scripture of Wondrous Truth), and the *Xisheng jing*.

The second commentator is Xu Miao 徐邈 (or Daomiao 道邈) from Jurong 句容 near Nanjing (Jiangsu), the place of origin of the ★Shangqing revelations in 364–70. He presumably was a descendant of the Xu brothers who transcribed the revelations granted to ★Yang Xi by the immortal lady ★Wei Huacun and other divine beings. He cites the ★*Zhengao* of ★Tao

Hongjing in his commentary, which dates his life to at least the sixth century. Otherwise not much is known about him; ★Du Guangting mentions him as a Taoist of the early Tang, and he was supposedly a disciple of ★Wang Yuanzhi, one of the early Shangqing patriarchs. The third commentator is Chongxuan zi 冲玄子 (Master of the Unfathomable Mystery, fl. ca. 650), otherwise unknown. Fourth is ★Li Rong, *Daode jing* commentator and ★Chongxuan (Twofold Mystery) philosopher of the mid-seventh century. Fifth, finally, is Liu Renhui 劉仁會, a Taoist of the mid-to-late Tang, about whom information is scarce. In addition to the five commentaries, the *Xisheng jing* is cited frequently in mystical texts of the Tang.

Livia KOHN

▣ Kohn 1991a; Kohn 1992a, 130–38; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 411–17; Maeda Shigeki 1989; Maeda Shigeki 1990a; Maeda Shigeki 1990b

※ Laozi and Laojun

*xiu*

宿

[lunar] lodges, [lunar] mansions

In the Western tradition of astronomy, one of the most familiar sets of celestial reference points are the signs of the zodiac, “[the circle of] the living creatures.” These twelve equal divisions of the sun's annual cycle through the constellations along the great circle known as the ecliptic are each 30° in extent. They are named after the constellations (Aries the Ram, Taurus the Bull, Gemini the Twins, etc.) which more or less coincided with these divisions over two thousand years ago, but which have long since shifted out of position due to precession.

In China, however, the most ancient identifiable stellar reference system was quite different. This was the system of the *ershiba xiu* 二十八宿 or “twentyeight lodges” (see [table 26](#)). The term *xiu* has often been translated

into English as “lunar mansions” or “lunar lodges” but since in reality the *xiu* system has no closer links with the moon than with the sun or any other moving celestial body, it is best to use a translation close to the root meaning of *xiu* as “a place of [temporary] residence.”



Fig. 82. The twenty-eight lunar lodges (*xiu*) arranged around the Northern Dipper (★*beidou*). *Wuliang duren shangpin miaojing pangtong tu* 無量度人上品妙經旁通圖 (Supplementary Illustrations to the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Limitless Salvation; CT 148), 2.1b.

Like the zodiac, the lodges were named after actual constellations—and as is well known, the constellations of the traditional Chinese sky were quite different from those of the West. Exactly when the whole system originated is very unclear: it is obviously unsafe to base any conclusions on the occurrence in early texts of just a few constellation names out of the whole twenty-eight. The earliest evidence for the complete set of constellations comes from a decorated box-lid found in the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi 曾侯乙 (Duke Yi of Zeng, Hubei) dated from 433 BCE, in which they are shown as a rough circle centering on the constellation of the Northern Dipper (*Ursa Major*, see ★*beidou*).

The earliest clear evidence for how the lodges were actually used in astronomy comes from the *Yueling* 月令 (Monthly Ordinances), a text preserved in the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Springs and Autumns of Mr. Lü), which was assembled in 239 BCE. In this text we are told which of the lodges is “centered” (*zhong* 中, i.e., seen in the sky directly due south) at dusk and at

dawn for each of the twelve months of the year. This provided an easy running check of whether the lunar calendar was running in step with the seasons, with no need for astronomical instruments (apart from a north-south sight line or “meridian”) or time-keeping devices. By around 100 BCE there is clear evidence that astronomers were using water-clocks to time how long it took each lodge to cross their meridians, and as a result it was possible to give each lodge a “width” measured in Chinese degrees, *du* 度 ( $365\frac{1}{4} du = 360^\circ$ ). Any celestial body that crosses the meridian while a lodge is crossing it is said to be in that lodge. In modern terms it could be said that each lodge represented a slice of the celestial sphere in right ascension—although the concept of the celestial sphere is not required in order to use the lodge system. The lodges were highly unequal in extent, with widths varying from as little as 2 *du* to more than 30 *du*. The reasons for this are not clear, and the historical and geographical origin of the system is obscure. Modern scholars tend to discount any link with the Indian system of twenty-eight *nakṣatras*.

Table 26

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<i>East</i>			
1	jiao	角	Horn
2	kang	亢	Neck
3	di	氐	Root
4	fang	房	Room
5	xin	心	Heart
6	wei	尾	Tail
7	ji	箕	Winnowing-Basket
<i>North</i>			
8	dou	斗	Dipper
9	niu (qianniu)	牛 (牽牛)	Ox [ <i>or</i> : Ox-Leader]
10	nü (shunnü)	女 (須女)	Maid [ <i>or</i> : Serving-Maid]
11	xu	虛	Emptiness
12	wei	危	Rooftop

13	shi (yingshi)	室 (營室)	Encampment
14	bi	壁	Wall
<i>West</i>			
15	kui	奎	Stride
16	lou	婁	Bond
17	wei	胃	Stomach
18	mao	昴	Pleiades
19	bi	畢	Net
20	zi	觜	Turtle-Beak
21	can	參	Alignment
<i>South</i>			
22	jing	井	Well
23	gui (yugui)	鬼 (輿鬼)	Spirit [ <i>or</i> : Spirit-Bearer]
24	liu	柳	Willow
25	xing (qixing)	星 (七星)	[Seven] Stars
26	zhang	張	Extension
27	yi	翼	Wings
28	zhen	軫	Chariot-Platform

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The twenty-eight lunar lodges (*xiu*). Translations based on Major 1993, 127.

Unlike the case of the zodiac, the lodges always remained tied to their original constellations. As the effects of precession shifted the celestial pole, this meant that the widths of lodges shifted during the centuries, and from time to time it was necessary to change the choice of stars used to mark the beginning of each one.

*Christopher CULLEN*

■ Cullen 1996, 35–66 *passim*; Kalinowski 1991, 71–73; Little 2000b, 128 and 249; Needham 1959, 229–62; Schafer 1977a, 79–84

*Xiuzhen shishu*

修真十書

Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection

Consisting of ten “writings” (*shu* 書) assembled in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, this sixty-*juan* compendium (CT 263) includes many important texts associated with ★Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?) and his circle. It is the largest collection of ★*neidan* teachings, and most of its texts date from two generations before ★Zhang Boduan (987?–1082) to two generations after Bai Yuchan. Although most of these practices involve inner cultivation and meditation, exercise and ritual also have an important place.

The collection includes the following works:

1. *Zazhu zhixuan pian* 雜著指玄篇 (Folios Pointing to the Mystery by Various Authors; *j.* 1–8), containing writings and diagrams related to Bai Yuchan and his teachings.
2. ★*Jindan dacheng ji* (Anthology on the Great Achievement of the Golden Elixir; *j.* 9–13), with writings by Xiao Tingzhi 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260–64, Bai Yuchan's second-generation disciple).
3. ★*Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集 (Anthology of Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Dao to Lü Dongbin; *j.* 14–16), ascribed to ★Shi Jianwu 施肩吾 (fl. 820–35).
4. *Zazhu jiejing* 雜著捷徑 (Shortcuts [to Realization] by Various Authors; *j.* 17–25), containing writings by Zeng Zao 曾糙 (?–1155), ★Yu Yan 俞琰 (1258–1314), and others.
5. ★*Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection; *j.* 26–30), by Zhang Boduan 張伯端 with commentaries by Ye Wenshu 葉文叔 and Yuan Shu 袁樞 (1131–1205).



6. *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (Anthology of [the Abbey of] Jade Beneficence; *j.* 31–36), containing hagiographies related to the ★Xu Xun cult on the Western Hills (★Xishan, Jiangxi). This and the following two texts are by Bai Yuchan and his disciples.
7. *Shangqing ji* 上清集 (Anthology of [the Abbey of] Highest Clarity; *j.* 37–44), with texts related to the ★Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) order of Mount Longhu (★Longhu shan, Jiangxi).
8. *Wuyi ji* 武夷集 (Anthology of [the Abbey of Mount] Wuyi; *j.* 45–52), with texts related to ritual activities in northern Fujian.
9. *Panshan yulu* 盤山語錄 (Conversation Records of [Wang] Panshan; *j.* 53), by ★Wang Zhijin 王志謹 (1178–1263) and his disciples, especially Lun Zhihuan 論志煥 (fl. 1247). The text is a rearrangement of the *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* 盤山棲雲王真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Wang Qiyun from Mount Pan; CT 1059).
10. ★*Huangting jing* 黃庭經 (Scripture of the Yellow Court; *j.* 54–60), with two Tang commentaries by Liangqiu zi 梁丘子 (fl. 729) on the “Inner” and “Outer” versions of the text, and a related work by Hu Yin 胡愔 dated 848.

*Lowell SKAR*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 234–37; Chen Guofu 1963, 285–86; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 160–62

※ *neidan*

Xiwang mu

西王母

Queen Mother of the West

Even in modern times, Xiwang mu lives on in folk custom and popular

religion with the Peach Festival (*pantao hui* 蟠桃會) of the third day of the third lunar month, and as Wang mu niangniang 王母娘娘 (Damsel Mother of the West), the wife of the Jade Emperor (Yudi 玉帝). She has an ancient pedigree, appearing in the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; fourth/third century BCE?; trans. Mathieu 1983, 100, 481, and 587–88), where, however, there is no consistency about the place where she is supposed to live: on the Jade Mountain (Yushan 玉山), or north of Mount ★Kunlun, or on Mount Kunlun itself. She appears as a fearsome deity, with a human face, tiger's teeth, a panther's tail, and hair flowing in cascades around her. She lives in a cave and brings pestilence to the world. By contrast, an episode in the *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 (Bamboo Annals; originally ca. 300 BCE) describes how King Mu of Zhou (Muwang, r. 956–918 BCE) travelled west in the seventeenth year of his reign to meet her at the Kunlun mountain. The same year, Xiwang mu was entertained at his court. The *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Mu, Son of Heaven; ca. 350 BCE; trans. Mathieu 1978, 44–49) gives a vivid description of the banquet held by Xiwang mu for King Mu on the banks of the Turquoise Pond (Yaochi 瑤池), on which occasion the two exchanged poems. In hers, Xiwang mu identified herself as “the daughter of the Celestial Emperor (Tiandi 天帝).” Thus, unlike the *Shanhai jing*, the *Zhushu jinian* and the *Mu tianzi zhuan* portray her in a more human form, with a close connection to the rulers of this world.

During the Han period, the idea developed that Xiwang mu brought good omens to congratulate earthly rulers who had brought about to the realm. At the same time, her character as a savior was strengthened, and in 3 CE, a frenzied cult among people seeking world renewal grew up around her; it spread through twenty-six prefectures and provinces, extending even to the capital Chang'an (Loewe 1979, 98–101). It was during the Han dynasty also that her male counterpart, Dongwang gong 東王公 (King Lord of the East), made his appearance (Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 48–52). By the Six Dynasties period, as can be seen in works such as the *Bowu zhi* 博物志 (Monograph on Various Matters; third century), *Han Wu gushi* 漢武故事 (Ancient Stories of [Emperor] Wu of the Han; sixth century?) and ★*Han Wudi neizhuan* (Inner Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han; sixth century), she had taken on the characteristics of a Taoist deity or immortal and occupied a position within the Taoist genealogy of divine beings. The episode of Xiwang mu bestowing

the peaches of immortality on Han Wudi is famous in Chinese literature and folklore. In ★Tao Hongjing's ★*Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Real Numinous Beings), she is classed as a Real Woman (*nüzhēn* 女真) of second rank. In ★Du Guangting's ★*Yongcheng jixian lu* (Records of the Immortals Gathered in the Walled City), a collection of biographies of female immortals, she is given the role, as Yuanjun 元君 (Original Princess), of supervisor of all female immortals.

Xiwang mu and Dongwang gong are also known as Jinmu 金母 (Mother of Metal) and Mugong 木公 (Lord of Wood), respectively, from the names of the two agents associated with West and East (see ★*wuxing*).

YOSHIKAWA Tadao

▣ Cahill 1986a; Cahill 1986b; Cahill 1993; Despeux 1990, 43–49; Fracasso 1988; James 1995; Kohn 1993b, 55–63; Kominami Ichirō 1991; Little 2000b, 154–59 and 276–77; Loewe 1979, 86–126; Loewe 1987; Maspero 1981, 194–96; Schipper 1965; Seidel 1982, 99–106; Wu Hung 1987

※ *Han Wudi neizhuan*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## Xu Fu

徐福

fl. 219–210 BCE; *zi*: Junfang 君房; also known as Xu Shi 徐市

Xu Fu was a ★*fangshi* from Qi 齊 (Shandong). He submitted a memorial to Qin Shi huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE) in 219 BCE asking for children who could help him fetch herbs of immortality from ★Penglai and other isles of the blessed in the eastern seas. The emperor presented him with several thousand (*Shiji*, 6.247). In the ensuing years, they went out to sea together, but to no avail. In 210 BCE, Xu Fu defended his efforts by claiming that a large fish prevented them from reaching the isles. The emperor gave him more equipment and even went out to sea himself to slay the fish (*Shiji*, 6.263).

Xu Fu's story captured people's imagination early on, as shown in the embellished account told to Liu An 劉安 (see ★*Huainan zi*) around 124 BCE, where Xu Fu sets himself up as a king in the east (*Shiji*, 118.3086). Perhaps the earliest textual source describing him as an immortal is the ★*Shizhou ji* (Record of the Ten Continents), a Six Dynasties text which relates that he was sent to find the life-restoring herb from Zuzhou 祖洲, one of the ten continents. He and 500 boys and girls sailed out, never to return. This tale is repeated in all subsequent accounts of Xu Fu in the Taoist Canon. Xu Fu also appears in the ★*Shenxian zhuan* (YJQQ 109.6b–7b; Campany 2002, 256–57).

Chinese sites associated with Xu Fu are found in Xuzhou 徐州 (Jiangsu) and especially the Laoshan 嶗山 district of Qingdao 青島 (Shandong). Legends about Xu Fu abound in Japan, where he is reputed to have landed in Kumano 熊野 (Kishū). There is also a tomb of Xu Fu in Shingū 新宮 (Wakayama), and another legend has him buried in Aomori Prefecture. The belief that Xu Fu transmitted Chinese culture to Japan has generated a large number of studies about him, both in Japanese and Chinese. Some, however, are wildly speculative, arguing for example that Xu Fu actually became the legendary first Japanese emperor, Jinmu (Wei Tingsheng 1953; Peng Shuangsong 1983; Peng Shuangsong 1984).

*Thomas E. SMITH*

▣ An Zhimin et al. 1990; Davis and Nakaseko 1937; Needham 1976, 17–19; Shandong Jiaonan Langya ji Xu Fu yanjiuhui 1995; Yamamoto Noritsuna 1979

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

## Xu Jia

徐甲

Xu Jia is a fictional character who appears first in the ★*Shenxian zhuan* biography of Laozi (trans. Campany 2002, 194–211) as the servant hired to accompany the sage to the western lands. According to the story, by the time

they reach ★Yin Xi's pass, Laozi owes Xu millions of cash, and the latter, seeing that Laozi is indeed leaving China, decides he wants to stay home after all and demands his money, which Laozi does not have. Instigated by a servant on the pass who wants his daughter to marry Xu and get rich, Xu files a complaint against Laozi before Yin Xi, who confronts the sage. Laozi, however, does not comply but shouts at the servant that he should have been dead long ago and has only remained alive with a talisman Laozi gave him. When Laozi takes back the talisman, Xu Jia collapses in a heap of bones and is only revived and sent on his way upon Yin Xi's pleas for mercy.

The story appears variously in the literature, adding a different twist to Taoist myth each time. Its earliest version in the *Shenxian zhuan* shows Laozi as a master of wondrous arts, controlling life and death with magic and talismans (★FU). In sixth-century ordination materials, such as the *Wenshi neizhuan* 文始內傳 (Inner Biography of Master Wenshi; Kohn 1997b, 109–13), it contrasts the dedicated selfless Taoist (Yin Xi) with the greedy shaman (Xu Jia), emphasizing the priority of universal salvation over any material gain one could achieve. In the seventh-century *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 太上混元真錄 (Real Account of the Most High Chaotic Origin; CT 954), the episode appears as a test for Yin Xi, to make sure of his sympathy for weaker beings and his ability to stand up in a crisis as the representative of the Dao. ★Du Guangting, in his *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義 (Extended Interpretation of the Emperor's Exegesis of the *Daode jing*; 901; CT 725), adds that Laozi had raised Xu Jia from the dead even before he became his servant, having found him as an exposed skeleton lying on the roadside.

In the Song hagiographies (★*Youlong zhuan*, ★*Hunyuan shengji*), Laozi himself turns into the beautiful woman who seduces Jia in order to test both his servant and Yin Xi. A modern story, collected by Kristofer Schipper in Tainan in the 1970s, has Xu Jia start out as a dead skeleton who is then revived by Laozi. The sage trains Xu in elementary Taoist methods but puts him to the test by placing him into a seductive setting and the company of a beautiful lady. Xu fails, succumbs to the woman's charms, and is punished by waking up in a deserted graveyard. Despairing, he recites whatever spells come to mind, without paying any attention to ritual purity and even while performing physical necessities. Laozi appears. He scolds Xu furiously and gives him two basic ritual implements, a buffalo horn and a bell, leaving him

to practice the Dao in this primitive way—thus creating the Red-head (*hongtou* 紅頭) branch of Taoist priests (see ★*hongtou* and *wutou*) and giving legitimacy even to shamanic practice within the Taoist religion. In each variant, the story thus reflects the key concerns of Taoists at the time, while also documenting the continued aliveness of myths within the tradition.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Kohn 1998b, 260–64; Schipper 1985e, 37–46

※ Laozi and Laojun; HAGIOGRAPHY

### *Xu xianzhuan*

#### 續仙傳

#### Sequel to Biographies of Immortals

The *Xu xianzhuan* (CT 295) was compiled by Shen Fen 沈汾 (or 沈玠) who lived under the Southern Tang dynasty (923–36). Internal evidence from the biography of ★Nie Shidao in this collection implies that Shen lived in the state of Wu 吳 (Jiangsu and part of Zhejiang), one of the ten statelets (*shiguo* 十國) of the Five Dynasties, known at that time as Yangwu 楊吳. There is a short account of him in the *Jiang Huai yiren lu* 江淮異人錄 (Accounts of Extraordinary Men from Jiang and Huai; CT 595) that simply says he came from the end of the Tang.

The collection is divided into three chapters: the first contains sixteen biographies of those who have “ascended in flight” (*feisheng* 飛昇), the second has twelve biographies of those who “transformed in secret” (*yinhua* 隱化), with eight more secret transformers in the third.

The recipients of biographies in this collection are largely from the Tang period and are often important figures in non-religious history who receive notices in other secular and religious sources, including the Standard Histories. Indeed, the *Xu xianzhuan* is the first collection of immortals’

biographies in which some of its sources are still extant. The biographies of Zhang Zhihe 張志和, Xie Ziran 謝自然, and Xu Xuanping 許宣平 derive from the hand of Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–85), Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824; IC 397–40), and Li Bai 李白 (Li Bo, 701–62) respectively, as the editors of *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Writings of the Four Repositories) noted. In addition, Liu Su's 劉肅 *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 (New Sayings of the Great Tang) appears to be the source for the biography of ★Sima Chengzhen, at least in part.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 240; Kirkland 1986a, 204–5, 247–50, and 274–75; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 417–21

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

## Xu Xun

許遜

trad. 239–374; *zi*: Jingzhi 敬之

Centuries of hagiographic lore surrounding Xu Xun convey a complex, often enigmatic, portrait of a divinely endowed healer, dragon-slayer, and exemplar of filiality active in the central Yangzi river basin area. The ★Yulong wanshou gong (Palace of the Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Jade Beneficence) dedicated to him at the Western Hills (★Xishan, Jiangxi) continues to be a popular site of pilgrimage. At this very location in 682, a Celestial Master named Hu Huichao 天師胡惠超 (?–703) succeeded in reviving a ★Lingbao form of ritual practice known as Xiaodao 孝道 (Way of Filiality) that honored Xu as its founding father. Imperial patronage of the abbey escalated in 1112 when Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) authorized the title Shengong miaoji zhenjun 神功妙濟真君 (Perfected Lord of Divine Merit and Wondrous Deliverance), endorsing Xu's role as a national

guardian. By the late thirteenth century, Xu gained lasting recognition as the patriarch of an eclectic school of teachings known as Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道 (Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality).

Accounts of Xu Xun's life vary according to changing perceptions of his divine destiny over time. Many reflect the assimilation of lore concerning the figures with whom he is said to have been associated. Xu's ancestry is commonly traced to the legendary recluse Xu You 許由 who, according to the story told in ★*Zhuangzi*, declined ruler Yao's 堯 plea to take over the command of his kingdom. With the impending fall of the Han empire, Xu Xun's father Xu Su 許肅 is said to have fled from the family home in Xuchang 許昌 (Henan) south to Nanchang (Jiangxi). Xu's birth nearly twenty years later reportedly followed a prophetic dream of his mother Lady Fu 符氏. One hagiographic excerpt recorded in the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Categoric Collection of Literary Writings) of 624 claims that Xu lost his father at the age of seven and thereafter selflessly devoted himself to looking after his mother. The formative event of his youth is acknowledged overall to be the time he proved his skill in archery by bringing down a doe near parturition. Xu is said to have immediately cast aside his bow and arrow when he saw the dying animal licking its abruptly delivered offspring. He then turned to a broad course of study, ranging from the Classics and history to the art of cultivating refinement (*xiulian* 修鍊).

According to hagiographic convention, Xu went to Xi'an at the age of twenty to study with Wu Meng 吳猛 (?–374?), popularly recognized as one of the twenty-four paragons of filiality (*ershisi xiao* 二十四孝). Wu is said to have conveyed a set of prescriptions to Xu that he had earlier received from a physician named Ding Yi 丁義. This bestowal led Xu to concentrate on the contemplative pursuit of cultivating refinement at a retreat on Mount Xiaoyao (Xiaoyao shan 逍遙山) in the Western Hills range, allegedly established with Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324). In the year 280 Xu was induced to leave his refuge to serve as Magistrate of Jingyang 旌陽 (identified as Zhijiang 枝江 in Hubei or, by the early fourteenth century, as Deyang 德陽 in Sichuan). There he reportedly gained widespread support for his compassionate form of government based on instruction in the fundamental values of filiality and honesty (*xiaolian* 孝廉). The story is also told of how countless residents in the Jingyang area and beyond also benefited from Xu's talismanic remedy for



a deadly strain of pestilence.

Xu eventually left his post in anticipation of the collapse of the Western Jin empire (265–316). The journey back to Xishan provides the setting for many tales recounting his extraordinary ability to recognize and successfully combat malevolent forces, especially entrenched flood demons. Another remarkable episode concerns a female adept named Chen Mu 謹姆 to whom Xu and Wu paid homage at Danyang 丹陽. Their visit putatively gave her the opportunity to designate Xu as heir to the Xiaodao mingwang zhi fa 孝道明王之法 (Rituals from the Luminous Sovereign of the Way of Filiality), to fulfill the prophecy of her teacher Langong 蘭公. The story behind Xu's role as patriarch of Xiaodao thus elevates him to a position above his teacher Wu Meng.

Xu's devotions in the end were rewarded by a summons to join the ranks of transcendents on high. Operatic and artistic works have immortalized the vision of his ascent at Xishan, leading some forty-two members of his household, together with chickens and dogs. The earliest surviving intact hagiography dates the event to the second year of (Western) Jin Yuankang (292). Dominant hagiographic tradition claims that Xu Xun was one-hundred thirty-six years of age at the time, which corresponds to the second year of (Eastern) Jin Ningkang (374). The ascent allegedly occurred on the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, traditionally observed as the Mid-Autumn Festival (*zhongqiu jie* 中秋節), and is still commemorated at shrines honoring Xu Xun. Patrons of contemporary enshrinements include followers of the Lüshan 閩山 and Sannai 三奶 schools of ritual, both of which claim Xu Xun as their source of authority. Later generations of devotees also stand behind various ritual manuals and oracular verse (*qian* 籤) transmitted in the name of Xu Xun.

Two early hagiographic accounts about Xu and eleven disciples, lost texts attributed to Hu Huichao and Yu Bian 余卞 (fl. 1086–1125), presumably lie behind extant and largely derivative compilations. Aside from accounts in the ★*Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* (Complete Writings of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Loyalty and Filiality) and in assorted general hagiographic anthologies, the Taoist Canon contains the following individually printed biographies of Xu Xun:

1. *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan* 孝道吳許二真君傳 (Biography of

- Wu and Xu, the Two Perfected Lords of the Way of Filiality; CT 449), post 819;
2. *Jingyang Xu zhenjun zhuan* 旌陽許真君傳 (Biography of the Perfected Lord Xu of Jingyang) in the *Yulong ji* 玉隆集 (Anthology of [the Abbey of] Jade Beneficence) of ★Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?), with supplements (★*Xiuzhen shishu*, j. 33–36);
  3. *Xishan Xu zhenjun bashiwu hua lu* 西山許真君八十五化錄 (Record of the Eighty-Five Metamorphoses of the Perfected Lord Xu of the Western Hills; CT 448), dated 1250;
  4. *Xu zhenjun xianzhuan* 許真君仙傳 (Biography of Perfected Lord Xu; CT 447), post 1295;
  5. *Xu Taishi zhenjun tuzhuan* 許太史真君圖傳 (Illustrated Biography of the Perfected Lord and Grand Scribe Xu; CT 440), post 1295.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Akizuki Kan'ei 1978, 3–47; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 70–78; Little 2000b, 314–18; van der Loon 1984, 73, 127, 138, and 169; Schipper 1985d; Wang Ka 1996; Zhang Zehong 1990

※ Yulong wanshou gong; Xishan; Jingming dao; HAGIOGRAPHY

*xuan*

玄

mystery, mysterious; dark; arcane; remote

The primary connotation of *xuan* is the color of heaven or of the mountains seen from far away; hence the meaning of “dark” and “remote.” Based on *Daode jing* 1, where *xuan* refers to the mysterious origin and development of the world, Taoist authors have glossed this term as “profound and subtle,” “obscure and silent,” “absence of anything,” “unspeakable,” or “wondrous” (*miao* 妙) in the sense of unfathomable. ★Ge Hong and others take *xuan* as a

synonym of Dao, as the term also indicates the Primordial Unity before the distinction between Non-being and Being (★*wu* and *you*; *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義, CT 725, 4.9a). Some, including ★Cheng Xuanying, equate *xuan* with the state of non-attachment and absence of obstructions. The term is also often paired with *xu* 虛 (void, emptiness), and as such it is defined as the mysterious conjunction of two complementary and opposite entities: Fire and Water, emptiness and existence, or inner nature and vital force (★*xing* and *ming*). As its meaning is close to *yuan* 元 (Origin), it has been substituted by the latter when the character *xuan* was tabooed, as in ★Wang Bi's commentary to the *Daode jing* and in texts dating from almost the entire span of the Qing dynasty.

*Xuan* also appears in other compounds with related meanings. It is a synonym of Heaven in the compound *xuanhuang* 玄黃 or Mysterious and Yellow, which designates primordial Chaos (★*hundun*), i.e., the state in which Heaven (*xuan*) and Earth (*huang*, yellow being the color of Soil in the ★*wuxing* system) are still merged as a single entity. Similarly, in the expression ★*xuanpin* or Mysterious Female (*Daode jing* 6), “mysterious” refers to Heaven and “female” to Earth according to the ★*Laozi Heshang gong zhangju* and other later commentaries. *Xuantong* 玄同 (Mysterious Equality) is often used to indicate the state of mystical oblivion and fusion with the Dao.

In other contexts, *xuan* denotes the Taoist teaching itself and appears in the name of some Taoist lineages and trends of thought. ★Xuanxue (lit., Dark Learning or Mysterious Learning) is the name of a school of thought that flourished during the Six Dynasties; ★Chongxuan (Twofold Mystery) is a school of commentaries on the *Daode jing*; and ★Xuanjiao (Mysterious Teaching) is a Taoist institution created under the Mongols. The term *xuanmen* 玄門 (Gate of Mysteries) is also a name of Taoism itself.

Finally, in cosmogony, *xuan* is the name of the third of the three original pneumas (see under ★*sanyuan*).

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 256–59; Yu Shiyi 2000, 59–91; Zhang Dainian 1994

※ Dao; *wu* and *you*

## *Xuandu baozang*

### 玄都寶藏

#### Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis

To avoid confusion with the ★*Da Jin Xuandu baozang* (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin), the *Xuandu baozang* of 1244 has alternatively come to be known as the *Da Yuan Xuandu baozang* 大元玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Yuan). The direct heir of its Jurchen namesake, this new Canon is the product of the ★Quanzhen lineage that won a significant following in the Mongol empire. Variant accounts of how it evolved are found in biographical records of the Quanzhen patriarchy, many of which were composed as stele inscriptions.

The task of organizing this editorial venture was taken on by ★Song Defang (1183–1247), disciple of the renowned Quanzhen patriarch ★Qiu Chuji (1148–1227). It is unclear what may have led Song to initiate the compilation of a new Canon. He is said to have acted in response either to his late master Qiu's encouragement, to an imperial decree, or to a command issued in 1235 by Qiu's designated successor ★Yin Zhiping (1169–1251). Work on the project reportedly began in 1237, with headquarters established in Pingyang 平陽 (Shanxi) at the Xuandu guan 玄都觀 (Abbey of the Mysterious Metropolis). Pingyang was at that time a well-established center of publication. Grand Councilor Hu Tianlu 胡天祿, provincial administrator, offered Song his support by granting a significant amount of cash to help fund the retrieval of lost scriptures.

Song put his disciple Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188–1244) in charge of a network of local offices where several hundred people were employed as collators. The single Canon to which they are said to have had recourse was found in the former Jurchen outpost of Guanzhou 管州 (Shanxi). Among titles Qin himself contributed to the new Canon is a hagiography of the Quanzhen lineage, entitled ★*Jinlian zhengzong ji* (Records of the Correct Lineage of the Golden Lotus). Others known to have served as members of the editorial staff include Mao Yangsu 毛養素 (1178–1259), He Zhiyuan 何志淵 (1189–1279), and Li Zhiquan 李志全 (1191–1256). When it was

completed in 1244, the new Canon reportedly came to a total of 7,000 *juan*. Over one-hundred sets of the *Xuandu baozang* were printed for distribution. Following the death of Song Defang, the blocks of the Canon were transferred to the site of his burial, the Chunyang wanshou gong 純陽萬壽宮 (Palace of Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Pure Yang), precursor of the ★Yongle gong (Palace of Eternal Joy) in Ruicheng 芮城 (Shanxi).

By 1282, most texts as well as the printing blocks themselves were apparently destroyed upon the command of Khubilai khan (r. 1260–94). Fragments of the ★*Yunji qiqian* (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds) from the *Xuandu baozang* are in the National Library of Beijing and the National Palace Museum of Taipei. A copy of the *Taiqing fenglu jing* 太清風露經 (Scripture of Great Clarity on Wind and Dew) from the Canon, which came up missing in the Ming Canon, is also in the National Library of Beijing. These surviving texts from the *Xuandu baozang* are all printed on sheets of paper with thirty columns of seventeen characters each, matching the format of Song editions of the Buddhist Canon printed in the south. In similar fashion, the Yuan Canon also added a column in small print to each sheet providing: 1. serial identification according to the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand-Word Text), 2. running title, 3. chapter and sheet numbers, and 4. the block-cutter's name. The names of more than twenty block-cutters have been found on the few fragments of the Canon thus far uncovered.

Judith M. BOLTZ

■ Chen Guofu 1963, 160–74; Chen Yuan 1988, 486–87, 534–35, 546–49, 581–82, 613–14, and 652–53; Cleaves 1960; van der Loon 1984, 50–57; Zhu Yueli 1992, 152–54

※ Song Defang; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

## Xuandu guan

玄都觀

Abbey of the Mysterious Metropolis (Chang'an)

The Xuandu guan was an important Taoist foundation of the late sixth century which still survived, less prominently, in the ninth. Wudi (r. 560–78), emperor of the Northern Zhou, used it as a base for the compilation of a definitive catalogue of the Taoist Canon, completed in 570 (Kohn 1995a, 218–19), and lectured there himself in 572; thereafter it seems to have formed the nucleus for his ★Tongdao guan, which incorporated non-Taoist scholars also. With the restoration of Buddhism and the subsequent creation of the new capital of Chang'an by the Sui in 582, the Xuandu guan reappeared, a solely Taoist institution recreated out of the Tongdao guan, but balancing geographically a large Buddhist monastery, the recipient of much more significant imperial patronage. Now Wang Yan 王延 (520–604), a former Tongdao guan Taoist who had catalogued the earlier institution's vast library, was in charge, and it remained associated with bibliographical activities. Thus the only surviving manuscript of the ★*Laozi bianhua jing* (Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi; ★Dunhuang manuscript S. 2295), apparently composed in the late Han yet otherwise completely unknown, was collated by one of its Taoists in 612, according to the colophon. After the Sui, the abbey lost its importance.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 108–10; Lagerwey 1981b, 15–20; Yamazaki Hiroshi 1967a

※ Tongdao guan; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

### *Xuandu liuwen*

### 玄都律文

### Statutes of the Mysterious Metropolis

This sixth-century collection of Celestial Masters (★Tianshi dao) rules (CT 188) contains sets of statutes governing Taoist behavior: 1. Statutes on good and evil, emptiness and Non-being (1a–3a); 2. Statutes on precepts and

recitations (3a–5a); 3. Statutes on the hundred remedies (5a–8a); 4. Statutes on the hundred diseases (8a–11a); 5. Statutes on organization and ritual (11a–18b); 6. Statutes on the presentation of petitions (18b–22a).

The first set consists of lists of the types of good and bad fortune one will experience if one commits good or evil deeds, numbering from one to one thousand. It introduces the list with a definition of thirteen desirable states (e.g., emptiness, Non-being, purity, tranquillity, subtlety, and simplicity) and thirteen beneficial attitudes or personal characteristics that will lead to immortal perfection, emphasizing that anybody who fails to comply with these will be punished by heaven.

The second set has twelve rules on concrete ritual practices, such as the visualization of gods, the chanting of scriptures, and the eating of sacrificial food, as well as the ritual schedule and attitudes toward teachers and family. It begins with a list of the undesirable attitudes of a deceiving nature, such as taking evil for good, crooked for straight, pure for turbid, and so on. Each statute, moreover, is associated with a particular punishment, usually the subtraction of 400 days from the life span.

The third and fourth sets each consist of one hundred entries focusing on the idea of sickness and healing. They begin by mentioning the celestial administration, specifying that the Director of Transgressions (Siguo 司過) reports all misdeeds while the Director of Destinies (★Siming) shortens the life span.

The fifth section has twenty-seven items of communal and ritual import, specifying subtractions of reckoning days (*suan* 算) and periods (*ji* 紀) from the life span for various improper actions, such as not following inheritance procedures when receiving transmission from one's father, squabbling over transmission after the death of a master, failure to attend assemblies or pay the right amount of dues, seeking fast promotion, making mistakes in setting out banquets, creating disturbances during the Three Assemblies (★*sanhui*), and so on. Punishments range from a subtraction of 200 days to three periods.

The last set of statutes consists of sixteen items focusing on the presentation of ritual petitions in the communal worship hall. They discuss entering the sacred space on the right day and at the right hour, properly purified and attired in ritual vestments, and performing the rite for the sake of the entire community and not for personal gain. In each case, failure to comply with a given statute results in a reduction in rank by one or two

notches, a subtraction of days from the life span, or a visitation by sickness for a given number of days.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Kobayashi 1990, 206–7; Sivin 1999a (part. trans.)

※ *jie* [precepts]; Tianshi dao

*xuanguan*

玄關

Mysterious Pass

In ★*neidan*, the Mysterious Pass represents the time and place in which an alchemist joins the complementary antinomies on which he or she works, such as inner nature and vital force (★*xing* and *ming*), Dragon and Tiger (★*longhu*), lead and mercury, Fire and Water, heart and kidneys, or *kan* 坎 = (Yang within Yin) and *li* 離 = (Yin within Yang). The *neidan* texts often mention the One Opening of the Mysterious Pass (*xuanguan yiqiao* 玄關一竅) as a synonym of the Mysterious Female (★*xuanpin*), the Door of Life and Death (*shengsi hu* 生死戶), or the “border between divinity and humanity” (*tianren jie* 天人界), to designate the Center where Non-being and Being (★*wu* and *you*) pervade each other (for a clear statement see ★Liu Yiming's *Xiangyan poyi* 象言破疑 or *Smashing Doubts on Symbolic Language*; trans. Cleary 1986a, 80–81).

The Mysterious Pass, which opens beyond space and time, is inconceivable by means of discursive thought and has, by definition, no fixed position. Nevertheless, certain texts devoted to the description of the *neidan* practice place it in specific loci of the body defined as “dual” (*shuang* 雙), which allow the instantaneous manifestation of the One. These texts accordingly state that, at the beginning of the alchemical work, one can locate the Mysterious Pass between the two kidneys (the Gate of the Vital Force,



★*mingmen*, or Gate of the Mysterious Female, *xuanpin zhi men* 玄牝之門, which are double gates, one Yin and one Yang; see ★*xuanpin*), or between the heart and the vertebral column in the Dual Pass of the Spinal Handle (*jiaji shuangguan* 夾脊雙關; see ★*sanguan*), or between the two eyes representing the sun (Yang) and the moon (Yin), and so forth.

These intermediary “double gates” are symbols both of duality and of its transcendence, and make the understanding—i.e., the opening of the Mysterious Pass—possible. In this way, one can find the Yin within the Yang and the Yang within the Yin; these are then joined again in the Center, which is the One Opening of the Mysterious Pass. Only here a new union can occur, as the Mysterious Pass is the ideal space and time to experience the interpenetrating fluctuations of Yin and Yang. The Mysterious Pass is therefore the primordial Chaos (★*hundun*) containing the germ of life—the precosmic sparkle of Original Yang and Original Yin—which is the prime mover and the *materia prima* of the alchemical work.

Monica ESPOSITO

▣ Cleary 1986a, 80–81; Esposito 1993, 52 and 58–59; Esposito and Robinet 1998; Robinet 1995a, 103–7

※ *mingmen*; *sanguan*; *xuanpin*; *neidan*

# Xuanjiao

## 玄教

### Mysterious Teaching

Xuanjiao is a peculiar creation of the Yuan period. When ★Zhang Zongyan (1244–91), the thirty-sixth Celestial Master, gave his allegiance to the Mongol emperor in 1276, it was understood that he would move to Yanjing (Beijing) with his entourage. The Mongols based their control of the Chinese population largely on dialogue with delegates appointed by different quarters of the society, and granted unprecedented autonomy to various religious schools as long as their patriarchs agreed to reside in the capital and be readily available at court. Zhang Zongyan, however, found himself unable to live away from his headquarters on Mount Longhu (★Longhu shan, Jiangxi), and quickly returned there. His behavior surprised the court, but Khubilai khan (Shizu, r. 1260–1294) and his entourage took a strong liking to Zhang Zongyan's representative, ★Zhang Liusun, who became the most eminent Taoist figure at court for the next forty years. As Liusun maintained his own allegiance to the Celestial Master, Khubilai formalized his position by making him the first patriarch of a new institution, the Xuanjiao, created in 1278, which had formal control over Taoism in southern China. The Xuanjiao patriarch also had a leading role at the Jixian yuan 集賢院 (Academy of Gathered Worthies), an institution that, among other things, managed the Taoist clergy throughout the empire. The management was actually collective—a typical feature of Yuan administration—since other orders, most notably ★Quanzhen, also had permanent seats in the academy, and each enjoyed great autonomy until the end of Mongol rule in 1368.

Xuanjiao, therefore, is not a real religious order: it does not seem to have had any scriptures, liturgical registers, filiation lines, or indeed any feature of a Taoist school. It served as a means of communication, and some official documents carved on stone indicate that it mainly channeled paperwork between Mount Longhu and the imperial court. Xuanjiao did exert a strong

influence, however, because of the high personal prestige of its first two patriarchs, Zhang Liusun and his disciple ★Wu Quanjie. After Wu's death, his disciple Xia Wenyong 夏文泳 (1277–1349) was designated as the third patriarch, and three years later he was succeeded by Zhang Delong 張德隆, about whom not much is known. They all divided their time between personal service to the emperor and his relatives, performing official rituals throughout the country, and maintaining their headquarters at the Chongzhen gong 崇真宮 (Palace for the Veneration of Authenticity) in Yanjing.

This large institution disappeared at the end of the Yuan. At the beginning of the Ming, the ★Zhengyi order took direct control of the Taoist administration, and there was no more place for a political structure without a basis in society such as the Xuanjiao.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: 284–323; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 187–92; Sun K'o-k'uan 1981; Takahashi Bunji 1997

### *Xuanmen dayi*

### 玄門大義

### Great Meaning of the School of Mysteries

The text commonly cited as the *Xuanmen dayi* is represented in the Taoist Canon by a one-chapter work entitled *Dongxuan lingbao xuanmen dayi* 洞玄靈寶玄門大義 (Great Meaning of the School of Mysteries of Lingbao, Cavern of Mystery Section; CT 1124). This, however, ends in mid-sentence; another source for the same material may be found in ★*Yunji qiqian* 6 and 7, where the *Daomen dalun* 道門大論 (Great Essay on the School of the Dao) is cited to cover the “twelve sections of scripture,” the twelve subdivisions (still marked) of each part of the threefold Taoist Canon into separate genres, e.g. scripture, commentary, etc. The ★Dunhuang manuscripts P. 2861.2, P. 2256 and P. 3001 show that this schema, ultimately of Buddhist inspiration (though the Buddhist schema, rather different in its details, is not used in any Chinese

Buddhist canon known to us), derives from earlier materials, apparently of Liang dynasty date.

But this by no means exhausts the materials ascribed to the *Xuanmen dayi* (or texts with similar names) in quotation: substantial amounts on an entirely different topic are quoted in *Yunji qiqian* 49 from a *Xuanmen dalun* 玄門大論 (Great Essay on the School of Mysteries); quotations may also be found in chapter 21 (twice) from a *Xuanmen lun* 玄門論 (Essay on the School of Mysteries) and in 37 from both a *Daomen dalun* and a *Xuanmen dalun*. Initial caution as to the identity of all these works (as seen in Malek 1985, 84–85) has given way to the view that these quotations (and others in smaller encyclopedias from the seventh century onward) must all be drawn—though perhaps at different stages in its transmission—from the same work. That work would seem to be mentioned in bibliographies of the Northern Song under the title *Changsheng zhengyi xuanmen dalun* 長生正義玄門大論 (The Correct Meaning of Long Life: A Great Discussion of the School of Mysteries) in twenty-eight fascicles; the *★Daozang quejing mulu* (1.12a, 1.20a; an unsystematic collection of titles mentioned in earlier works apparently put together in connection with the compilation of the current Canon), lists both the title now in the Canon and a twenty-fascicle *Xuanmen dalun* as lost.

Perhaps the best guide to the original *Xuanmen dayi* is the *★Daojiao yishu* (Pivot of Meaning of the Taoist Teaching), which criticizes it at the end of its preface for prolixity, but also cites it as *Xuanmen dalun* and *Xuanmen lun*, and evidently took its organization as a template. On the basis of all the evidence, then, it would seem that the *Xuanmen dayi* was a large Taoist encyclopedia of doctrine, probably of the Sui period, and certainly no earlier. Sunayama Minoru (1990, 193–196) has gone further than this bibliographical research in trying to integrate its teachings into his construction of a “School of Twofold Mystery” (*★Chongxuan*) which he takes to have flourished from the Six Dynasties into the Tang. His reconstruction has been subject to criticism from Robert Sharf (2002, 56–61) on the grounds that there is no proof of the existence of a self-conscious school united by adherence to a set of doctrines, but he has at least done much to document the influence of the *Xuanmen dayi* on later writers.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Malek 1985, 84–85; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 115–17 (list of texts cited); Sunayama Minoru 1990, 193–96

## Xuanmiao guan

### 玄妙觀

Abbey of Mysterious Wonder (Suzhou, Jiangsu)

The Abbey of Mysterious Wonder in Suzhou (Jiangsu) is one of the oldest and most important Taoist sacred sites in south China. Founded in 276, it was originally named Taoist Cloister of Perfection and Blessing (Zhenqing daoyuan 真慶道院), but later renamed Taoist Cloister of Supreme Perfection (Shangzhen daoyuan 上真道院) after the emperor dreamed of the Three Clarities (★*sanqing*) informing him of their intention to visit Suzhou. This abbey was also patronized by emperors of the Tang and Song dynasties, who supported Taoism and sponsored temple construction projects. Accordingly, it was renamed Palace of Opening the Primordial (Kaiyuan gong 開元宮) in 714 and Abbey of Celestial Blessings (Tianqing guan 天慶觀) in 1012. The name Abbey of Mysterious Wonder was bestowed in 1295, after its reconstruction following a devastating fire. During the Ming, the imperial court recognized this site as a public monastery of the Orthodox Unity (★Zhengyi) movement.

During the Qing dynasty, the monastery's mammoth temple complex housed a total of thirty halls or pavilions (*dian* 殿), including halls to deities such as the Three Clarities, the Venerable Lord of Thunder (Leizun 雷尊), the Mother of the Dipper (★Doumu), the Three Offices (★*sanguan*), the Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak (★Dongyue dadi), Emperor Guan (Guandi 關帝; see ★Guan Yu), ★Wenchang, etc. Only the monastery's main gate (*shanmen* 山門) and the first three halls mentioned above survive intact, the rest having been partially or totally destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64). The monastery has also played a role in the history of Taoist ritual music (Takimoto Yūzō and Liu Hong 2000, 755 and 762).

The main source on the history of the monastery is its Qing-dynasty temple gazetteer, entitled *Suzhou Yuanmiao guan zhi* 蘇州元妙觀志 (Monograph of Suzhou's Abbey of Mysterious Wonder; *xuan* was changed to *yuan* to avoid a taboo on the name of the Kangxi Emperor), compiled by Gu Yuan 顧沅 and reprinted in Gao Xiaojian 2000, vol. 11, from its 1927 edition. In addition, the *Suzhou Xuanmiao guan zhigao* 蘇州玄妙觀志稿 (Draft Monograph of Suzhou's Abbey of Mysterious Wonder; 1984) contains additional data on the monastery's development during the modern era.

Suzhou's Abbey of Mysterious Wonder was not only an important Taoist sacred site, but like other Taoist temples and monasteries throughout urban China also played a major role in the lives of the city's residents (Goossaert 2000b; Naquin 2000). In particular, the monastery was a site for the performance of judicial rites involving the making of an oath or the filing of an indictment, which were done in the presence of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak (Kang Bao 2000; Katz P. R. 2004; Wu Jenshu 2002).

*Paul R. KATZ*

☐ Kang Bao 2000; Katz P. R. 2004; Wu Jenshu 2002; Zhao Liang et al. 1994, 125–33

※ TEMPLES AND SHRINES

## Xuannü

玄女

Mysterious Woman

Also known as Mysterious Woman of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian Xuannü 九天玄女) or Mysterious Woman, Damsel of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian Xuannü niangniang 九天玄女娘娘), the Mysterious Woman instructed the Yellow Emperor (★Huangdi) in military, sexual, alchemical, and divination techniques. Some scholars have traced her back to the ancient myth of the

Mysterious Bird (Xuanniao 玄鳥) which had magically impregnated Jiandi 簡狄 who thereby gave birth to Xie 契, the ancestor of the Shang dynasty, as well as to Nü Ba 女魃, a drought deity who helped the Yellow Emperor defeat Chiyou 蚩尤 (*Shanhai jing* 山海經; trans. Mathieu 1983, 611–12). There is, however, no evidence for the existence of the Mysterious Woman prior to the Han.

The earliest extant references to the Mysterious Woman in relation to military techniques are in fragments of the *Longyu hetu* 龍魚河圖 (Chart of the [Yellow] River of the Dragon-Fish), a Han dynasty “weft” text (*weishu* 緯書; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA), which interpolate the Mysterious Woman into the well-known narrative of the Yellow Emperor's battle with Chiyou. Sent by Heaven, the Mysterious Woman presents the Yellow Emperor with the Divine Talismans of Military Fealty (*bingxin shenfu* 兵信神符) which he employs to defeat Chiyou and secure the realm (Yasui Kōzan and Nakamura Shōhachi 1971–88, 6.89–90, 6.136). A later version of this narrative, found in the *Huangdi Xuannü zhanfa* 黃帝玄女戰法 (Military Techniques of the Yellow Emperor and the Mysterious Woman; *Taiping yulan*, j. 15) probably dating from the Six Dynasties, adds that the Mysterious Woman had a human head but a bird's body.

In relation to sexual practices (★*fangzhong shu*), the Mysterious Woman is usually mentioned with the Pure Woman (Sunü 素女). While absent from the early manuals unearthed at ★Mawangdui, their names are listed among the main sexual practitioners in post-Han sources, including the ★*Baopu zi* (8.150). ★Ge Hong mentions a *Xuannü jing* 玄女經 (Scripture of the Mysterious Woman; 19.333), which is listed in the bibliography of the *Suishu* (History of the Sui) as part of the *Sunü bidao jing* 素女祕道經 (Scripture of the Secret Dao of the Pure Woman), with a *Sunü fang* 素女方 (Methods of the Pure Woman) listed separately (34.1050). No longer extant, sections of these works are preserved in j. 20 of the ★*Ishinpō* (Methods from the Heart of Medicine) on sexual practices.

Within numerological divination, the Mysterious Woman is particularly associated with the *liuren* 六壬 method (see Kalinowski 1983; Kalinowski 1989–90, 91) based on the *shi* 式 (cosmic board, cosmograph), which is also known as *Xuannü shi* 玄女式. Two related texts are preserved in the *Daozang*, the *Huangdi longshou jing* 黃帝龍首經 (Dragon's Head Scripture

of the Yellow Emperor; CT 283) and the *Huangdi shou sanzi Xuannü jing* 黃帝授三子玄女經 (Scripture of the Mysterious Woman Transmitted by the Yellow Emperor to His Three Sons; CT 285).

Finally, within alchemical practices, the Mysterious Woman is related to the method of the Nine Elixirs (*jiudan* 九丹), as shown primarily by the *★Jiudan jing* (Scripture of the Nine Elixirs).

Tang hagiographies describe the Mysterious Woman as a disciple and emissary of the Queen Mother of the West (*★Xiwang mu*) and elaborate on the methods she transmitted to the Yellow Emperor. Relevant texts include the *★Yongcheng jixian lu* (6.2a6–4a3, and YJQQ 114.16a–18a); the *Guang Huangdi benxing ji* 廣黃帝本行紀 (Expanded Chronicle of the Deeds of the Yellow Emperor; CT 290, by Wang Guan 王瓘 of the Tang period); and the *Xuanyuan benji* 軒轅本紀 (Original Chronicle of Xuanyuan, the Yellow Emperor; YJQQ 100.2b–32a).

*Gil RAZ*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 43–44; Cahill 1992; Li Ling 2000b, 350–93; Xing Dongtian 1997

※ *fangzhong shu*; TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY; TAOISM AND THE MILITARY ARTS

*xuanpin*

玄牝

Mysterious Female

*Xuanpin* (see [fig. 83](#)) is a well-known but enigmatic term first found in *Daode jing* 6, which states that the Mysterious Female is “the Spirit of the Valley (*★gushen*) [that] does not die,” and that “its gate . . . [is] the root of Heaven and Earth.” The first chapter of the *★Liezi* (trans. Graham 1960, 18) equates the Mysterious Female with the transcendental origin that generates things without being generated, and changes them without being changed.



★*Neidan* alchemists take the Mysterious Female as the foundation of their art and give it the attributes of Ultimate Truth: like the Dao, they say, there is nothing inside nor outside of it. The Mysterious Female is also the Original Pneuma (★*yuanqi*), the “full awakening” (*yuanjue* 圓覺), and the supreme Non-being that evolves into supreme Being (see ★*wu* and *you*). As a symbol of the Center, it is also called Mysterious Valley (*xuangu* 玄谷), Mysterious Pass (★*xuanguan*), Heart of Heaven (★*tianxin*), or Heart (★*xin*), and is a synonym of the Yellow Dame (*huangpo* 黃婆) or the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭). It is said to be an opening similar to those made in the body of Emperor Hundun 混沌 (Chaos) in the anecdote of the ★*Zhuangzi* (see under ★*hundun*).

As a “gate,” the *xuanpin* is a passageway, an entrance situated at the junction of Non-being and Being; it allows Yin and Yang to communicate with each other, and is the place where Yang opens and Yin closes. Indeed, this gate is dual, just as the Center is in Taoism, and therefore suggests the dynamic bipolarity of the world: ★*xuan*, the Mystery, is equated with Heaven, and *pin*, the Female, with Earth. On the cosmic level, the Mysterious Female stands for what is above and what is below, and is represented by the trigrams *qian* 乾 = (pure Yang) and *kun* 坤 = (pure Yin). In alchemical language, it is the tripod and the furnace (★*dinglu*), one above (*qian* or Yang) and the other below (*kun* or Yin).



Fig. 83. The Mysterious Female (*xuanpin*, lit., “mysterious [= male] and female”) as a symbol of the conjunction of Yin and Yang. The two trigrams are *li* 離 = (Yin within Yang, or authentic Yin) and *kan* 坎 = (Yang within Yin, or authentic Yang). The lower caption reads: “Valley of Emptiness and Non-being, Root of Heaven and Earth, Mystery within the Mystery, Gate of All Wonders.” ★*Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection; CT 263), 9.3a.

Some Taoist authors distinguish between an inner Mysterious Female,

equated with the Real Pneuma (*zhenqi* 真氣), and an outer one, equated with the Real Spirit (*zhenshen* 真神) that “repairs” (*bu* 補) the Real Pneuma; these are also called the inner and outer Medicines (*neiyao* 內藥 and *waiyao* 外藥). In terms of psycho-physiological entities, the Mysterious Female represents the conjunction of spirit and body. On the bodily level, there have been several interpretations. Following the ★*Laozi Heshang gong zhangju*, some authors say that *xuan* alludes to the nose, which corresponds to Heaven, and *pin* to the mouth, which corresponds to Earth. Other texts equate *xuan* with the upper Cinnabar Field (★*dantian*) or the sinciput, and *pin* with the lower one near the navel. Still others state that *xuanpin* designates the space between the two kidneys or the two openings of the heart, which respectively communicate with the ★*niwan* above and the Ocean of Pneuma (*qihai* 氣海) below. *Neidan* writings, however, usually claim that the *xuanpin* cannot be exactly located in the body: like the Center itself, it has no shape, no direction, and no fixed position.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 242–43; Despeux 1994, 87–89; Robinet 1998a

※ *gushen*; *tianxin*; *xin*; *xuanguan*

## *Xuanpin lu*

### 玄品錄

#### Accounts of Varieties of the Mysterious

The *Xuanpin lu* (CT 781) is a collection of biographies in five chapters compiled by Zhang Yu 張雨. As Judith M. Boltz notes (1987a, 270, note 98), “there is much dispute over [Zhang Yu's] dates”; she suggests that Zhang was born in 1283 and died after 1356. This disputation has clearly created confusion in the minds of the compilers of the *Zhonghua daojiao da cidian* (Hu Fuchen 1995, 169 and 1628) who include two separate biographical entries for him, one with the dates 1277–1348, the other with 1283–1350.

Zhang's own preface to *Xuanpin lu* is dated 1335.

The *Xuanpin lu* collects the biographies of 130 people from the Zhou to the Song. The entries are arranged chronologically, with helpful headings noting in which dynasty the figures lived. Further, the biographies are categorized under eleven headings describing the particular variety of Taoist sublimity they fell under: “Daode” 道德 (Virtue of the Dao), “Daoquan” 道權 (Power of the Dao), “Daohua” 道化 (Transformations of the Dao), “Daoru” 道儒 (Scholars of the Dao), “Daoshu” 道術 (Arts of the Dao), “Daoyin” 道隱 (Recluses of the Dao), “Daopin” 道品 (Ranks of the Dao), “Daomo” 道默 (Silence of the Dao), “Daoyan” 道言 (Words of the Dao), “Daozhi” 道質 (Substance of the Dao), and “Daohua” 道華 (Flourishing of the Dao). This collection does not include only figures who attained immortality or are usually considered notable in the history of the religion as such. The first section, for instance, gives the lives of Taoist philosophers (who fall under the category “Daode”). It also includes literary figures such as Li Bai 李白 (Li Bo, 701–62) and \*Wu Yun (?–778, both in “Daohua”), and scholars such as Sima Tan 司馬談 (?–110 BCE) and Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE, both in “Daoru”). Many of the biographies clearly derive from other collections but sources are not noted. Zhang Yu was himself associated with Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu), and many of the figures in the *Xuanpin lu* have \*Shangqing associations.

Yan Yiping published an annotated and edited version of the text, with introduction in vol. 1 of his *Daojiao yanjiu ziliao* (Yan Yiping 1974).

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Berkowitz 1996 (part. trans.); Boltz J. M. 1987a, 60–61

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

Xuanxue

玄學

Arcane Learning; Mysterious Learning; Profound Learning

*Xuanxue* refers to the main philosophical trend of the third century in northern China, after the downfall of the Han dynasty. This period saw a revival of Taoist and divination texts, such as the ★*Yijing*, over and above the Confucian classics, which had been dominant until then. Most thinkers of the period were either actively engaged in *Xuanxue* or strongly influenced by it, but two figures stand out among them: ★Wang Bi (226–49) and ★Guo Xiang (252?–312), editors of and most influential commentators on the *Daode jing* and the ★*Zhuangzi*, respectively.

The overall tendency of *Xuanxue* can be described as an intensification of philosophical discourse and a deepening and specification of philosophical concepts. In terms of the *Daode jing*, for example, the idea of the Dao in the original text is now reinterpreted with the help of the concept of *benwu* 本無 or “original Non-being,” which in turn is defined as an underlying state or force of the universe, not only latent in its non-apparent phases but also permanently there as the base of all things. Similarly, the “free and easy wandering” (*xiaoyao* 逍遙; see ★*yuanyou*) of the *Zhuangzi* is more specifically described as the complete harmony and alignment of the human being with one's inner nature and destiny (★*xing* and *ming*), which in turn are defined as the share (*fen* 分) one has in the Dao and the universal Principle (*li* 理) that works everywhere and thus also in oneself.

In addition, both the Confucian dominance and the meditation practice of the preceding centuries left their imprint on *Xuanxue*. The Confucian influence is visible in the overall acceptance of a well-ordered and hierarchical society as one of the goals of philosophical speculation: Wang Bi accepts moral values as part of the Dao and Guo Xiang sees perfect alignment of the individual as the key to a perfect society, in which everyone plays the role predetermined for him or her by nature. Meditation practice enters the picture mainly in the *Zhuangzi* interpretation, where “sitting in oblivion” (★*zuowang*) and “fasting of the mind” (★*xinzhai*) are specific ways to attain the realization of one's inner nature and destiny, which will not only liberate one from the burden of personal consciousness but also make one a model citizen in the best of all worlds.

Livia KOHN

▣ Balázs 1948; Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 2: 168–79; Yü Ying-shih 1985

※ Wang Bi; Guo Xiang

*Xuanzhu lu*

玄珠錄

Records of the Mysterious Pearl

The *Xuanzhu lu* (CT 1048) is a collection of the teachings of Wang Xuanlan 王玄覽 (626–97; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 264–65), recorded by his disciple Wang Taixiao 王太霄 around the time of Empress Wu (r. 690–705). Wang came from Mianzhu 綿竹 (Sichuan). According to his disciple's preface, he began to study Buddhism in his thirties, but also wrote a commentary to the *Daode jing* based on ★Yan Zun's interpretation. When Wang was around the age of forty-seven, Li Xiaoyi 李孝逸, a senior officer of Yizhou 益州 (Sichuan), invited him to debate with priests of Buddhist temples. He became a Taoist and was appointed head of the Zhizhen guan 至真觀 (Abbey of Ultimate Reality) in Chengdu. Empress Wu summoned him to court in 697 at the age of seventy-two, but Wang died on the way to the capital.

His work is divided into approximately 120 sections. Although it is not systematic, the unity of Taoism and Buddhism runs through it as one of the main underlying themes. An example of the combined use of Taoist and Buddhist notions is found in Wang's discussion of the Dao. Following section 1 of the *Daode jing*, he first describes the two aspects of the Dao, namely the “constant Dao” (*changdao* 常道) and the “Dao that can be told” (*kedao* 可道); the former gives rise to Heaven and Earth and the latter causes phenomena to arise and change. When he discusses Non-being and Being (★*wu* and *you*), however, Wang does not develop the notion of section 2 of the *Daode jing* that “Being and Non-being generate each other” (*youwu xiangsheng* 有無相生) but instead, based on the Buddhist view of the Middle Way (*mādhyamaka*, *zhongdao* 中道), he explains the concept of “middle” as “neither Being nor Non-being.”

The influence of Buddhism on Wang Xuanlan is both direct and indirect.

Direct influence comes from such texts as Jizang's 吉臧 *Sanlun xuanyi* 三論玄義 (Mysterious Meaning of the Three Treatises), Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā* (Verses on the Middle Way), and the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* (Teaching of Vimalakīrti). Indirect influence comes through Taoist works that had absorbed Yogācāra doctrines and the idea of *śūnyatā* (Emptiness), such as, respectively, the ★*Haikong zhizang jing* (Scripture of [the Perfected of] Sea-Like Emptiness, Storehouse of Wisdom) and the ★*Benji jing* (Scripture of the Original Bound).

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Kamata Shigeo 1969; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 205–25; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 93–94; Zhu Senpu 1989 (crit. ed.)

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

### *Xuanzhu xinjing*

#### 玄珠心鏡

#### The Mysterious Pearl, Mirror of the Mind

The *Xuanzhu xinjing* is contained twice in the Taoist Canon, each time with a different commentary (CT 574 and 575). It consists of two sets of poems, the “Shouyi shi” 守一詩 (Verses on Guarding the One) and the “Dadao shouyi baozhang” 大道守一寶章 (Precious Stanzas of the Great Dao on Guarding the One). The first has fourteen lines of four characters each, the second ten lines of six characters each. The poems go back to Cui Shaoxuan 崔少玄, the wife of Lu Chui 盧陞 from Fujian, who was originally an immortal from the heaven of Highest Clarity (Shangqing 上清). She revealed the poems after her death, when she returned to the world after her husband implored to instruct him in the Dao. The poems were first published on Mount Wangwu (★Wangwu shan, Henan), the old residence of ★Sima Chengzhen, in 817 by Qiao Juze 樵巨澤, a relative of the lady.

In content and diction, the verses are related to the ★*Zuowang lun* and describe the late Tang Taoist understanding of salvation, the process of ascension into heaven, and the attainment of eternal life. The commentary found in the *Xuanzhu xinjing zhu* 玄珠心鏡注 (CT 574) is shorter and less speculative. It goes back to a certain Master Zhen (Zhenzi 真子) of Mount Heng (★Hengshan 衡山, Hunan) and shows a rather conventional understanding of basic Taoist concepts. The other work, also entitled *Xuanzhu xinjing zhu* (CT 575), contains a preface explaining the circumstances under which the poems were revealed, along with an extensive and more philosophical commentary by Qiao Juzhe.

Livia KOHN

▣ Kohn 1989a, 132–34; Kohn 1993b, 215–19; Robinet 1983a, 84–85 and 88–89

※ MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

## Xue Daoguang

薛道光

1078?–1191; *zi*: Taiyuan 太源; *hao*: Zixian 紫賢 (Purple Worthy), Piling chanshi 毗陵禪師 (Meditation Master of Piling); also known as Xue Shi 薛式 and Xue Daoyuan 薛道源

A rather mysterious figure said to have lived 113 years, Xue Daoguang is the third patriarch of the Southern Lineage (★Nanzong) of ★*neidan*. The main sources on his life are the “Xue Zixian shiji” 薛紫賢事蹟 (Traces of Xue Zixian; in *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sansheng biyao* 悟真直指詳說三乘祕要, CT 143, 16b–24b), the preface to his *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇 (Folios on Returning to Life through the Reverted Elixir; 1126; CT 1088), and his biography in the ★*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (49.13b–14b). According to these sources, Xue came from Mount Jizu (Jizu shan 雞足山,

Yunnan). After he achieved enlightenment as a Chan Buddhist monk, he met ★Shi Tai in 1106 (or, according to the preface to the *Huandan fuming pian*, in 1120) and received instructions on *neidan* from him. He renounced his Buddhist ties and lived among the ordinary people working as a tailor, which was also Shi Tai's profession. The *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* adds that Xue wrote a commentary to the ★*Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection). The latter work is lost, and the commentary now attributed to Xue in the *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 悟真篇三注 (Three Commentaries to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 142) is actually by ★Weng Baoguang.

The *Huandan fuming pian* follows the *neidan* tradition inaugurated by ★Zhang Boduan and Shi Tai. It contains sixteen pentasyllabic poems that represent the principle of “two times eight” (*erba* 二八, symbolizing the balance of Yin and Yang), followed by thirty heptasyllabic poems corresponding to thirty days of alchemical practice, nine lyrics to the tune of “Xijiang yue” 西江月 (West River Moon) representing nine cycles of alchemical transmutation, and a short poem that summarizes the *neidan* process. The final part of the work is entitled “Dansui ge” 丹髓歌 (Song on the Marrow of the Elixir). According to the preface, the title *Huandan fuming pian* refers only to the poems in the first part of the text (1a–8a). The “Dansui ge” was appended later. Only the “Dansui ge” is included in the ★*Xiuzhen shishu* (7.4b–10b), with a postface attributed to Shi Tai.

Like the *Wuzhen pian*, the *Fuming pian* is replete with alchemical imagery. The text emphasizes the union of Yin and Yang, fire phasing (★*huohou*), and the final alchemical transmutation. Xue's main technique is the “coagulation of Spirit within the Cavity of Pneuma” (*ningshen ru qixue* 凝神入氣穴), i.e., concentration on the lower Cinnabar Field (★*dantian*). In the “Dansui ge,” Xue restates the teachings of Shi Tai, emphasizing that the alchemical work does not need to begin at any particular time because the Yang principle develops naturally within the body.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 175; Chen Bing 1985, 36

※ *neidan*; Nanzong



Xue Jizhao

薛季昭

fl. 1304–16; *zi*: Xianweng 顯翁

This scholarly ritual master based on Mount Lu (★Lushan, northern Jiangxi) wrote a commentary to the ★*Duren jing* (Scripture on Salvation) in 1304 called *Duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 度人上品妙經注解 (Commentary and Explication of the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 92). Aiming for a wider audience with its simple annotations, this local printed edition was apparently also intended for the Mongol emperor Yuan Chengzong (r. 1295–1307). Xue's efforts gained further support in 1305 when a colleague from Mount Lu named Li Yueyang 李月陽 became convinced of the work's value after the mysterious Original Lady Wang (Wang yuanjun 王元君) claimed as much. The financial sponsorship of its publication by Cai Xiangfu 蔡翔夫 sought to make Xue's simple rendering of the scripture's basic meaning more widely available. In 1308, Xue had a divine encounter with the Thunder Rites (★*leifa*) master ★Lei Shizhong (1221–95). Lei instructed him to annotate the *Duren jing* with a complementary text entitled *Xuxuan pian* 虛玄篇 (Folios on the Mystery of the Void), which advocates an immersion in the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism). The text ends with a Precious Declaration (*baogao* 寶誥; 3.32a–33b) from the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊), who is the source of the scripture.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 209

※ *leifa*

## Yan Zun

嚴遵 (or 嚴尊)

ca. 83 BCE–ca. 6 CE; *zi*: Xing 行, Junping 君平

Little is known about the life of Yan Zun, whose original surname, Zhuang 莊, was later changed to Yan because of a taboo on the personal name of Han Mingdi (r. 57–75). A retired literatus well versed in the ★*Yijing*, he lived in Chengdu, earning his living by teaching the *Daode jing* and casting horoscopes. He is listed among a group of ten immortals, and the philosopher Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) reportedly was his disciple. Stelae were dedicated to his memory and he became the object of a cult at the beginning of the third century.

Yan Zun is ascribed with the *Daode zhigui* 道德指歸 (The Essential Meaning of the *Daode jing*), a text in thirteen or fourteen scrolls that was well known during the first centuries of the Common Era. The extant portion of this work consists of the last seven scrolls, which are included in the *Daozang* (CT 693) and in several anthologies with a subcommentary by a Gushen zi 谷神子 (Master of the Spirit of the Valley). Meng Wentong (1948b) and Yan Lingfeng (1964, vol. 1) have collected quotations of the missing portions, which were lost around the sixth century. While scholars in the past had deemed the text to be a Ming fabrication, most now agree there is no strong reason to doubt its attribution to Yan Zun. Stylistic and other internal evidence, in particular, suggest a Han date for its composition.

The commentary is concerned with both self-cultivation and the theory of government. From a philosophical point of view, Yan Zun emphasizes the reversibility of the opposites, which issue from a common origin and join in harmony: everything is changing and is constantly beginning anew. Action is born from non-action (★*wuwei*); knowledge must be rejected and quiescence is found in emptiness, which is fullness and spontaneity and is superior to all practices of longevity. Yan Zun's cosmogony is complex. First comes the Dao, the “Emptiness of Emptiness.” The Dao is followed by its ★*de* (virtue), which is equated with the One (★*yi*) and with Emptiness. In turn, *de* comes before Non-being and Being (★*wu* and *you*). Then comes the Spirit

(*shenming* 神明), which is related to the Two and is the “non-being of Non-being.” The next stage, related to the Three, is Harmony (*he* 和), which corresponds to Non-being. From this state evolve Yin and Yang, Heaven and Earth, the saint (*shengren*), pneuma (*qi*), and forms (*xing*). In Yan Zun's view, this metaphysics is the basis of both social order and self-cultivation.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Chan A. K. L. 1988; Meng Wentong 1948b; Robinet 1977, 11–23, 209–14; Vervoorn 1988–89; Wang Deyou 1994; Yan Lingfeng 1964

## Yang Xi

楊羲

330–86; *zi*: Xihe 羲和

Very little is known of the life of Yang Xi, a calligrapher and visionary who lived in Jurong 句容 (near Nanjing, Jiangsu). In 350, he received the *Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure) from *Wei Huacun's* eldest son, Liu Pu 劉璞. Between 364 and 370, he was appointed intercessor between heaven and humanity. In a series of nightly visions, several Perfected (*zhenren*) from the Shangqing 上清 (Highest Clarity) heaven appeared to him and granted him the revelation of sacred scriptures. Among these Perfected was Wei Huacun herself, who became Yang's “subtle master” (*xuanshi* 玄師). Yang wrote the content of every vision in ecstatic verse, recording the date along with the name and description of each Perfected. The purpose of the revelations was to set up a new syncretic doctrine that claimed to be superior to all earlier traditions. The texts revealed to Yang Xi later formed the foundations of the *Shangqing* school of Taoism, and are the main source of *Tao Hongjing's Zhengao*.

*Yang Xi and the Xu family.* The Perfected directed Yang to transmit their revelations to the Xu 許 family, of whom Yang was a client. The Xus, an aristocratic family also based in Jurong, traced their origins back to a minister

of the legendary emperor Yao 堯 and counted many civil officials among their members. They were related to the Ge 葛 and the Tao 陶 families from which ★Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing descended.

The head of the household, Xu Mai 許邁 (300–348), renounced his official career and turned to Taoism, pharmacopoeia, alchemy, meditation and physiological practices. He was a disciple of ★Bao Jing and of a ★Tianshi dao libationer (★*jijiu*), Li Dong 李東; some sources claim that he was also a follower of the ★Bojia dao (Way of the Bo Family). His acquaintances included the scholar Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) and the eminent calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321?–379?). In 346, he changed his name to Xu Xuan 許玄, travelled to renowned mountains, and eventually disappeared as an immortal. Later he was among the Perfected who appeared to Yang Xi.

Xu Mai's younger brother, Xu Mi 許謐 (303–76), was informed by Yang Xi of the role that the Xu family would play in the revelations. Xu Mi took Yang under his protection and received his manuscripts, but completed his official career before retiring to Mount Mao (★Maoshan, Jiangsu). In the Shangqing texts, he is frequently called Zhangshi 長史 or Senior Officer.

Xu Mi's third son, Xu Hui 許翮 (341–ca. 370), on the other hand, left his official career, returned his wife to her family, and retired to Mount Mao in 362. An excellent calligrapher, he became a disciple of Yang Xi, who informed him that an office was set aside for him in the heavenly hierarchy. Xu Mi devoted himself to the study of the revealed scriptures but died an untimely death, possibly by committing an alchemical “ritual suicide” (Strickmann 1979, 137–38).

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 32–37; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 18–32; Strickmann 1977; Strickmann 1981, 82–98

※ Shangqing

*yangsheng*

# 養生

## Nourishing Life

The idea of “nourishing” (*yang* 養) is prominent in Chinese thought: one can nourish life (*yangsheng*), the inner nature (*yangxing* 養性), the body (*yangxing* 養形), the whole person (*yangshen* 養身), the will (*yangzhi* 養志), and the mind (*yangxin* 養心). The term *yangsheng* designates techniques based on the essence, the inner or outer breath, and the spiritual force (★*jing*, *qi*, *shen*); these techniques are grounded on physiological, psychological, and behavioral principles and include gymnastics (★*daoyin*), massage, breathing (★*fuqi*, ★*xingqi*), sexual hygiene (★*fangzhong shu*), diets (★*bigu*), healing, ★MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION, and rules of daily behavior.

The term is first mentioned in ★*Zhuangzi* 3, a chapter entitled “Mastery in Nourishing Life” (“Yangsheng zhu” 養生主). The *Zhuangzi* contrasts nourishing life (*yangsheng*) with nourishing the body (*yangxing*). It maintains that the best way of nourishing life consists of “depending on the Celestial Principle” (*yi hu tianli* 依乎天理) and that bodily techniques are minor practices. In chapter 19, it criticizes again the view that methods for nourishing the body are sufficient for attaining immortality. In the same vein, ★*Huainan zi* 7 considers the *yangsheng* techniques to be inferior because they require external supports.

*Han to Tang.* The *yangsheng* practices flourished during the Han period. They are described in several ★Mawangdui manuscripts dating to about 200 BCE, including the *He yinyang* 合陰陽 (Joining Yin and Yang), the *Tianxia zhidao tan* 天下至道談 (Discourse on the Ultimate Way Under Heaven), the *Yangsheng fang* 養生方 (Recipes for Nourishing Life), the *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions), and the *Quegu shiqi* 卻穀食氣 (Refraining from Cereals and Ingesting Breath; see translations in Harper 1998). These manuscripts give importance to sexual hygiene and to the ingestion of breath (see ★*fuqi*). Several Han literati mention *yangsheng* and some criticize it, like Wang Chong 王充 (27–ca. 100 CE), who wrote: “Some Taoists think that they can nourish inner nature (*yangxing*) through gymnastics and guiding breath (*daoqi* 導氣), and thus transcend the generations [of mortals] and become

immortal” (*Lunheng* 論衡; see Forke 1907–11, 1: 348). In the *Shenjian* 申鑒 (Extended Reflections; trans. Ch'en Ch'i-yün 1980), Xun Yue 荀悅 (148–209, a thirteenth-generation descendant of the philosopher Xunzi 荀子) interpreted the cultivation of the vital principle in a Confucian way: one should seek moderation and harmony and avoid any excess, and breath should be circulated to avoid blocks and stagnation, just as the mythical emperor Yu 禹 did when he succeeded in quelling the flood waters.

During the Six Dynasties, *yangsheng* continued to develop in medical, Taoist, and ★Xuanxue (Arcane Learning) circles. Both ★Xi Kang (223–62) and Xiang Xiu 向秀 (227–72), the first prominent commentator on the *Zhuangzi*, wrote essays entitled *Yangsheng lun* 養生論 (Essay on Nourishing Life) and replied to each other's criticisms (see translations in Holzman 1957). The aim of *yangsheng* was essentially prophylactic and therapeutic, and ★Ge Hong established a distinction between it and the achievement of immortality. According to him, in *yangsheng* there is complementarity and gradation among the different techniques: ingestion of drugs should be practiced together with circulation of breath; but to circulate breath one should also know the sexual techniques (★*Baopu zi*, 5.114; trans. Ware 1966, 105). One of the most influential works of the time, preserved only in fragments, is the ★*Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life) of Zhang Zhan 張湛 (early fourth century). Later, an influence of Buddhist techniques (especially *ānāpāna-smṛti* or concentration on breathing) and Indian gymnastic movements, and the greater importance given to stillness of mind and meditation (★*zuowang*), is also apparent but difficult to evaluate.

In the Sui and Tang periods, gymnastics and breathing were at the heart of *yangsheng*. Taoist as well as medical circles transmitted these techniques. The ★*Zhubing yuanhou lun* (Treatise on the Origin and Symptoms of Diseases), a medical work submitted to the Sui emperor in 610, is remarkable for its descriptions of *yangsheng* methods for clinical cases. ★Sun Simiao (fl. 673) devoted to this subject two chapters of his *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand; j. 27 and 28), and some shorter texts are also attributed to him, including the ★*Yangxing yanming lu* (On Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life), the *Fushou lun* 福壽論 (Essay on Happiness and Longevity; CT 1426), and the *Baosheng ming* 保生銘 (Inscription on Protecting Life; CT 835). Also notable is ★Sima Chengzhen (647–735), a Taoist of the ★Shangqing school, who wrote the ★*Fuqi jingyi*

*lun* (Essay on the Essential Meaning of the Ingestion of Breath).

*Song to Qing*. The *yangsheng* practices underwent significant changes from the Song period onward. On the one hand, they integrated elements drawn from ★*neidan* practices; on the other, they aroused the interest of learned people. For the Song dynasty alone, there are about twenty books on the subject. An important author of the time was Zhou Shouzhong 周守中, who wrote the *Yangsheng leizuan* 養生類纂, (Classified Compendium on Nourishing Life), the *Yangsheng yuelan* 養生月覽 (Monthly Readings on Nourishing Life), and other works. Literati living in retirement and away from official life also dealt with the subject, such as Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1037–1101; SB 900–968) and some Neo-Confucians. With the development of Neo-Confucianism and the growth of syncretism among Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism in the Ming and Qing periods, a number of ethical elements appeared.

During the Ming period, Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥 wrote the main work on *yangsheng*: the *Shouyang congshu* 壽養叢書 (Collectanea on Longevity and Nourishment [of Life]; ca. 1596), which includes the *Yangsheng shiji* 養生食忌 (Prohibitions on Food for Nourishing Life) and the *Yangsheng daoyin fa* 養生導引法 (*Daoyin* Methods for Nourishing Life). Gao Lian's 高濂, (fl. 1573–81; IC 472–73) *Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋 (Eight Essays on Being in Accord with Life) deals with aspects of the life of literati, including the arrangement of the studio, diets, breathing methods, and ingestion of medicines. Unlike the Ming dynasty, the Qing dynasty produced no important work on *yangsheng*. In the twentieth century, *yangsheng* evolved into the modern science of *weisheng* 衛生 (hygiene) on the one hand, and into ★*qigong* on the other.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1988; Engelhardt 1987; Engelhardt 1989; Engelhardt 2000; Harper 1998, 110–47 and passim; Huang Jane 1987–90; Kohn 1989c; Larre 1982, 217–19; Li Yuanguo 1988; Lo Vivienne 2001; Maspero 1981, 265–72, 324–46, and 445–554; Sakade Yoshinobu 1983a; Sakade Yoshinobu 1988a; Sakade Yoshinobu 1992a; Sakade Yoshinobu 1993b; Seidel 1989–90, 258–62; Stein S. 1999; Zhou Yimou 1994

※ *jing, qi, shen*; TAOIST VIEWS OF THE HUMAN BODY; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.1 (“*Yangsheng*”)

## *Yangsheng yaoji*

### 養生要集

#### Essentials of Nourishing Life

As we learn from the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (New Account of Tales of the World; ca. 430; trans. Mather 1976, 387), the author of the *Yangsheng yaoji*, Zhang Zhan 張湛 (early fourth century), was a lower aristocrat under the late Eastern Jin whose family came from Shandong. His forefathers had served as officials under the Wei and Jin and had a strong interest in ancient texts, many of which they had brought south. As a result, he was educated in the philosophical classics and grew up with an awareness of longevity and immortality notions, and was also familiar with ★Xi Kang's essays on the subject.

Zhang Zhan served as an official in the later part of his life, and is famous for two works. The first is a commentary to the ★*Liezi*, now found in the *Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie* 冲虛至德真經四解 (Four Explications of the Authentic Scripture on the Ultimate Virtue of Unfathomable Emptiness; CT 732), which shows a familiarity with the thought of ★Guo Xiang (252?–312) and Xiang Xiu 向秀 (227–72), but also a suspicious knowledge of the overlap between this and other ancient texts. He has been exonerated from forging the *Liezi* himself, but since it was unknown in its transmitted form before he introduced it to the world, it may have been forged by one of his forebears.

The second work is the *Yangsheng yaoji*, which played a role among health and immortality seekers that had been described as equal to that of the *Daode jing* and ★*Huangting jing*—in short, as a widely available source of information for the educated but not necessarily initiated reader—until the Tang-Song transition, when it was lost in China. It survives today in fragments and citations, notably in the ★*Yangxing yanming lu* (On



Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life), ascribed to ★Tao Hongjing, and in ★Sun Simiao's *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand), as well as in Japanese medical texts such as the ★*Ishinpō* (Methods from the Heart of Medicine) of 984, suggesting a somewhat longer circulation outside China.

From these fragments, it seems that the *Yangsheng yaoji* originally consisted of ten scrolls, which discussed such aspects of Nourishing Life (★*yangsheng*) as endowment with spirit, love of energy, nourishing the body, practicing gymnastics (★*daoyin*), use of language, eating and drinking, sexual techniques (★*fangzhong shu*), going against the ordinary, and medicine and drugs, as well as taboos and prohibitions. This list of contents matches other longevity texts of the time, presenting coherent and largely standard information on the practice drawn from sources going back to the Han, mixed with later writings—including, it would seem, the ★*Baopu zi*—suggesting a willingness at the end of the Jin to combine southern and northern learning in this sphere.

To what extent Zhang exercised selectivity so as to conform to the expectations of a scholarly readership is now unclear, but his one appearance in the *Jinshu* (History of the Jin, 75.1988–89) emphasizes a philosophical approach to his topic, while his anthology perhaps prefigured the somewhat anodyne use of the *Baopu zi* by writers such as Sun Simiao. There are some indications that Zhang also wrote a commentary on the ★*Zhuangzi* which was soon lost.

T. H. BARRETT and Livia KOHN

▣ Barrett 1980a; Barrett 1982; Despeux 1989, 228–30; Sakade Yoshinobu 1986a; Stein S. 1999

※ *yangsheng*

*Yangxing yanming lu*

養性延命錄

On Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life

While the ★*Yunji qiqian* edition of this work (32.1a–24b) is anonymous, the independent edition in the *Daozang* (CT 838) is attributed to ★Tao Hongjing (456–536) but its preface indicates that ★Sun Simiao (fl. 673) may be the author. The text may actually date from the eighth century. It is written in the form of a small mnemonic encyclopedia, at least two-thirds of which consists of quotations from Zhang Zhan's 張湛 lost ★*Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life). The *Yangxing yanming lu* does not cite the *Yangsheng yaoji* as such, but rather sources that were mentioned in it, including the ★*Zhuangzi*, the ★*Liezi*, the *Shennong jing* 神農經 (Scripture of the Divine Husbandman), the *Hunyuan daojing* 混元道經 (Scripture of the Dao of Chaotic Origin), the *Hunyuan miaojing* 混元妙經 (Wondrous Scripture of Chaotic Origin), the *Dayou jing* 大有經 (Scripture of Great Existence), the *Zhongjing* 中經 (Central Scripture), the *Yuanyang jing* 元陽經 (Scripture of Original Yang), the *Mingyi lun* 明醫論 (Essays of Illustrious Doctors), and the *Neijie* 內解 (Inner Explications).

The text is divided into six sections: 1. “Teachings and Precepts” (“Jiaojie” 教誡), on the general principles of cultivating the vital principle; 2. “Dietetic Precepts” (“Shijie” 食誡), containing advice and interdictions related to food; 3. “Miscellaneous Precepts” (“Zajie” 雜誡), on avoiding disturbances in everyday life; 4. “Healing Diseases Through Ingestion of Breath” (“Fuqi liaobing” 服氣療病), on methods for circulating breath (★*xingqi*) and the “six sounds of breathing” (see ★*liuzi jue*); 5. “Gymnastics and Massages” (“Daoyin anmo” 導引按摩; see ★*daoyin*); 6. “Riding Women” (“Yunü” 御女), on sexual techniques (★*fangzhong shu*). The first and sixth sections are not included in the version of the *Yunji qiqian*.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1989, 233; Mugitani Kunio 1987; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 54–55 (list of texts cited); Zhu Yueli 1986

※ *yangsheng*

*yaowang*

# 藥王

## Medicine Kings

The title *yaowang* was given to distinguished physicians, of whom the oldest and best known was the legendary Bian Que 扁鵲, who is supposed to have lived around 500 BCE. Evidence of shrines dedicated to him dates to the Song period. Other famous Medicine Kings were Hua Tuo 華佗 (142–219), ★Sun Simiao (fl. 673), and Wei Shanjun 韋善君 (998–1023). They are generally accompanied by ten further famous and divinized physicians. Thus, to the left of Bian Que are the statues of Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 (ca. 150–220), the author of the *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders); Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–82), the author of the *Zhenjiu jiyi jing* 針灸甲乙經 (Systematic Scripture of Acupuncture and Moxibustion); Qian Yi 錢乙 (ca. 1032–1113; SB 217–18), the well-known paediatric physician; Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨 (1281–1358); and Tao Hua 陶華 (fifteenth century). To the right of Bian Que are Wang Shuhe 王叔和 (late third century), the author of *Maijing* 脈經 (Scripture on the Pulse); Liu Wansu 劉完素 (1120–1200); Li Gao 李杲 (1180–1251); Wu Shu 吳恕 (Yuan?); and Xie Ji 薛己 (Ming?).

The Medicine Kings were honored particularly in popular belief, and shrines devoted to them (called *Yaowang miao* 藥王廟 or Shrines of the Medicine Kings) existed throughout China during the Ming and Qing periods. These shrines were successors to the Shrines of the Three Sovereigns (*Sanhuang miao* 三皇廟), popular in the Yuan period. For this reason, *yaowang* shrines to this day still contain a hall with the statues of the three legendary emperors and patrons of medicine, namely Fu Xi 伏羲, Shennong 神農 (the Divine Husbandman, who is said to have tasted all plants and evaluated their toxicity), and ★Huangdi (the Yellow Emperor, who is credited with the development of the theory of classical medicine).

Ute ENGELHARDT

▣ Despeux 1987, 31–33; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 135–38; Zheng Jinsheng 1996

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## Ye Fashan

葉法善

631–720; *zi*: Daoyuan 道元, Taisu 太素

Ye Fashan, a celebrated figure both in his own day and throughout medieval times, is remarkable in that he fit few of the common patterns for Tang Taoists. He apparently wrote nothing, never held ecclesiastical office or associated with other historical Taoists, and may not even have been a *★daoshi* at all. Yet, he was not only the subject of numerous later tales, but was honored in his own lifetime for his achievements as a thaumaturgical hero: he employed ritual powers and spirit-helpers to perform countless amazing rescues, saving ladies and gentlemen, emperors and courtiers, from death, disease, demons, coups, and unprincipled sorcerers. What will confound the modern mind is that his thaumaturgic exploits earned admiration and respect by centuries of emperors, officials, and historians.

Beginning with a panegyric epitaph by Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56), we have more than twenty substantial accounts of Ye's life, in the dynastic histories (*Jiu Tangshu*, 192.5107–8; *Xin Tangshu*, 204.5805) and other court documents, as well as in numerous Taoist collections (e.g., *★Du Guangting's Daojiao lingyan ji*, 14.8a–9a). Those accounts report that Ye was the scion of an ancient and noble house, whose father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had all been proficient in arcane arts. The father and grandfather received imperial honors in 713 and 717. Perhaps for that reason, Ye was always a figure of imperial significance, despite the fact that he had little connection with the cultural elite or with the Taoist leadership (e.g., *zongshi* 宗師 like *★Sima Chengzhen*). He was courted by five Tang rulers (from Gaozong to Xuanzong), and in the 739 epitaph he is already lauded as an immortal who had applied his subtle powers to protect ruler and nation from disloyal ministers and rebels alike. In a ninth-century text (Jiang Fang's *Jianfang Huanxi zhi* 幻戲志, in *Tangdai congshu* 唐代叢書, 32.6a–9a), three deities revealed to him that he was a “banished immortal” (*zhexian* 謫仙), a heavenly official who had been lax in copying the sacred registers (*★LU*) and had consequently been banished to live as a mortal until he had built up sufficient merit (by good deeds toward others) to return to his heavenly

station. That image guided most later accounts of Ye's life, especially the extensive *Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 唐葉真人傳 (Biography of the Perfected Ye of the Tang Dynasty; CT 779), by the obscure thirteenth-century Taoist Zhang Daotong 張道統. Zhang essentially embroidered the already-substantial account of Ye that had appeared in the eleventh-century *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period; 978; j. 216). Each is replete with as historical elements, and qualify as historical fiction, but they do weave a complex and fascinating image of Ye as a moral and spiritual exemplar for all people: he benefitted “civilian and military, Han and foreign, male and female, children and youths,” and his meritorious activities, in faithful service to grateful rulers, served to integrate the cosmos, uniting the world above, the world below, and every corner of the world of men, from imperial court to the most distant frontier.

Even the earliest texts report that Ye ascended as an immortal in broad daylight, 12 July 720. He quickly became a legendary figure, and accounts of his exploits expanded widely for centuries.

*Russell KIRKLAND*

▣ Barrett 1996, 33 and 52; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 96–97; Cadonna 1984; Giles L. 1948, 110–14; Kirkland 1986a, 126–46 and 366–443; Kirkland 1992a; Kirkland 1993; Schafer 1976

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

### *Yebao yinyuan jing*

業報因緣經

Scripture on the Causes of Karmic Retribution

This scripture in ten chapter (CT 336) is first cited in the ★*Xuanmen dayi* (Great Meaning of the School of Mysteries) and therefore dates from no later than the Sui dynasty. Its detailed picture of the workings of a Taoist version of the Buddhist system of *karma* caused the early incorporation of seven

pages of its second chapter into the ★*Fengdao kejie* (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao; trans. Reiter 1998, 57–67). An extended study by Livia Kohn (1998d) has now summarized the findings of Japanese scholars and supported a date of composition toward the end of the sixth century. Kohn further investigates fully the links between this text and three Buddhist works likewise giving full details of what consequences may be entailed by various transgressions or good actions.

Earlier work by Nakajima Ryūzō (1984), however, shows that this scripture synthesizes a wide range of Buddhist notions into a Taoist view of karmic process (which itself has much earlier roots). Also, while discussions of karmic consequences occur in many Indian Buddhist texts, none of those examined by Kohn are firmly identifiable as translations, but seem to be Chinese compositions of unknown date. All this suggests both Buddhists and Taoists working to a common agenda, rather than that the parallels reflect straightforward borrowing by the latter.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Kohn 1998d; Nakajima Ryūzō 1984; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 85–100 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang mss.) and 2: 147–72 (reprod. of the Dunhuang mss.)

※ ETHICS AND MORALS; TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

## Yellow Turbans

The Yellow Turban rebellion of 184, unsuccessful though it was, is considered a critical factor in the fall of the Han dynasty. Led by Zhang Jue 張角, the rebellion was organized by a religious movement based in the northeast of China called the Taiping dao 太平道 or Way of Great Peace. It is possible that the Taiping dao used the ★*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), or a precursor of that scripture, as its central text and inspiration. It was one of the movements that contributed to the milieu from which Taoist religion arose.

Zhang Jue came from Julu 鉅鹿 (Hebei). Little is known about him apart

from his involvement in the religious movement he founded. This movement, in concert with standard Han cosmology, saw the cosmos as a tripartite structure of Heaven, Earth, and Humanity. Thus, while Zhang Jue took the title “General of Heaven” (*tiangong jiangjun* 天公將軍) for himself, his two brothers, also leaders in the movement, had the titles “General of Earth” (*digong jiangjun* 地公將軍) and “General of Humanity” (*rengong jiangjun* 人公將軍). The slogan used by the Yellow Turbans was, “The Blue Heaven (*qingtian* 青天) is already dead, the Yellow Heaven (*huangtian* 黃天) will replace it.” This is often read in political terms as in the Han cosmological scheme dynastic rise and fall was viewed as conforming to the movement of the five elemental phases (★*wuxing*). As each phase was accorded a color, the cycle of dynasties was seen to follow a cycle of colors. Since the Han ruled under the phase of Fire, the subsequent dynasty had to rule under Soil, and the color attributed to Soil was yellow. Thus, the idea that the Yellow Heaven was about to be established signalled the movement's revolutionary intentions. However, for this reading to be consistent the Yellow Turbans should really have referred to the demise of the Red Heaven, the color adopted by the Han. Alternative readings that stress the religious use of the term “Blue Heaven,” and therefore give their slogan a less political meaning, have also been proposed (Barrett 1986, 876). Nonetheless, the idea that the Yellow Heaven presaged the new society of Great Peace led to the adoption of the yellow headscarves (*huangjin* 黃巾; turbans is the traditional rendering) that gave rise to their name.

The Taiping dao followed practices that seem to have been reasonably common to religious movements at this time. Healing was a major part of their program—the period immediately prior to 184 saw terrible epidemics across the empire—with the confession of transgressions playing an important and novel role. More traditional methods such as drinking talismanic water (*fushui* 符水, i.e., water containing ashes of burned talismans, ★FU) and the recitation of spells are also mentioned in the surviving sources. Also apparently novel was the use Zhang made of missionaries. Originally a localized movement, it is said that he sent out eight of his disciples to convert people throughout the empire, ultimately garnering several hundred thousand followers throughout eight provinces. These followers he organized into thirty-six administrative districts on the model of the great state of Daqin 大秦 to the west (imperial Rome in early Chinese

sources).

The rebellion of the Yellow Turbans was set down for the year 184 which had the cyclical term *jiazi* 甲子, the first of a new sixty-year cycle, symbolizing a new beginning. Unfortunately for the rebels, one of their number leaked the news of their impending action to the emperor. As a result, Zhang had to launch the rebellion a few weeks early. Nonetheless, revolts spread across country and it took almost a year to quell the rebellion. Peace did not reign, however, as sporadic uprisings that were either spawned from the movement, or simply took its name continued to occur. The rebels must have remained a reasonably strong force for in 192, 300,000 Yellow Turbans joined Cao Cao's 曹操 army. The name “Yellow Turbans” disappears from the record in the early third century.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Barrett 1986, 874–76; Eichhorn 1957; Fang Shiming 1995; Hendrischke 2000; Kandel 1979; Levy 1956; Mansvelt Beck 1980; Michaud 1958; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 79–136; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 192–221; Robinet 1987a

※ *taiping*; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

*yi*

意

intention

The ★*neidan* notion of *yi* (intention) can only be understood in relation to the notion of ★*qi* (vital breath or pneuma); together, they represent the inner link between body and mind. Through the *yi*, sensorial activities become the center of vision of a cosmic body (Merleau-Ponty 1945, 81–106) and a reflection of the macrocosm (Billeter 1985, 4). The *yi* is defined in the alchemical texts as the rider of *qi*, similar to a conductor who orchestrates the movement of *qi* within the body. When this attunement takes place in the center, it is called True Intention (*zhenyi* 真意) or True Soil (*zhentu* 真土).



★Liu Yiming (trans. Cleary 1986a, 88–89) explains that the *yi* is also called Yellow Dame (*huangpo* 黃婆) as it represents the “communicative principle of the Yellow Center” (*huangzhong tongli zhe* 黃中通理者) that harmonizes Yin and Yang. In fact, the *yi* is also associated with the spleen and the heart (★*xin*), the two main central organs of the body.

*Yi* has two aspects, inner and outer, whose relation is the same as that between “substance and function” (★*ti* and *yong*). The first aspect is exemplified by its graph, consisting of *yin* 音 (sound) over *xin* 心 (heart). The *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explanations of the Signs and Explications of the Graphs; 100 CE) defines the term *yi* as the “sound of the heart,” the musical emission or creativity of the heart. Elsewhere, *yi* is defined as “what is emitted from the heart” (*xin zhi suo fa* 心之所發; see Despeux 1981b, 73). While the function (★*yong*) of *yi* is to conduct the *qi*, its essence (★*ti*) is originally associated with *xin* (heart-mind), the source of the animation of the *yi*. *Neidan* texts also state that *yi* is linked with ★*shen* (Spirit) as the pure functionality of the *yi* (Li Yuanguo 1985a, 59). *Yi* is therefore related both to *xin*, which is its original source, and to *shen*, which is the expression of its dynamism—pure Thought, conducting Idea, function of the “theophanic imagination” (Corbin 1958, 13, 142). The relation between *yi* and *xin* does not contradict the relation between *yi* and *shen*. It only provides more definite indications on the organ, or sanctuary, of this “theophanic imagination”: the Heart-Center and its pure creativity. This is helpful for understanding the expression “sound of the heart” that is linked to the graph *yi*.

With regard to the second aspect of *yi*, or its function, the meaning of “resonance of the heart” is emphasized during certain stages of the inner alchemical practice, when one discovers the unbreakable link between *yi* and *xin*. The two terms then become interchangeable: every movement starts from *xin* and is conducted by *yi*, and vice versa. The link is made more explicit in some martial arts, as shown by ★*taiji quan* texts (Despeux 1981b, 73 and 109–13) that mention the formula *yong yi buyong li* 用意不用力 (“use the resonance of the heart and not the strength”). One should not use *li* 力 (physical power) but *yi* (mental power), and should not make physical efforts but simply follow the movements of *qi* that lead to listening to one's heart. In this way, the heart becomes the center of every movement. Once the right harmony of *yi* as “resonance of the heart” is attained through the inner practices, *yi* becomes a mental power capable of spontaneously producing

images, heat, and so forth; it can naturally anticipate one's own movements, and in martial arts also the movements of one's opponent (Vercammen 1990, Esposito 1992, Esposito 1997).

*Monica ESPOSITO*

☐ Cleary 1986a, 88–89; Despeux 1981b, 73; Esposito 1992, 434–35; Esposito 1997, 41–42; Li Yuanguo 1985a; Robinet 1995a, 191–95 and passim; Vercammen 1990, 1: 313–14 and 319

※ *xin*

*yi*

—

One; Oneness; Unity

The idea of Oneness or underlying unity is first expressed in the *Daode jing*, where the Dao is linked immediately with the One, which it brings forth directly. The One is “the Great Beginning” (★*Zhuangzi* 12) and the unified state of creation. It contains everything, notably the two forces Yin and Yang, which interact to create and sustain all life. It is ultimate primordially; it embraces the universe and represents the creative Principle at the root of all things: “Heaven, Earth and all beings are born from the One,” as the ★*Xisheng jing* (Scripture of Western Ascension) says (trans. Kohn 1991a, 245). This state of non-differentiation is identified with the cosmic Chaos (★*hundun*) in the ★*Huainan zi*.

In human beings the One is present as primordial ★*qi* or cosmic vital energy, the power that makes people come to life and be what they are. Conserving and guarding this cosmic power leads to immortality. As ★*Guangcheng zi* says in *Zhuangzi* 11: “I hold on to the One, abide in its harmony, and therefore I have kept myself alive for 1200 years. And never has my body suffered any decay” (see trans. Watson 1968, 120).

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Hu Fuchen 1989, 196–206; Kohn 1989a, 127–34; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 260–63; Robinet 1995c; see also bibliographies for the entries *sanyi*, *shouyi*, and *Taiyi*

※ *Taiyi*; Dao; *sanyi*; *shouyi*; Yin and Yang; COSMOGONY

## Yi Xinying

易心瑩

1896–1976; *zi*: Zongqian 綜乾

Yi Xinying was born on September 26, 1896, into a peasant family in Suining 遂寧 (Sichuan). Of a feeble constitution, he decided in 1913 to become a Taoist apprentice at the Changdao guan 常道觀 (Abbey of the Constant Dao) on Mount Qingcheng (★Qingcheng shan, Sichuan). His master was Wei Zhiling 魏至齡, twenty-first patriarch of the Dantai bidong 丹臺碧洞 (Jasper Cavern of the Cinnabar Terrace) branch of ★Longmen. Yi Xinying later become its twenty-second patriarch. This branch originated with the tenth Longmen patriarch, Chen Qingjue 陳清覺 (1606–1705), and five other Taoists who established themselves in Sichuan. Chen left Mount Wudang (★Wudang shan, Hubei) and moved first in 1669 to Mount Qingcheng, then in 1686 to the ★Qingyang gong (Palace of the Black Ram) in Chengdu. In 1700, the Kangxi Emperor conferred on this temple the name of Jasper Cavern of the Cinnabar Terrace (Dantai bidong), which also became the name of Chen's branch of Longmen.

In 1930, Yi Xinying became the chief abbot of the Changdao guan. He acquired erudition especially through his friendship with Yan Kai 顏楷 and corresponded with distinguished specialists in the history of Taoism, including ★Chen Yingning (1880–1969), Chen Guofu 陳國符, and Meng Wentong 蒙文通. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, he became active in the preservation of Taoism. In 1956 he went to Beijing for the founding of the Chinese Taoist Association (★Zhongguo daojiao

xiehui), and in 1962 he gave lectures to young Taoist monks training at the ★Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing. In the same year, he became president of the Sichuan Taoist Association.

Yi Xinying spent his life searching for Taoist writings. He edited, notably, a collection of texts devoted to women, *Nüzi daojiao congshu* 女子道教叢書 (Collectanea on Taoism for Women). Among other works, he wrote a *Daojiao sanzi jing* 道教三字經 (Scripture in Three-Character Lines on the Taoist Teaching), a *Daoxue keben* 道學課本 (Manual of Taoist Studies), a *Qingcheng zhinan* 青城指南 (Guide to Mount Qingcheng), and a commentary to the *Daode jing* entitled *Laozi tongyi* 老子通義 (Understanding the Meaning of the *Laozi*). Most of his works were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.

Catherine DESPEUX

■ Li Yangzheng 2000, 243–46 and passim; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 4: 415–26; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 405–6

※ *neidan*; Zhongguo daojiao xiehui; TAOISM IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

## *Yijing*

### 易經

#### Book of Changes

Traditionally regarded as having been compiled at different times by the mythical emperor Fu Xi 伏羲, King Wen of the Zhou (Wenwang 文王, r. 1099–1050 BCE), the Duke of Zhou (Zhougong 周公, ?–1032 BCE), and Confucius (traditional dates 551–479 BCE), the *Yijing* was first used as a manual of divination but has been considered, at least from Confucius's time, as a source of wisdom and cosmological lore, and has also been submitted to a moralistic interpretation. Chinese tradition ranks it among the five main classics, with the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents), the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book

of Odes), the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites), and the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals).

*Formation of the text.* The very brief core text of the *Yijing* is based on sixty-four hexagrams (*gua* 卦), which are permutations of six broken or solid lines (*yao* 爻) probably derived from numerical symbols. Unlike the traditional interpretation, the arrangement of the lines into sixty-four hexagrams appears to antedate that of the eight trigrams (sets of three lines, see ★*bagua*). Each hexagram is given a name followed by a “hexagram statement” (*guaci* 卦辭) and by individual “line statements” (*yaoci* 爻辭), both of which usually contain oracular formulas. This part of the text, often referred to as the *Zhouyi* 周易 (Changes of the Zhou), was augmented by a group of seven commentaries, which are commonly called the Ten Wings (*shiyi* 十翼), as three of them are divided into two parts:

1–2. *Tuanzhuan* 象傳 (Commentary to the Judgements)

3–4. *Xiangzhuan* 象傳 (Commentary to the Images)

5. *Wenyan zhuan* 文言傳 (Commentary to the Words of the Text) on the hexagrams *qian* 乾 ☰ and *kun* 坤 ☷

6–7. *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, also known as *Dazhuan* 大傳 and often translated as “Great Treatise”)

8. *Shuogua* 說卦 (Explanation of the Trigrams)

9. *Xugua* 序卦 (Hexagrams in Sequence)

10. *Zagua* 雜卦 (Hexagrams in Irregular Order)

According to modern scholarship, the hexagrams and “statements” date from the late Western Zhou period, while the whole text took its present form in the early second century BCE, except for the *Xugua*, which seems to date from the late Han period. In the ★Mawangdui manuscript, which probably dates from about 190 BCE and is the earliest known version of the text, the arrangement and names of the hexagrams are different and follow a more logical sequence than they do in the received text. Of the five commentaries included in this manuscript, only the *Xici* (which according to several scholars reflects a Taoist influence) is also found in the received text, but in the Mawangdui version contains important variants.

During the Han dynasty, the system of the *Yijing* played a major role in

the cosmological theories of the New Text school (*jinwen jia* 今文家) and was the basis for the interpretations of the classics given in the “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA). With the rise of the Old Text school (*guwen jia* 古文家) and later of the ★Xuanxue (Arcane Learning) school of thought, whose members associated the exegesis of the *Yijing* with that of the *Daode jing* and the ★*Zhuangzi*, the *Yijing* became one of the most influential texts in Chinese philosophy. Its study as a philosophical work was revived in the Song period with the Neo-Confucians, who referred to it as one of the main sources of their thought.

*The Yijing in the history of Taoism.* In pre-Han and Han times, there was often no clear-cut division between the study of the *Yijing*, the *Daode jing*, and the *Zhuangzi*. Diviners like Sima Jizhu 四馬季主 reportedly referred to both the *Yijing* and the *Daode jing*, and the ★Huang-Lao school also combined studies of the two texts. References to the *Yijing* by Taoists can be traced back to one of the oldest extant Taoist scriptures, the Han-dynasty ★*Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace). Taoists of different backgrounds, such as ★Yan Zun, Mao Ying 茅盈 (see ★Maojun), and ★Ziyang zhenren, who allegedly lived at that time, reportedly studied the *Yijing* along with the *Daode jing*. Even if the present text of the ★*Zhouyi cantong qi* is not the same as the original one, its first version seems to have been closely related to the *Yijing*.

Texts dating from the fourth century onward—the ★*Laozi zhongjing* (Central Scripture of Laozi) and the ★*Shangqing* text entitled *Yindi bashu jing* 隱地八術經 (Scripture of the Eight Arts to Conceal Oneself within the Earth; CT 1359)—employ the eight trigrams as deities or relate them to the corporeal spirits known as ★*bajing* (Eight Effulgences), and see them as detaining apotropaic power. An early ★*Lingbao* text, the *Ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shangjing* 自然真一五稱符上經 (Superior Scripture of the Self-Generated Five Talismans of Correspondence of the Authentic One; CT 671), says that the eight trigrams developed from its five talismans (★FU). The ★*Shangqing huangshu guodu yi*, probably dating from the late Six Dynasties but representing an older ★*Tianshi dao* tradition, connects the trigrams with the human body, as does the *Shuogua*. In Tang times, the ★*Kaitian jing* does the same. ★Sima Chengzhen, ★Li Quan, and other commentators on the ★*Yinfu jing*, as well as Liangqiu zi 梁丘子 (Bai Lüzhong 白履忠, fl. 722–29)

in his commentary to the ★*Huangting jing*, also refer to the *Yijing*. During the Five Dynasties, ★Chen Tuan was renowned for his exegesis of the *Yijing* and his *Wuji tu* 無極圖 (Diagram of the Ultimateless; see ★*Taiji tu*). Some centuries before its revival in Neo-Confucian thought, the *Yijing* acquired great importance within ★*neidan*, which depends heavily on its images and is imbued with speculations on hexagrams and trigrams.

*Taoist uses of the Yijing.* As Taoism was the main heir of Han cosmological and esoteric lore, most early Taoist interpretations of the *Yijing* are close to those of the New Text school and the “weft texts.” Except for some divination techniques, however, the main concern of the Taoist use of the *Yijing* is with the spatio-temporal location of hexagrams and trigrams in relation to the ordering of the cosmos. This contrasts with the traditional exegesis of the text, which relies on the internal relationships of the hexagrams, their nuclear trigrams, and their lines.

Taoist texts refer to the *Yijing* mainly in three ways. One relates the eight trigrams to the body, connecting the trigrams with the body in the *houtian* or “posterior to Heaven” arrangement (see ★*xiantian* and *houtian*), or locating them in the navel. Their spirits are the ★Taiyi's envoys, and adepts meditate on them on the eight nodal days of the year (*bajie* 八節, namely, equinoxes, solstices, and the first day of each season) to achieve long life. These methods are mentioned in the *Laozi zhongjing* and the ★*Lingbao wufu xu*. The *Yindi bashu jing* describes a method that consists of painting the trigrams on one's body for protection against cosmic catastrophes.

Another use of the text consists of taking the eight trigrams as cosmic reference points for the ordering of the universe. From medieval times to the present day, the trigrams are placed on the Taoist altar in the *houtian* sequence and the priest steps on them during the ritual; they are, moreover, painted on the priest's robe and are associated with various parts of his hand. In the Thunder Rites (★*leifa*), the trigrams and the twelve “sovereign hexagrams” (*bigua* 辟卦; see ★*huohou*) are used in dances for exorcistic and therapeutic purposes (see ★*bugang*).

Third, the uses of the *Yijing* within *neidan* are manifold. In particular, trigrams and hexagrams are used to symbolize the alchemical ingredients and are related to the solar and lunar cycles. Sentences of the *Yijing* are often quoted in *neidan* texts to illustrate philosophical statements. Because of the *Yijing*'s Neo-Confucian exegesis, *neidan* authors who claim that the Three

Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) allude to the same ultimate truth often refer to the *Yijing* as the main Confucian scripture.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Chen Guying 1993; Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Graham 1989, 358–70; Ho Peng Yoke 1985, 34–51; Lynn 1994 (trans.); Needham 1956, 304–40; Peterson W. 1982; Ritsema and Kircher 1994 (trans.); Sakade Yoshinobu 2000; Shaughnessy 1993; Shaughnessy 1994; Shaughnessy 1996a (trans. of the Mawangdui ms.); Smith et al. 1990; Suzuki Yoshijirō 1974; Wilhelm H. 1960; Wilhelm H. 1975; Wilhelm H. 1977; Wilhelm R. 1950 (trans.)

※ *bagua*; COSMOGONY; COSMOLOGY; DIVINATION, OMENS, AND PROPHECY; TAOISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM; TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA

## Yin and Yang

陰陽

In the Chinese worldview, the cosmos is generated from the undifferentiated Dao through the interaction of Yin and Yang, two principles or “pneumas” (★*qi*) that are aspects or functions of the Dao itself. Their continued hierogamy engenders everything within space and time, giving rise to the material and spiritual manifestation. The cosmos thus is not static but in constant change.

The term *yin* originally denoted the shady or northern side of a hill, while *yang* was its sunny or southern side. This early definition, found in sources of the Spring and Autumn period, was later expanded to include all that is shady, dark, and cool, and all that is sunny, bright, and warm, respectively. The notions of Yin and Yang were thus applied to various complementary entities and phenomena, such as female-male, dark-light, night-day, low-high, earth-heaven, passive-active, and so on (see [table 1](#)). This categorization, however, is relative: a minister, for instance, is Yin in relation to his ruler, but Yang in relation to his subordinates. Moreover, Yin and Yang are not absolute, since each contains the seed of the other: the Yin of winter is transformed into the Yang of summer and the process is reversed in a



ceaseless continuum. This cycle of coming and going is also expressed as contraction and expansion.



Fig. 84. Yin (black) and Yang (white). The two inner dots represent Yin within Yang and Yang within Yin. Around the circumference are shown the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*), which in this case represent different stages in the cycles of increase and decrease of Yin and Yang (clockwise from the lower left corner: *zhen* 震☳, *li* 離☲, *dui* 兌☱, *qian* 乾☰, *sun* 巽☴, *kan* 坎☵, *gen* 艮☶, and *kun* 坤☷). Hu Wei 胡渭 (1633–1714), *Yitu mingbian* 易圖明辨 (Clarifications on Diagrams Related to the *Book of Changes*; 1706), j. 3.

Around the third century BCE, the notion of Yin and Yang was merged with the theory of the *\*wuxing*. Water and Metal correspond to winter and autumn (Yin), Fire and Wood to summer and spring (Yang), and Soil is the neutral center. These associations gave rise to finer distinctions within the cycle of Yin and Yang, now defined by four terms (for further correlations with the *wuxing* see [table 25](#)):

1. Minor Yang (or Young Yang, *shaoyang* 少陽): East, spring
2. Great Yang (*taiyang* 太陽): South, summer
3. Minor Yin (or Young Yin, *shaoyin* 少陰): West, autumn
4. Great Yin (*taiyin* 太陰): North, winter

Another important development dating from around the same period was the combination of Yin and Yang with the eight trigrams (*\*bagua*) and the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yijing*. From the Han period onward, these associations integrated all forms of classification and computation—Yin and Yang, the *wuxing*, the *\*ganzhi* (Celestial Stems and Earthly Branches), the trigrams and hexagrams of the *Yijing*, and other symbols of the endless cycle of phenomenal change—into a complex system of categorization, giving rise to the system of so-called correlative cosmology.

The workings of Yin and Yang affect everything within the universe, and humanity is no exception. When Yin and Yang alternate according to the natural order, the cycles of seasonal changes and those of growth and decay follow each other harmoniously. When humanity (especially represented by the emperor) acts in disagreement with the natural order, harmony of both society and the cosmos is disrupted, and calamities such as droughts, eclipses, and rebellions are the result.

While these notions are largely common to Chinese culture as a whole, they play a central role in Taoism. The early school of the Celestial Masters (*\*Tianshi dao*) sought to ensure the proper functioning of Yin and Yang with their sexual rites for “merging pneumas” (*\*heqi*). In other milieux, strict seasonal rules of diet and self-cultivation were followed since illnesses were deemed to be caused by a pathological and unseasonable excess of Yin or Yang in the bodily organs. On the other hand, the search for longevity required in some instances going against the laws of nature, in an attempt to invert (*ni* 逆) the sequence that leads to degeneration and death (*shun* 順, lit., “continuation”). *\*Neidan* alchemists obtained a pure Yang self through the elimination of Yin from the inner organs, this being the source of decay and death. Others practiced sexual techniques (*\*fangzhong shu*) to retain the Yang essence. Rites and methods were also devised to keep the myriads of Yin and Yang spirits within the body from dispersing, thus avoiding illness and death.

*Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN*

▣ Cheng Anne 1989; Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 1: 383, 2: 19–30; Graham 1986c; Graham 1989, 330–40; Granet 1934, 115–48; Ho Peng Yoke 1985, 11–17; Major 1987b; Major 1993, 29–30; Needham 1956, 273–78; Robinet 1997b, 8–10; Sivin 1987, 59–70

※ Dao; *wuji* and *taiji*; *yi* [oneness]; COSMOGONY; COSMOLOGY

## Yin Changsheng

陰長生

Yin Changsheng is one of the best-known immortals of the Taoist tradition. According to the *★Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals; trans. Campany 2002, 274–75), he came from Xinye 新野 (Henan) and lived during the Later Han period. Having become a disciple of *★Maming sheng*, he retired with his master to Mount Qingcheng (*★Qingcheng shan*, Sichuan) and received from him the *★Taiqing* (Great Clarity) scriptures of *★waidan*. Later he went to Mount Wudang (*★Wudang shan*, Hubei) to compound an elixir, and finally ascended to Heaven from Mount Pingdu (Pingdu shan 平都山, Sichuan). According to *★Tao Hongjing's ★Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Real Numinous Beings), he now dwells in the heaven of Great Clarity (Taiqing 太清).

In the fourth century, Yin Changsheng reappeared as the master of *★Bao Jing* (?–ca. 330), *★Ge Hong's* father-in-law, and in this capacity he is often mentioned in connection with a talisman for achieving “release from the corpse” (*★shijie*; see for instance *★Zhengao*, 12.3a). These accounts reinforced Yin Changsheng's connections to the traditions of the southeastern region of Jiangnan 江南. In the *★Baopu zi*, Ge Hong depicts him as one of the legendary founders of the Taiqing legacy, together with *★Anqi Sheng* and *Maming sheng* (trans. Ware 1966, 81 and 213).

Yin Changsheng is ascribed with several texts, most of which deal with alchemy. These include the second chapter of the *Taiqing jinye shendan jing* 太清金液神丹經 (Scripture of the Divine Elixir of the Golden Liquor of Great Clarity; CT 880), dating from the Six Dynasties, and the *Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi* 金碧五相類參同契 (Gold and Jade and the Five Categories in the *Cantong qi*; CT 904), dating from the Tang period. The main work bearing Yin Changsheng's name is a commentary (CT 999) to the *★Zhouyi cantong qi* (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*). Compiled around 700 CE, its content is distinguished by a

cosmological interpretation of the scripture, but occasional references to actual practices show that it originated in a *waidan* context.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Company 2002, 274–77; Giles L. 1948, 36

## Yin Wencao

尹文操

622–88; *zi*: Jingxian 景先

According to a citation in his commentary on Laozi by ★Du Guangting from the *Xuanzhong ji* 玄中記 (Record of the Mysterious Center; a lost text already cited before 527 in the *Shuijing zhu* 水經注), the Yin family provided the mother of Laozi, as well as ★Yin Xi, the keeper of the pass who received Laozi's message in the form of the *Daode jing*. No wonder, then, that when the great sage's supposed descendants who ruled as the Tang dynasty wished to boost the cult of their ancestor they should have turned to Yin Wencao—whose dates have occasionally been extended to 695 through a misreading of his epitaph—as the most appropriate Taoist priest to create the necessary hagiography. In fact it was an apparition of Laozi riding a white horse in front of the whole court in Luoyang in 679 that prompted the emperor, Gaozong (r. 649–83), to commission a history of the divine ancestor Laozi and his interventions in this world in ten fascicles. This work, the *Xuanyuan huangdi shengji* 玄元皇帝聖紀 (Chronicle of the Holy August Emperor of Mysterious Origin), had a protracted and wide influence until the Southern Song, though it was subsequently lost. At one time it existed in Japan, and it is possible to tell from numerous citations from the ★*Zhenzheng lun* (Essays of Examination and Correction) onward that it must be an important source for several works of the same type dating to the Song period. According to Kusuyama Haruki (1979, 393–422), one work that still survives in the Taoist Canon, the *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 太上混元真錄 (Real Account of the Most High Chaotic Origin; CT 954), appears to be yet more closely

associated with Yin's original; it must be of Tang date, since it observes a taboo on the name of Gaozong's father.

Livia Kohn (1997b, 114–19) has shown that Yin's promotion of the Laozi legend must be placed within the history of the ★Louguan (Tiered Abbey), the Taoist institution which commemorated Laozi's last gift to Yin Xi, which had already been renamed by Gaozong's father the Zongsheng guan 宗聖觀 (Abbey of the Ancestral Saint) in 626. Yin's other services to the Tang dynasty during over thirty years at court, which earned him a bureaucratic title, included the compilation of a new catalogue of the Taoist Canon and the abbacy of the Haotian guan 昊天觀 (Abbey of the Vast Heaven), an institution founded by Gaozong in memory of his father, allegedly at Yin's suggestion; according to one source this was combined with the abbacy of the Zongsheng guan from 677. Yin was also responsible for a number of other writings which are now lost, apart from a portion of the surviving hagiography of the masters of the Louguan, in which he appears to have had a hand. At least one of the lost works, quoted briefly in a later encyclopedia, appears from its title to have been polemical; it is probably the first work known to cite the ★*Fengdao kejie* (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao), suggesting that the organization of the Taoist Church during a period of intense ideological rivalry with Buddhism was one of Yin's concerns. Yin is also listed by Du Guangting as a commentator on the *Daode jing*. Although the involvement of the Tang dynasty in Taoism was to reach even greater heights in the eighth century, it is evident that Yin played an important part in helping Gaozong lay the foundations for this.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 112–14; Kohn 1997b, 114–19; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 393–422

※ Louguan pai

Yin Xi

尹喜

*hao*: Wenshi xiansheng 文始先生 (Elder of the Beginning of the Scripture)

Yin Xi is first known as an ancient philosopher called Guanyin zi 關尹子 and as such is mentioned in the ★*Zhuangzi*, the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Springs and Autumns of Mr. Lü), and the ★*Liezi*. He was then associated with a text of this title, mentioned in the bibliographic section of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han) but lost early on. A new version, with heavy ★*neidan* influence, was reconstituted in 1233 under the title *Wenshi zhenjing* 文始真經 (Authentic Scripture of Master Wenshi; CT 667).

His career as a Taoist immortal begins with the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 63.2139–43; trans. Lau 1982, x-xi), which names him as the border guard on the Hangu Pass (Hangu guan 函谷關) who requested Laozi's *Daode jing* and thus makes him the first recipient of the sage's teaching. Increasingly associated with Laozi and his expanded hagiographic accounts, Yin Xi becomes a sage in his own right with biographies in the ★*Liexian zhuan* (trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 65–67) and the ★*Shenxian zhuan* (trans. Company 2002, 194–204), which characterize him as skilled in astrology and thus able to divine Laozi's approach. Dedicating himself fully to the Dao, he then becomes the sage's partner on his western journey, “converting the barbarians” with him.

In the sixth century, Yin Xi is said to have attained his highest status as Taoist patriarch and Laozi's deputy among the barbarians, with the title of “buddha.” This happened after a fifth-century descendant of the Yin family named Yin Tong 尹通 claimed that his family's home in the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi) was not only Yin Xi's original estate but also the actual spot where the transmission of the *Daode jing* took place. Known as ★Louguan (Tiered Abbey), it is located 70 km southwest of Xi'an and was, from the Tang through the Yuan, a major center of Taoist religion. The Taoists of this temple, rising to national prominence in the sixth century, compiled various new works that detailed Yin Xi's supernatural birth and divine faculties, his wondrous meeting with Laozi and attainment of the Dao, a second meeting of the two sages in Chengdu (Sichuan) with the help of a black ram (*qingyang* 青羊), their ecstatic journey through the heavens, and their joint conversion of the barbarians. They also equipped him with the

title *Wenshi xiansheng* or Elder of the Beginning of the Scripture.

The main text recounting these events is the sixth-century *Wenshi neizhuan* 文始內傳 (Inner Biography of Master Wenshi), which survives in fragments (mainly in the ★*Sandong zhunang*, j. 9), supplemented by the ★*Huahu jing* (Scripture of the Conversion of Barbarians) also of the sixth century (*Sandong zhunang*, j. 9), and the *Taishang hunyuan zhenlu* 太上混元真錄 (Real Account of the Most High Chaotic Origin; CT 954) of the seventh century. Later Yin Xi is prominently mentioned in the inscription *Sansheng jibei* 三聖記碑 (Stele to the Three Saints; 826), in ★Du Guangting's *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義 (Extended Interpretation of the Emperor's Exegesis of the *Daode jing*; 901; CT 725, j. 3), and in various collections of immortals' biographies. Under the Yuan, Yin Xi is formally named the first patriarch of the Louguan branch (★Louguan pai) and described in various inscriptions, some of which can still be seen at the Louguan.

Livia KOHN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 124–25; Decaux 1990 (trans. of the *Wenshi zhenjing*); Kaltenmark 1953, 65–67; Kohn 1997b; Kusuyama Haruki 1979, 393–422; Zhang Weiling 1990

※ Laozi and Laojun; HAGIOGRAPHY

## Yin Zhiping

尹志平

1169–1251; *zi*: Dahe 大和; *hao*: Qinghe 清和 (Clear and Harmonious)

Yin Zhiping, the first ★Quanzhen patriarch of the second generation, was a key figure in the institutionalization of his order. Until 1227, when Yin attained that powerful position, most of his life was spent under the aegis of his master ★Qiu Chuji, and he may be seen as a successful continuer of Qiu's original project to turn Quanzhen into a nationwide independent organization.

Born into a family from the Shandong peninsula (where ★Wang Zhe had founded Quanzhen), Yin, when still a teenager, wanted to become a disciple of ★Ma Yu. His parents prevented him from doing so, but when he was hardly an adult, he left to become a Quanzhen monk and a disciple of ★Liu Chuxuan. He also studied divination with ★Hao Datong and ritual with ★Wang Chuyi. Later he was adopted by Qiu Chuji, who made him one of his most trusted assistants. Yin thus gathered the teachings of the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)) whom he later evoked in his collected sayings. After his formative period, Yin spent several years in seclusion, practicing according to the Quanzhen curriculum, and then founded new communities with the help of rich lay devotees, Chinese and Jurchen alike. While his new ventures grew, he never lost contact with Qiu Chuji, who then was busy coordinating and centralizing the network of many scattered Quanzhen monasteries. When Qiu was invited to court by the Mongol sovereign Chinggis khan (Taizu, r. 1206–27), he took Yin's advice to answer the summons, and Yin was one of the eighteen disciples who accompanied Qiu on his three-year journey (see ★*Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*).

After Qiu's death, his disciples and influential lay followers deliberated who would become the successor to the powerful position of patriarch (*zongshi* 宗師) that Qiu Chuji had created for himself and for which he had gained recognition from the Mongols. The main contenders were Yin and Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193–1256), who seems to have been less of an inspired preacher and more of a skillful organizer. Yin was elected and from then on devoted all his energy to relentlessly touring the various Quanzhen communities in the Mongol-dominated land, and to maintaining good relations with the Mongol generals and their Chinese allies. In 1232–34, the last vestiges of the Jin empire fell to the Mongol armies, and Yin immediately headed south, along with his fellow disciples such as ★Song Defang and ★Wang Zhijin. He spent several years in Shanxi and Shaanxi, where he secured the support of the local strongmen, integrated the local Quanzhen communities into his hierarchy, and engineered the conversion to Quanzhen of all major previously independent Taoist centers, like the ★Louguan (Tiered Abbey) and the ★Taiqing gong (Palace of Great Clarity) in Bozhou 亳州 (present-day Luyi 鹿邑, Henan). By that time old and tired after these years of incessant activity, Yin resigned from his position in 1241 and let his aide Li Zhichang become patriarch. He spent his final years in



retirement.

Beside his institutional activity documented by numerous inscriptions—there are four extant memorial stelae for him and more information can be gathered from many other contemporary inscriptions—Yin also left an important legacy of teachings. His annals, entitled *Yingyuan lu* 應緣錄 (Accounts of Karmic Retribution), are lost, but his poems are anthologized in the *Baoguang ji* 葆光集 (Anthology of Concealed Radiance; 1239; CT 1146) and his oral teachings are collected in the *Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu* 清和真人北游語錄 (Recorded Sayings from a Journey to the North, by the Real Man [Yin] Qinghe; 1240; CT 1310) and in the second *juan* of the *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 真仙直指語錄 (Straightforward Directions and Recorded Sayings of Real Men and Immortals; CT 1256), probably compiled in the fourteenth century. The two activities were actually linked: while on pastoral tours, Yin would gather the communities at night and hold lectures. The two final *juan* of the *Beiyou yulu* are devoted to elucidating the *Daode jing* in the style peculiar to the Quanzhen recorded sayings (*★yulu*), i.e., with many anecdotes and parables and a rejection of esoteric interpretations. Yin was often willing to speak of his own ascetic training to encourage his audience, explaining for instance how he gradually managed to go without sleeping for weeks, or how, while in a state of trance, he experienced decapitation and resurrection at the hands of his first master. This combination of historical and autobiographical evidence makes Yin Zhiping an exceptionally familiar figure of early Quanzhen.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 167–69; Eskildsen 2001; Kohn 1997b, 120–24; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 335–37

※ Qiu Chuji; Quanzhen

*Yinfu jing*

陰符經

## Scripture of the Hidden Accordance

The *Yinfu jing* exists in as almost many versions as its editions. The text first appears in the early seventh century. For this reason, it has been considered in the past to be a forgery by ★Li Quan (fl. 713–60), an officer who wrote books on military strategy, and who claimed to have discovered it in a cave on Mount Song (★Songshan, Henan) where ★Kou Qianzhi had supposedly hidden it. Modern scholars, however, have different opinions its date. Li Dahua (1995) deems it to date from the Six Dynasties, Wang Ming (1984d, first published in 1962) dates it to the early sixth century, Miyakawa Hisayuki (1984a, 1984b) suggests that it was written shortly before the Sui dynasty, and Christopher Rand (1979) considers it to be of a later date because of a lack of earlier evidence. The tradition that traces the text back to ★Huangdi exists in two versions. According to the first one, the Mysterious Woman (★Xuannü) gave it to Huangdi to help him in his struggle against the demon Chiyou 蚩尤. According to the second, Huangdi discovered it on Mount Song and ★Guangcheng zi explained its meaning to him.

*Content and interpretations.* The text comprises little more than three hundred words, to which one hundred more are often added, which supposedly consist of Huangdi's own explications. It is usually divided into three parts, said to deal with the art of “divine immortality and embracing the One (*baoyi* 抱一),” with “prosperity of the country and peace for humanity,” and with “a strong army and victory in war,” respectively. The title is interpreted in various ways, but most often as indicating a “tacit agreement” between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humankind, or between self-cultivation and the management of one's family and the state. An alternative title is *Tianji jing* 天機經 (Scripture of the Celestial Mechanism); a text bearing this name immediately follows the version of the *Yinfu jing* in ★*Yunji qiqian* 15.

Although the *Yinfu jing* has been linked to the military arts (Reiter 1984), Taoist commentaries generally understand it as advocating the harmony between nature and humanity. It is often mentioned together with the *Daode jing* and the ★*Zhouyi cantong qi*, and is said to deal inwardly with the Celestial Mechanism (*tianji* 天機; see ★*ji*) of the world and outwardly with human affairs. Most often, as in the *Yinfu jing jijie* 陰符經集解 (Collected

Explications of the *Yinfu jing*; CT 111) and as quoted in many ★*neidan* texts, it is interpreted in inner alchemical terms. In this case, the sections dealing with government and war are explained as symbolically representing the process of self-cultivation for achieving purity through expelling Yin and attaining to Pure Yang (*chunyang* 純陽, the state beyond the duality of Yin and Yang).

*Commentaries.* The *Daozang* contains no less than twenty commentaries on the *Yinfu jing* published as independent texts (CT 108 to CT 127), and another by ★Li Daochun included in his *Santian yisui* 三天易髓 (The Mutable Marrow of the Three Heavens; CT 250, 10a–12b). Outside the *Daozang*, an important commentary by ★Liu Yiming is found in his ★*Daoshu shi'er zhong* (Twelve Books on the Dao). The version containing Li Quan's own annotations (CT 109) appears to have suffered alterations, and its commentary was interpolated with the commentary ascribed to ★Zhongli Quan (in CT 111). The commentary attributed to Zhang Guo 張果 (fl. mid-eight century; see ★Zhang Guolao) is incomplete (CT 112, and YJQQ 15.1a–11a). Some quotations of the *Yinfu jing* that appear in Tang or even in Song sources cannot be found in its present text.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Balfour 1884, 49–62 (trans.); Legge 1891, 2: 255–264 (trans.); Li Dahua 1995; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1984a; Miyakawa Hisayuki 1984b; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 416–25; Rand 1979 (trans.); Reiter 1984; Robinet 1997b, 210–11; Wang Ming 1962

※ Li Quan; *neidan*

## Yinqueshan manuscripts

A large cache of texts written on slips of bamboo was discovered in April 1972 in tomb no. 1 in a Former Han cemetery at Yinqueshan 銀雀山, Linyi 臨沂, (Shandong), probably buried in the 130s BCE. The discovery led to the identification of 4,942 individual fragments together with five wooden boards

containing the titles of some of the texts (Wu Jiulong 1985; Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 1985). The more than one hundred titles belong to numerous genres, including the art of war, writings on government, literature, mathematics, divination, physiognomy, and other esoteric arts (Luo Fuyi 1974; Luo Fuyi 1985), and are affiliated with the Taoist, Confucian, Mohist, Military Writers (*bingjia* 兵家), Yin-Yang, and other Various Masters (*zajia* 雜家) traditions. Some of the fragments have been identified as early versions of texts, or sections of texts that have been continuously transmitted down from Warring States times. Others bear titles that appear in the bibliography of the Han imperial collection, found in the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han), but were subsequently lost. Yet others are works whose titles were previously unknown.

*Military texts.* One of the boards contained the titles of the thirteen-section *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 (Master Sun's Art of War), although with some variation in the order and titles of the sections. This demonstrated that the organization of this military canon was already established by the early Han and was not a creation of a later commentator, such as Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220), founder of the Wei dynasty. Five other essays related to Sunzi or Sun Wu 孫武 were also found, one of them being a story about Sunzi's interview with the King of Wu, Helü (r. 514–496 BCE), another version of which the Han historian Sima Qian included as Sun Wu's biography in his *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; *j.* 65). One of the others, *Huangdi fa Chidi* 黃帝伐赤帝 (The Yellow Emperor Attacks the Red Emperor) shows the influence of Five Phase (★*wuxing*) thinking on the Sunzi military tradition (Ames 1993; Li Ling 1995). Fragments of the long-lost *Bingfa* 兵法 (Art of War) of Sun Bin 孫臏, a descendant of Sun Wu, were also recovered (Lau and Ames 1996), as well as passages from two other of the Seven Military Canons, the *Liu Tao* 六韜 and the *Weiliao zi* 尉繚子, and texts on the defense of cities similar to those found in chapters 14 and 15 of the present *Mozi* 墨子 (Book of Master Mo).

*Texts on administration and esoteric practices.* A number of the essays on administration and esoteric practices might be related to works that were composed by Taoists at the Jixia 稷下 academy in the state of Qi 齊 (modern Shandong) in the Warring States period. One example is the *Dingxin guqi* 定

心固氣 (Concentrating on the Heart-Mind and Stabilizing Energy). The divination texts, texts on seasonal orders, activities, prohibitions, and some military texts such as the *Di Dian* 地典 (Regulator of the Earth), derive from Yin-Yang and Five Phase specialists and reveal that in the early Former Han these two traditions had still not amalgamated and that there was a close intellectual relationship between them and composers of ★Huang-Lao Taoist philosophy (Yates 1994b). The *Sanshi shi* 三十時, (Thirty Seasons) is similar to the calendar preserved in the *Guanzi* 管子 (Li Ling 2000b, 395–415) and the *Tiandi bafeng wuxing kezhu wuyin zhi ju* 天地八風五行客主五音之居 (Heaven and Earth, Eight Winds, Five Phases, Guests and Hosts, and Dwellings of the Five Notes), that is accompanied by a chart drawn in red ink, contains divination techniques on the Wind Angles (*fengjiao* 風角) and Matching Sounds (*nayin* 納音) that are similar to those found in later works, such as the ★*Huainan zi*, the *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義 (Great Meaning of the Five Agents), and ★Li Chunfeng's *Yisi zhan* 乙巳占 (Prognostications for 645 CE; Rao Zongyi 1993b).

*Robin D. S. YATES*

▣ Luo Fuyi 1974; Luo Fuyi 1985; Wu Jiulong 1985; Yates 1994b; Yinqueshan Hanmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 1985

*yinsi*

淫祀

licentious (*or*: excessive, illicit, heterodox) cult (*or*: sacrifice)

*Yinsi* is the most common Chinese term for heterodox religious behavior. *Yin* 淫, etymologically referring to a river overflowing its banks, denotes activities that transgress established norms, and can refer to sexual excess; *si* 祀 refers first to the cycle of sacrificial ritual that constituted the ritual year, and from this to worship involving sacrifice. Alternate translations include “excessive sacrifice,” which focuses on the extravagance and expense of the

elaborate sacrifices often associated with the term, and “lascivious sacrifice,” which focuses on the sexual connotations of the character *yin*. “Licentious” may be preferred because the primary referent of the term involves religious activity that “takes license” with limitations of who may sacrifice what to whom. The term is also sometimes applied to the social group that engages in these practices, i.e., “licentious cults,” and in this sense is sometimes found in the form *yinci* 淫祠 or “licentious shrine.”

The term *yinsi* has both a formal definition and a practical application; failure to differentiate these two levels of meaning has led to much misunderstanding. The *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites; trans. Legge 1885, 1: 116) defines the term as “sacrifice to one to whom you should not sacrifice.” Warring States texts record normative restrictions on sacrifice, limiting who may sacrifice what to whom and how often. These lists specify that the highest deities may only be worshipped by the ruler, with lower echelons addressing progressively less powerful gods. Commoners, when mentioned at all, may only worship their own ancestors. Moreover, the worship of the dead other than one's own agnatic ancestors was condemned already by Confucius (*Lunyu* 論語, trans. Legge 1893, 154; see also *Zuozhuan* 左傳, trans. Legge 1872, 157). During the imperial period, the term came to be defined as sacrifice offered to any deity not in the official Canon of Sacrifices (*sidian* 祀典), a list of deities that had been granted official recognition in the form of an ennoblement and the ceremonies appropriate to their worship. Local gazetteers sometimes include the portion of the Canon of Sacrifices appropriate to their regions, but no authoritative canon for the entire empire survives, if such a document truly ever existed. It is unclear if the gods listed in the Canon of Sacrifices were open to worship by commoners; surviving texts record only the ceremonies to be conducted by officials.

In practice, the term “licentious sacrifice” was applied to a variety of religious activities that the user viewed as inappropriate. This could include even the religious activities of the emperor (usually denounced only in retrospect, e.g. *Hou Hanshu*, *Zhi* 志, 9.3199 and 15.3311), but was most commonly applied to popular worship. All Buddhist and Taoist worship would seem to fit the formal definition but the term was not used in this connection, perhaps because they worshipped pantheons that did not overlap with that of the state and because they did not practice sacrifice. Instead the term is most often applied to cults served by ecstatic religious professionals

often called *wu* 巫. The focus of much criticism is the extravagant wastefulness of the sacrifice and the ecstatic behavior of its celebrants. It is also claimed that such worship is ineffective, resulting in no blessings for the sacrificer. The personal predilections of the local official seem to have played a paramount role in the application of this criterion. The frequent accounts of a newly-appointed official who discovers his region to be infested with licentious cults, which he proceeds to uproot, reveal more about the intolerance of the new official than about the nature of the cults, most of which had no doubt existed undisturbed for generations, if not centuries.

Taoists also made use of the term *yinsi* to condemn expressions of popular religion. Rolf A. Stein (1979), noting that the same sort of cult that aroused the ire of officials is inveighed against in Taoist scriptures, assumed that the state and the Taoist Church shared a commonality of interest in this regard. But where the traditional critique focused on social aspects of the ritual, the usurpation of traditional religious roles and implications for societal order, the Taoists argued that such activity was heretical and evil. The Taoist stance was founded upon the original condemnation of all blood sacrifice enshrined in the Pure Bond (*qingyue* 清約): “The gods do not eat or drink.” The fifth-century *★Daomen kelüe* (Abridged Codes for the Taoist Community; 1.1b) states that even the ancestors, the earth god, and the hearth may be worshipped only five times a year; more frequent worship is licentious. The *★Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials, 22.23a) condemns those who, having received the true religion, perform licentious blood sacrifice, thus rebelling against the Dao and allying with demons. Thus for the Taoists, licentious sacrifice is efficacious, but immoral.

*Terry KLEEMAN*

▣ Kleeman 1994b; Stein R. A. 1979

※ TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*Yiqie daojing yinyi*

一切道經音義

## Complete Taoist Scriptures, with Phonetic and Semantic Glosses

The *Yiqie daojing yinyi* was the greatest scholarly work on Taoism published in the medieval period before the year 1000. It was an imperial compilation begun and completed in the reign of Tang Ruizong (r. 684–90, 710–12). Shi Chongxuan 史崇玄 (or Shi Chong 史崇, ?–713), abbot of the Taiqing guan 太清觀 (Abbey of Great Clarity) in Chang'an, chaired the commission that researched and assembled the text. At the time a fierce struggle for power at court raged between Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56) and his aunt Princess Taiping 太平 who was an ordained Taoist priestess. Abbot Shi was one of the princess's partisans and died when Xuanzong suppressed her clique in the summer of 713.

Forty-three members sat on the commission: nineteen priests (all except two from abbeys in Chang'an, the capital), twenty-two erudites from imperial academies in the capital (many of them among the most renowned scholars of their day), and two officials. According to Xuanzong's preface, the emperor charged this body with examining Taoist scriptures to correct errors and supply omissions that had crept into them through repeated transcriptions. He also directed it to compile a lexicon and pronunciation guide to arcane, obsolete and obscure terminology that appeared in the texts. Hence, he gave it the title “Complete Taoist Scriptures, with Phonetic and Semantic Glosses.”

In the course of their endeavors the members of the commission examined texts of more than 2,000 scrolls from libraries in the capital and the palaces. Their final compilation in 253 scrolls included not only a glossary in 140 scrolls, but also a catalogue in 113 scrolls that encompassed both the works they had consulted and titles listed in older bibliographies.

In conjunction with his duties as head of the commission, Shi Chongxuan compiled a small treatise on basic Taoist tenets called the *Yiqie daojing yinyi miaomen youqi* 一切道經音義妙門由起 (The Sources of the School of Marvels, from the Complete Taoist Scriptures with Phonetic and Semantic Glosses; CT 1123). It has six sections:

1. “Elucidation of the Transformations of the Dao” (“Ming daohua” 明道化, 1a–2a).
2. “Elucidation of the Celestial Worthies” (“Ming Tianzun” 明天尊, 2a–



10a).

3. “Elucidation of Dharma Realms” (“Ming fajie” 明法界, 10a–11a). The passages cited here concern various ethereal worlds, celestial and subterranean.
4. “Elucidation of Residences” (“Ming juchu” 明居處, 11a–15a). The citations in this part describe the palaces of the gods as well as abbeys, chapels and hermitages for mortals.
5. “Elucidation of Initiations and Ordinations” (“Ming kaidu” 明開度, 15b–20b). This section includes remarks on various classes of priests as well as their vestments.
6. “Elucidation of Scriptures and Rituals” (“Ming jingfa” 明經法, 20b–33b). This section consists entirely of excerpts from scriptures, protocols, manuals, and various other texts; it quotes from lost works and supplies passages from extant titles that can be used for collation.

Unfortunately all that remains of the *Yiqie daojing yinyi* are the *Miaomen youqi*, prefaces written by Xuanzong and Shi Chongxuan, ★Zhang Wanfu's glosses to the ★*Duren jing*, and a small number of citations from the lexicon in an annotation of the ★*Dadong zhenjing* (*Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* 上清大洞真經玉訣音義; CT 104) compiled by ★Chen Jingyuan.

The *Yiqie daojing yinyi* was but the first of Xuanzong's projects to foster Taoism. He continued to collect texts and by 718 had amassed a collection in 3,744 scrolls. Then in 749 the emperor sent the entire corpus from the palace to the Chongxuan guan 崇玄館 (Institute for the Veneration of the Mystery) for transcription. His decree further stipulated that the duplicates were to be divided and forwarded to the provinces where they were to be recopied. The intent of that unprecedented act was to propagate Taoism throughout his realm.

Charles D. BENN

▣ Barrett 1996, 50–52; Benn 1977, 70–74 and 288–91; Chen Guofu 1963, 114–19; Ōfuchi Ninji 1978–79, 1: 316 (crit. notes on the Dunhuang ms.) and 2: 647 (reprod. of the Dunhuang ms.); Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 170–73 (list of texts cited); Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955, 98–115

## *Yisheng baode zhuan*

### 翊聖保德傳

#### Biography of [the Perfected Lord] Assisting Sanctity and Protecting Virtue

The *Yisheng baode zhuan* is the comprehensive account of the revelations bestowed in the period 960–94 by the divine protector of the Song dynasty, Yisheng baode zhenjun 翊聖保德真君 (Perfected Lord Assisting Sanctity and Protecting Virtue). The book was compiled by ★Wang Qinruo (962–1025) on the basis of earlier records. It was presented at court in 1016 (the memorial of the author and the endorsement by the emperor are appended to the text) and furnished with a preface by Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). The earliest edition of the work is found in the ★*Yunji qiqian* (j. 103), but the text is also included as a separate book in the *Daozang* (CT 1285). Unlike the *Yunji qiqian* version, the latter attributes Zhenzong's preface to his successor, Song Renzong (r. 1022–63), and includes at the end the enfeoffment of the god by Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) in 1104.

The revelations had taken place in the Zhongnan mountains (Zhongnan shan 終南山, Shaanxi), where the god spoke through Zhang Shouzhen 張守真, a man from Zhouzhi 盩厔 district (north of the mountains and bordering on the prefecture of Chang'an). The great importance attached to the revelations in the history of the Northern Song dynasty is due to the fact that they include a passage allegedly received as a *fuming* 符命, an announcement from heaven that the mandate was to be transferred to Taizong (r. 976–97), the second emperor of the dynasty and the younger brother of the first emperor, Song Taizu (r. 960–76). This revelation is said to have taken place on the night before the death of Taizu (*Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 17). It is however also said that Taizong had already taken an interest in the cult in the years 963–67 (CT 1285, 1.4a), and it seems likely that this played a role in securing his position as the heir apparent. After the accession of Taizong, the god was rewarded with the construction of a temple, Shangqing taiping gong 上清太平宮 (Palace of Great Peace of the Highest Clarity, completed in 980), at the site where Zhang Shouzhen received the revelations (1.6b–7b).

The main elements of the initial revelation are the “methods of the sword”

(*jianfa* 劍法; 1.2b–3a), and a new ritual code comprising a nomenclature for the various kinds of Offerings (★*jiao*) and regulations for the numbers of places for deities (*shenwei* 神位) on the altar (1.3a–4a). The code includes, at the highest level, three Offerings, to be performed for the benefit of the dynasty and the whole country, named *putian dajiao* 普天大醮 (Great Offering of the Universal Heaven), *zhoutian dajiao* 周天大醮 (Great Offering of the Whole Heaven), and ★*luotian dajiao* (Great Offering of All Heaven). The system was later adopted as the imperial standard, and Wang Qinruo was ordered to edit a ritual compendium for the *luotian dajiao*, which he submitted in ten *juan* around the same time as the biography of the Perfected Lord.

*Poul ANDERSEN*

▣ Andersen 1991, 125–26; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 83–86; Davis E. 2001, 69–74; Yang Huarong 1986

※ Wang Qinruo; Heisha; Tianxin zhengfa

### *Yixia lun*

### 夷夏論

### Essay on the Barbarians and the Chinese

The *Yixia lun* of 467 by ★Gu Huan (420/428–483/491) stands out as the first polemical critique of Buddhism to delineate Taoism (★*DAOJIAO*) as a fully-fledged religious alternative to it. An implicit contrast between Buddhism and *daojiao* is already made by the Buddhist Zhou Yong 周顒 in a slightly earlier debate over the essential unity and visible dissimilarity between the two religions; the fact that Gu opens his work with a restatement of the assumption of unity and continues with criticisms of a quotation made in the earlier debate assures us that he was already familiar with these polemics. Although the foreign origins of Buddhism had attracted adverse comment for well over a century before the composition of the *Yixia lun*, Gu's construction

of the Taoist alternative allows him to deploy all kinds of invidious dichotomies to support his case that an Indian religion is not fit for Chinese to believe: now the lack of filiality of the Buddhists, the prolixity of their scriptures, and so forth, are set against the model behavior of the Taoists, the succinct simplicity of their texts, and other Chinese virtues.

One measure of the impact of the *Yixia lun* is the considerable number of Buddhist responses which it provoked, spilling from the sixth into the seventh chapter of the ★*Hongming ji* (Collection Spreading the Light of Buddhism). The content of these further shows the beginnings of a move away from the “clash of civilizations” mode of earlier debate in China over Buddhism toward specific critiques of the Taoist religion as a rival entity, adumbrating the fierce interreligious polemics of a century later. Xie Zhenzhi 謝鎮之, for example, makes for the first time the accusation of plagiarism from the Buddhist scriptures against the recent authors of Taoist texts. Ming Sengshao 明僧紹 (?–483), commenting on the alleged identity of *nirvāṇa* and immortality, questions the coherence of the Taoist tradition, not only contrasting the immortality cult and Laozi's ideas but also pointing to the newer notion of rewards within an otherworldly hierarchy, though that he sees as not deleterious to “worldly teachings.” For him, moreover, the followers of the Zhangs 張 (i.e. the Celestial Masters or ★Tianshi dao) and the Ges 葛 (i.e. the ★Lingbao Taoists of ★Ge Chaofu) have no legitimate standing at all. As yet, however, the underlying assumption of unity is not explicitly denied in favor of a clear assertion of the inferiority of all “worldly” religions and teachings over against the supramundane role of Buddhism. But that step, with its consequences for the polemical status of cosmology, was not far off.

The *Yixia lun* is copiously cited in the biographies of Gu Huan and in the *Hongming ji*, but this leaves open the possibility that a complete text has not been transmitted. The *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (T. 2103, 8.546b) speaks of a version in five chapters. Even if this was a text that circulated among Buddhists, incorporating also all their refutations, that figure seems too high to represent only the materials that we now possess.

T. H. BARRETT

*yong*

用

function

See ★*ti* and *yong* 體 · 用.

*Yongcheng jixian lu*

壩城集仙錄

Records of the Immortals Gathered in the Walled City

The *Yongcheng jixian lu* is a collection of biographies of female immortals compiled by ★Du Guangting (850–933). In Du's preface, and in several book catalogues from the Song, this collection is recorded as having ten chapters; in addition, the *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Monographs) notes that it contained 109 biographies (van der Loon 1984, 154–55). No current version of *Yongcheng jixian lu* approaches this size in either the number of chapters or biographies. There are two main sources of biographies that derive from this collection in the Taoist Canon: an independent text entitled *Yongcheng jixian lu* (CT 783), containing thirty-seven biographies, and three chapters in the ★*Yunji qiqian* (j. 114–16), containing twenty-eight biographies and Du's preface. Fortunately, very few of the biographies are duplicated in these two sets of selections. In addition, a significant number of biographies found in the “Nüxian” 女仙 (Female Immortals) chapters of the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period) claim to have been excerpted from the *Yongcheng jixian lu*. Together, these three sources

enable us to reconstruct between half and three quarters of the original collection. Although Du Guangting does not indicate the sources of his biographies, it is clear that many of them derive from earlier collections of immortals' lives.

The *Yongcheng jixian lu*, like another of Du's biographical collections, the *Wangshi shenxian zhuan* 王氏神仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals of the Family Name Wang; Yan Yiping 1974, vol. 1), is thematic and programmatic. The focal point of the collection is ★Xiwang mu, the Queen Mother of the West, who rules over Yongcheng, the walled city and who, by Du's time, had become one of the supreme female deities of the ★Shangqing school. In the Tang, she was regarded as the guardian deity of women. Not surprisingly, as far as can be discerned from the surviving biographies, the *Yongcheng jixian lu* stresses the Shangqing heritage over other streams of Taoism.

*Benjamin PENNY*

▣ Cahill 1986b; Cahill 1990; Cahill 1993, passim; Despeux 1990, passim; Verellen 1989, 208

✕ Du Guangting; HAGIOGRAPHY; WOMEN IN TAOISM

## Yongle gong

永樂宮

Palace of Eternal Joy (Ruicheng, Shanxi)

The Yongle gong is a mammoth Taoist temple in southern Shanxi dedicated to the immortal ★Lü Dongbin. The original site, now submerged, was located near the town of Yongle along the northern bank of the Yellow River. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the entire temple complex was moved about 15 km northeast to its present location in Ruicheng 芮城 to make way for a dam construction project.

Whether a historical Lü Dongbin ever lived in Yongle is unclear, but

inscriptions carved on stone and preserved at the Yongle gong inform us that by the end of the tenth century local residents had built a shrine at the reputed site of Lü's former home. This shrine soon became an active cult site, with scholar-officials and commoners from throughout the area gathering there for annual rituals every spring on the date of Lü's birth, the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month. The shrine to Lü Dongbin at Yongle appears to have thrived during the Song dynasty, and by the Jin dynasty was converted into a Taoist *guan* 觀 (abbey). This *guan* suffered greatly during the incessant warfare that raged in the area at the end of the Jin dynasty, so that by the time the ★Quanzhen Taoist master ★Song Defang (1183–1247) visited the site during the 1240s it had fallen into a state of disrepair.

At Song's urging, the Quanzhen patriarch ★Yin Zhiping (1169–1251), along with Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193–1256), made plans for the *guan*'s reconstruction. The site's prestige was enhanced when the Mongol court decreed that the blocks used to print the ★*Xuandu baozang* be stored there. In 1246, the Quanzhen Taoist Pan Dechong 潘德冲 (1191–1256) was appointed to oversee the reconstruction of the *guan* at Yongle. When Li Zhichang visited the site during a pilgrimage in 1252, much of the construction had been completed, and the main halls of the complex were finished in 1262. The new temple complex was renamed the Chunyang wanshou gong 純陽萬壽宮 (Palace of Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Pure Yang), and was also referred to as the Yongle gong.

*Halls and murals.* The spatial arrangement of the Yongle gong was essentially the same as it is today. The entire complex, covering an area of 8,600 square meters, was protected by an outer wall, which had fallen into a state of dis-repair by the time Chinese archaeologists discovered the site during the 1950s. A second wall surrounded the main Taoist halls and the other temples to their west. The main gate, constructed during the early Qing dynasty, provided the only avenue of access to this sacred site. A path nearly eighty meters long led to the Gate of the Ultimateless (Wuji men 無極門), which was completed in the year 1294. The first murals pilgrims and visitors saw, which depicted divine soldiers and generals, were painted on this gate. The northern side of the Gate served as a stage for the performance of operas during festivals held at the Yongle gong.



Fig. 85. Pavilion of the Three Clarities (Sanqing dian 三清殿). Yongle gong (Palace of Eternal Joy).

Pilgrims and visitors then walked eighty meters past trees and two huge stelae dating from 1262 and 1689 to ascend a flight of stairs and enter a more exalted plane of sacred space, the Pavilion of the Three Clarities (Sanqing dian 三清殿; [fig. 85](#)), which was completed by 1262. This was and remains the largest hall of the entire complex, covering an area of over 430 square meters. Statues of the Taoist supreme deities, the Three Clarities (★*sanqing*), were enshrined inside the Pavilion, surrounded by murals depicting 286 members of the Taoist pantheon engaged in an audience ceremony with them. This massive work, known as the *Chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 (Illustrations of the Audience with the [Three] Primes) was completed in 1325. It covers an area of over 402 square meters, the deities featured being as tall as two meters and the murals covering four meters from top to bottom.

After leaving the Pavilion of the Three Clarities, pilgrims and visitors proceeded another forty meters along the elevated walkway to the Pavilion of Pure Yang (Chunyang dian 純陽殿; Chunyang was Lü Dongbin's *daohao* 道號). This hall was also completed by 1262, but built on a much smaller scale, covering just over 300 square meters. A statue of Lü Dongbin was enshrined in this hall, surrounded by a pictorial hagiography depicting his life as a mortal and his deeds after becoming an immortal (see [fig. 56](#)). These murals, entitled *Chunyang dijun shenyou xianhua tu* 純陽帝君神游仙化圖 (The Divine Travels and Immortal Transformations of the Imperial Lord of Pure Yang), were completed in 1358. Most of the fifty-two scenes from Lü Dongbin's hagiography are accompanied by a cartouche (*tiji* 提記) describing the story portrayed. Nearly two-thirds of these cartouches (thirty-seven in all)



are direct quotations from the *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 (Chronicle of the Divine Transformations and Wondrous Powers of the Imperial Lord of Pure Yang; CT 305; trans. Ang 1993), a work written by the southern Taoist master ★Miao Shanshi (fl. 1288–1324).

From the Pavilion of Pure Yang, pilgrims and visitors then walked an additional twenty meters to the Pavilion of Double Yang (Chongyang dian 重陽殿). In this hall were enshrined statues of the Quanzhen founder ★Wang Zhe (1113–70; Wang's *daohao* was Chongyang), as well as six of his seven disciples known as the *qizhen* 七真 (see [table 17](#); ★Sun Bu'er is excluded). A total of forty-nine murals adorn the walls of this hall, and appear to have been completed around 1368. Most of the scenes portray hagiographic works about Wang Zhe now preserved in the Taoist Canon. These murals are highly important sources for the study of Quanzhen beliefs and practices, portraying events such as Lü Dongbin's conversion of Wang Zhe, as well as Wang himself using a painting of a skeleton to instruct his disciples. Unfortunately, these artworks have yet to be systematically studied by either art historians or specialists in Taoist studies.

The main halls described above, while architecturally impressive, only occupied about half of the area of the Yongle gong. To the northwest of the main halls lay two Taoist cloisters (★*daoyuan*) built a few hundred meters south of the tombs of Song Defang and Pan Dechong. The area directly west of the main Taoist halls contained other temples in which both Taoist and popular deities were worshipped, as well as a local academy and a pilgrim's hostel. The most interesting site in the western portion of the Yongle gong is the Shrine to Ancestor Lü (Lüzü ci 呂祖祠), which may be a reconstruction of Lü Dongbin's shrine mentioned above. Almost all these buildings appear in a diagram of the Yongle gong published in the 1754 edition of the *Puzhou fuzhi* 蒲州府志 (Monograph of the Puzhou Prefecture). In addition, the reputed site of Lü Dongbin's tomb lay about 175 meters to the southeast of the Palace. This tomb was excavated by Chinese archaeologists before the Palace was moved to its new home in Ruicheng. Inside they found the skeletons of a man and a woman, which appear to date from the eleventh century.

In many ways, the Yongle gong is not as well documented as many sacred sites throughout China. However, we are fortunate that this site has been researched by archaeologists, historians, and specialists in art history. The

Yongle gong also possesses large numbers of temple inscriptions and its world-famous murals. Su Bai (1962) has transcribed most of the Yongle gong's inscriptions, and some have been reprinted in modern punctuated form in *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 (A Collection of Taoist Epigraphy; Chen Yuan 1988). The Yongle gong's murals have been described in detail by numerous scholars (including Idema 1993; Jing Anning 1993; Mori Yuria 1992a), while others have transcribed the cartouches accompanying them (Wang Chang'an 1963). Several catalogues of the Yongle gong murals are also available, including (at long last) a complete set of all the murals at this site (Jin Weinuo 1997). One brief description of an early twentieth-century festival at the Yongle gong has been published (Li Xianzhou 1983), while folklorists have recorded local stories about Lü Dongbin and the Yongle gong (Luo Shizheng et al. 1987).

*Paul R. KATZ*

▣ Idema 1993; Jin Weinuo 1997; Jing Anning 1993; Katz P. R. 1993; Katz P. R. 1994; Katz P. R. 1997; Katz P. R. 1999; Li Xianzhou 1983; Luo Shizheng et al. 1987; Mori Yuria 1992a; Su Bai 1962; Wang Chang'an 1963

※ Lü Dongbin; Quanzhen; TAOISM AND CHINESE ART; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

*you*

有

Being (Existence)

See ★*wu* and *you* 無 · 有.

*Youlong zhuan*

猶龍專

## Like unto a Dragon

The *Youlong zhuan* (CT 774) is a major Laozi hagiography of the Song dynasty. Its title picks up the description of Laozi given by Confucius, who was stunned into breathless admiration after a meeting with the sage, according to the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian; 63.2139–43; trans. Lau 1982, x-xi). Dated to 1086 and consisting of six *juan*, the hagiography was written by Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔, a Taoist serving at the ★Taiqing gong (Palace of Great Clarity) in Laozi's birthplace of Bozhou 亳州 (present-day Luyi 鹿邑, Henan).

Originally from Pengzhou 蓬州 in Sichuan, Jia was a friend of the statesman and poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, 1037–1101; SB 900–968). He wrote various Taoist works, including the *Chujia chuandu yi* 出家傳度儀 (Liturgies for Recluse Ordination; CT 1236), a technical manual detailing ordination procedures. The highlight of his Taoist career, as recorded in the ★*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (51.16a), was a miracle that happened during one of his lectures, when an old lady who had been blind for thirty-one years suddenly regained her eyesight. In addition, Jia anticipated his death in a dream that showed him endowed with celestial honors and as head of the celestial Taiqing gong.

The *Youlong zhuan* gives an account of the god Laozi in thirty sections, describing all his supernatural abilities and actions. It recounts how Laozi existed prior to all, created the world, descended as the teacher of dynasties, was born supernaturally to serve as an archivist under the Zhou, transmitted the *Daode jing* to ★Yin Xi, emigrated to the west to “convert the barbarians” (*huahu* 化胡; see ★*Huahu jing*), and returned repeatedly to bestow revelations of the Dao and manifest himself in visions and miracles, all the way up to the Tang and Song dynasties.

The date of the *Youlong zhuan* coincides with that of Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019–86) *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government), indicating that the text, within its own tradition, responds to the over-arching historiographic concerns of the Song. Like the Buddhist *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (Comprehensive Chronicle of the Buddhas and Patriarchs; T. 2035) of the year 1250, the *Youlong zhuan* is thus not merely a devout account of Laozi's deeds but, more significantly, also a universal

history of the Dao, proposing a Taoist view of how and why the world came into being and history took its course. Its account makes use of numerous earlier sources. In particular, it relies heavily on ★Du Guangting's hagiographic works and especially on his description of the deity's life in the *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義 (Extended Interpretation of the Emperor's Exegesis of the *Daode jing*; 901; CT 725, j. 2). The *Youlong zhuan* in turn served as a key source and general model for the voluminous ★*Hunyuan shengji* (Saintly Chronicle of Chaotic Origin) a century later.

Livia KOHN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 131–33; Kohn 1998b, passim; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 314

※ Laozi and Laojun; HAGIOGRAPHY

## Yu Daoxian

于道顯

1168–1232; *hao*: Lifeng zi 離峰子 (Master of the Solitary Peak)

Yu Daoxian is a good example of the third generation of ★Quanzhen Taoists, whose impressive ascetic feats, predication, and temple-building ushered in the era of the order's institutionalization. His life is primarily known through a tomb inscription by the famous poet Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257; IC 952–55). As he does in eighteen other similar documents, Yuan expresses his admiration for the selflessness of Quanzhen masters and the efficiency of their organization, but also his misgivings at their transformation of the Confucian fabric of society. Other inscriptions, pertaining to Yu's many disciples, confirm his importance in the early thirteenth-century Quanzhen order. Besides being an eminently influential preacher, Yu was also one of the first Quanzhen masters to be appointed to an official post in the Taoist bureaucracy under the Jin in the 1220s, even before ★Qiu Chuji's religious supremacy under the Mongols prompted the general conversion of Taoist institutions to Quanzhen.

When he had barely reached the age of twenty, Yu became a disciple of ★Liu Chuxuan. After receiving his master's teaching, he devoted himself to a period of harsh asceticism, travelling long distances and begging alms for survival. Whereas most of his fellow adepts adopted enclosed meditation (★*huandu*) as their choice trial, Yu seems to have especially favored deprivation of sleep (*lian shuimo* 鍊睡魔). Until his death, he founded and animated communities in Shandong and Henan. The Taoist Canon contains an anthology of Yu's regulated poems (*shi* 詩) entitled *Lifeng laoren ji* 離峰老人集 (Anthology of the Old Man of the Solitary Peak; CT 1264). Many poems in this work are dedicated to community members, and document his predication among lay followers of the Quanzhen order.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 169–70

※ Liu Chuxuan; Quanzhen

## Yu Yan

俞琰

1258–1314; *zi*: Yuwu 玉吾; *hao*: Quanyang zi 全陽子 (Master of Complete Yang), Linwu yiren 林屋逸人 (The Retired Man of the Forest Cottage), Linwu shanren 林屋山人 (The Mountain Man of the Forest Cottage)

Although Yu Yan, a native of present-day Suzhou, is sometimes said to have developed an interest in ★*neidan* late in life, his *magnum opus*, the *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮 (Clarification of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1005), dates from his mid-twenties. By that time, according to his own statement, the commentary had already undergone three or four drafts. Besides this work, Yu Yan's extant texts in the Taoist Canon include the *Xuanpin zhi men fu* 玄牝之門賦 (Rhapsody on the Gate of the Mysterious

Female; CT 1010), commentaries to the ★*Yinfu jing* (Scripture of the Hidden Accordance; CT 125) and the ★*Qinyuan chun* (Spring in the Garden by the Qin River; CT 136), and a work on the system of the ★*Yijing* entitled *Yiwai biezhuān* 易外別傳 (A Separate Transmission Outside the *Changes*; CT 1009; a title alluding to the Chan phrase, “a separate transmission outside the scriptural teaching,” *jiaowai biezhuān* 教外別傳). A full commentary to the *Yijing* entitled *Zhouyi jishuo* 周易集說 (Collected Explanations of the *Book of Changes*) is also among his extant works (Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 115–16). While the *Jishuo* interprets the *Yijing* based on Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) exegesis, Yu Yan points out in his preface to the *Biezhuān* that this work deals with the application of the system of the *Yijing* to alchemy. The text consists of a series of diagrams illustrating the relation between ★*xiantian* and *houtian* (the states “prior to Heaven” and “subsequent to Heaven”), followed by passages of the *Yijing* that are explicated through quotations from the ★*Zhouyi cantong qi* and other alchemical texts (Zhan Shichuang 1989, 83–96).

The *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* was completed in 1284, the same year Yu Yan signed the preface of the *Biezhuān*. The first printed edition was honored with a preface by the thirty-eighth Celestial Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (?–1316), written in 1310. Most editions also include undated prefaces by Ruan Dengbing 阮登炳 and by the eminent commentator of the *Daode jing*, ★Du Daojian (1237–1318). The textual notes to the commentary were collected by Yu Yan in a final section of his work, which is separately printed in the Taoist Canon as the *Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* 周易參同契釋疑 (Exegesis of Doubtful Points in the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1006).

The *Shiyi* provides important details on the way Yu Yan established his recension. After remarks on mistakes found in the recensions by ★Peng Xiao, ★Chen Xianwei, and other authors, Yu Yan continues by saying that he based his text on a “Shu edition” (*Shu ben* 蜀本), a “Yue edition” (*Yue ben* 越本), a “Ji edition” (*Ji ben* 吉本), and on more than one Tang edition (CT 1006, preface, 3b). Despite the vagueness of these indications, the mention of Tang editions among Yu Yan's sources is especially worthy of note. Several variants noted in the *Shiyi* as coming from the “old text” (*jiuben* 舊本) of the *Cantong qi* correspond to the readings of one or both of the Tang recensions preserved in the Taoist Canon (see under ★*Zhouyi cantong qi*), and Yu Yan's references to them as the “old text” is further proof of the early date of those

recensions. The other variants reported in the *Shiyi* are usually not attributed to specific authors or editions. Comparison of these notes and of Yu Yan's text to the other recensions in the Canon shows, nevertheless, that the *Fahui* is also based on Zhu Xi's 朱熹 recension (the *★Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi*).

The *Fahui*, which is one of the major commentaries to the *Cantong qi*, is firmly rooted in the textual legacy of the Southern and Northern lineages of Song Taoism (i.e., *★Nanzong* and *★Quanzhen*). The works quoted in it most often are those of the Southern lineage, including the *★Wuzhen pian*, *★Xue Daoguang's Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇 (Folios on Returning to Life through the Reverted Elixir; CT 1088), *★Chen Nan's Cuixu pian* 翠虛篇 (Folios of the Master of Emerald Emptiness; CT 1090), and Xiao Tingzhi's 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260–64) *★Jindan dacheng ji* (Anthology on the Great Achievement of the Golden Elixir). The Northern lineage is represented in works by its founder, *★Wang Zhe*, and its patriarchs, including *★Ma Yu* and *★Qiu Chuji*. Besides these, Yu Yan draws from such works as the *Yinfu jing*, the *★Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court), the *★Ruyao jing* (Mirror for Compounding the Medicine), and more than one hundred other texts.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

📖 Xiao Hanming 1997; Zhan Shichuang 1989, 83–96; Zhao Liang 1993

※ *neidan*

*yuanqi*

元氣

Original Pneuma, Original Breath

*Yuanqi* is the pneuma of the *★xiantian* (“prior to Heaven”) ontologic and cosmogonic stage. Said to have spontaneously issued from the Dao or from Non-being (*★wu*), it is described as earlier than or equivalent to Primordial Chaos (*★hundun*), which is devoid of material or other properties but harbors

an “essence” (*★jing*) that is the seed of the generation of the cosmos by the Dao (*Daode jing* 21). Through the stages of the generation of the cosmos, Original Pneuma transforms itself into cosmic pneuma (*★qi*), a process that is equivalent to the generation of Oneness (*★yi*) from the Dao. Oneness then divides itself into Yin and Yang, with the lighter parts of pneuma ascending to become Heaven, and the grosser ones descending to become the Earth, thereby marking the shift to the state known as *★houtian* (“subsequent to Heaven”). Yin and Yang, or Heaven and Earth, finally give birth to the “ten thousand things” (*wanwu* 萬物).

Since each stage is defined as an “alteration” or “transformation” (*bian* 變, *hua* 化) of the previous one, the cosmogonic sequence is primarily a representation of different states of Being and the relations that occur among them. For the same reason, the cosmogonic process also provides a model for “returning” (*★fan*) to the Dao by tracing the individual stages in a reverse sequence. In alchemy, this attainment is represented by the elixir, which is equated with Original Pneuma.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Maspero 1981, 465–68

※ *dianhua*; *jing*, *qi*, *shen*; *xiantian* and *houtian*; COSMOGONY; COSMOLOGY

## *Yuanqi lun*

### 元氣論

#### Treatise on Original Pneuma

The *Yuanqi lun* (YJQQ 56) is an important source for Taoist views of cosmogony and cosmology. The main topics discussed in its seven sections, which are not systematically organized, include the formation of the cosmos, the appearance of human beings and human culture, the establishment of the Way (*dao*), the movement of the heavens, human birth and the differentiation of the sexes, Original Pneuma (*★yuanqi*) in the human body, and self-



cultivation methods. Based on some of the texts it quotes, this work appears to put forth views held by the ★Shangqing school. Citations from the *Sancenge* 三岑歌 (Song of the Three Summits), a work attributed to ★Luo Gongyuan (fl. 712–13), show that it dates from the latter part of the Tang dynasty.

The discussion on the formation of the cosmos draws on the Han “weft texts” (*weishu* 緯書; see ★TAOISM AND THE APOCRYPHA) and other early works. According to this description, the state before original Chaos (★*hundun*) is called Great Non-existence (*taiwu* 太無), and the state at the beginning of original Chaos is called Great Harmony (*taihe* 太和). This becomes the formless and obscure Great Simplicity (*taiyi* 太易), in which Original Pneuma has not yet come forth. Original Pneuma first sprouts at the stage of the Great Beginning (*taichu* 太初); then form (*xing* 形) appears at the stage of the Great Commencement (*taishi* 太始), and matter (*zhi* 質) at the stage of the Great Plainness (*taisu* 太素). Pneuma (★*qi*) is generated with the transformations of matter, at the stage called Great Ultimate (★*taiji*). At first, pneuma is not yet differentiated and exists in the shape of an egg; this is called Great Oneness (★*taiyi*). Then it begins to separate: the clearer pneuma rises to become Heaven and the grosser pneuma descends to become the Earth. The “central harmony” (*zhonghe* 中和) between them is humankind.

The first human being is Pan Gu 盤古. At his death, the various parts of his body become the Sun, the Moon, and the stars in heaven, and the mountains, the rivers, and the plants on earth. At the epoch of the Three Sovereigns (★*sanhuang*), regulations about food and clothing are established and eventually morality develops. The names of father and mother emerge, from which comes the Way (*dao*); from the Way come Yin and Yang, and from Original Pneuma come inner nature and vital force (★*xing* and *ming*). Next the text describes the size of heaven and earth and the movement of the heavens, based on the ★*Huainan zi* and on Zhang Heng's 張衡 (78–139; IC 211–12) *Lingxian* 靈憲 (The Numinous Structure; see under ★COSMOGONY).

A human being receives the Original Pneuma of heaven and earth and is born after ten months. It is also said that an infant is filled with the Original Pneuma; and, based on statements found in the *Huangdi bashiyi nanjing* 黃帝八十一難經 (Scripture of the Eighty-One Difficult Points [in the Inner Scripture] of the Yellow Emperor), that gender differences between men and

women at birth derive from differences in how the pneuma has been received. Finally, the text states that the Original Pneuma in the human body is the “breath in movement between the kidneys,” and emphasizes the role of the three Cinnabar Fields (*★dantian*).

These descriptions form the basis for specific discussions about Taoist practices. Methods described in detail in the *Yuanqi lun* include those of embryonic breathing (*★taixi*) and meditation (*cunsi* 存思; see under *★cun*).

SAKADE Yoshinobu

※ *yuanqi*; COSMOGONY; COSMOLOGY

## Yuanyang zi

元陽子

Master of Original Yang

Yuanyang zi was a Taoist master of the Tang dynasty, but his exact dates are unknown. His name appears in bibliographic sources as the commentator on the *Jinbi qiantong jue* 金碧潛通訣 (Gold and Jasper Instructions for Pervading the Unseen), a work closely related to the *★Zhouyi cantong qi*. Since Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 (1104–62) *Tongzhi* 通志 (Comprehensive Monographs) names the compiler of the *Jinbi qiantong jue* as Yang Canwei 羊參微 (also known as Yang Sanwei 羊三微), Yuanyang zi may have been Yang Canwei of the Tang dynasty.

The Taoist Canon includes five works ascribed to Yuanyang zi, all of which focus on alchemy. The *Yuanyang zi wujia lun* 元陽子五假論 (Essay on the Five Borrowings, by the Master of Original Yang; CT 864) describes the technique of employing the Five Agents (*★wuxing*) to conceal oneself in order to avoid accidents. The *Yuanyang zi jinye ji* 元陽子金液集 (Anthology on the Golden Liquor, by the Master of Original Yang; CT 238) contains a thirty-one-verse poem on the Golden Liquor (*★jinye*), discussing alchemy based on the *Cantong qi* and the *Daode jing*. The *Huandan jinye gezhu* 還丹

金液歌注 (Commentaries on Songs on the Reverted Elixir and the Golden Liquor; CT 239) consists of commentaries on poems about ★*waidan*. The *Huandan ge jue* 還丹歌訣 (Songs and Instructions on the Reverted Elixir; CT 265) is a collection of poems about the Reverted Elixir (★*huandan*). Finally, the *Yinfu jing song* 陰符經頌 (Lauds on the Scripture of the Hidden Accordance; CT 311) contains poems that interpret the ★*Yinfu jing* in alchemical terms.

SAKADE Yoshinobu

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 287–89

※ *waidan*; *neidan*

*yuanyou*

遠遊

“far-off journeys”; ecstatic excursions

The tradition of far-off journeys goes back to the ★*Zhuangzi*, the *Yuanyou* poem of the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Kroll 1996b), and Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如, (ca. 179–117 BCE) *Daren fu* 大人賦 (Rhapsody on the Great Man; trans. Watson 1961, 2: 332–35). These works, however, refer to the ecstatic excursions only in a poetic way, and do not elucidate the techniques that make them possible. Among Taoist texts, the ★*Shangqing* scriptures not only describe celestial wanderings (sometimes in terms very close to those used by Sima Xiangru), but also introduce the relevant practices. Many invocations to gods, details of meditation techniques, and descriptions of places visited by the adept found in *Shangqing* texts were later adopted by other Taoist schools and incorporated into Taoist ritual.

Ecstatic excursions are both an instrument for and an expression of the process of cosmicization of the individual, which is one of the primary aims of Taoism. This process also involves purifications, prayers, use of talismans (★*FU*), and incantations to the gods encountered by the adept. It requires a

knowledge of the esoteric forms and names of the places he visits, which are their “authentic” and original forms (*zhenxing* 真形) and their divine sounds, unveiled by the revelations given by the texts. It also demands the sharp and far-sighted vision characteristic of the saint (*★shengren*), which the adept must acquire.

The adept travels to the distant countries described as dangerous in the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Scripture of Mountains and Seas; fourth/third century BCE?; trans. Mathieu 1983) and the *Chuci*, but replete with blessings according to the Shangqing texts. Instead of monsters, he meets divinities who bestow the nourishments of immortality on him. This theme is related to the eremitic traditions of Taoist adepts, who “enter the mountain” (*rushan* 入山), a place full of dangerous forces, with the help of rites similar to those described in *★Baopu zi* 17 (Ware 1966, 279–300). It also implies the idea, underlying some exorcistic techniques, that the adept has the power to turn evil into good.

In his excursions, the adept visits the sacred mountains, rich in Yang power and the earthly counterparts of the planets, or the legendary isles of immortals (see *★Penglai*). He accompanies the Sun and Moon in their journey across the sky and along each of the stations located in the poles. These are blessed lands, whose trees bear the fruits of immortality and in whose waters the adept purifies himself. Ritually placed at the center of the world, the adept has the divinities of the poles enter his prayer room (*★jingshi*) and his own viscera. Thus the movement is double, both centrifugal and centripetal as it goes from the center to the periphery and back again. The adept's room and body contain the external world, which he crosses from end to end. He also ascends to the Sun and the Moon, where he meets deities who dwell there and bestow tokens of immortality on him. During these practices he feeds on light, so that he glows with light and the whole world becomes luminous “within and without.” He also meditates on the alternating and parallel, opposed and complementary movements of the Moon and Sun, in a type of practice that anticipates those of *★neidan*.

These travels to or with the Moon and Sun relate to the dualism inherent in the universe. They are complementary to the adept's ascent to the Northern Dipper (*★beidou*), the central and celestial pole of the world, which signifies the attainment of the complex unity represented by the Dipper's nine stars.

*Isabelle ROBINET*

▣ Kohn 1993b, 249–79; Kroll 1996b; Robinet 1976; Robinet 1989c; Robinet 1993, 171–225; Robinet 1997b, 35–37 and 138–47; Schafer 1977a, 234–69

※ MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION; SHANGQING

## Yue Zichang

樂子長

Yue Zichang is a transcendent figure named in the ★*Lingbao wufu xu* (Prolegomena to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure) as having received portions of that text, written in “ancient tadpole script,” from Han Zhong 韓終, the Transcendent of Huolin (Huolin xianren 霍林仙人). After having received this document, he is said to have copied it out and added passages detailing the text's history. This tradition places Yue Zichang in the area of Qi 齊 (Shandong), center of Prescription Masters (★*fangshi*) during the Han. His dates are unknown. Yue Zichang is particularly associated with the ingestion of sesame concoctions for prolonging life and gaining transcendence, although ★Ge Hong, in his ★*Baopu zi*, also credits him with an alchemical recipe.

*Stephen R. BOKENKAMP*

▣ Campany 2002, 316–18; Kobayashi Masayoshi 1990, 82–88; Yamada Toshiaki 1987b; Yamada Toshiaki 1989b, 103–7

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

## Yuhuang

玉皇

Jade Sovereign; Jade Emperor

The title Yuhuang is conventionally rendered into English as “Jade Sovereign.” More elaborate titles in common use for this deity are Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 (Jade Sovereign, Highest Emperor), Yuhuang dadi 玉皇大帝 (Jade Sovereign, Great Emperor), and Xuanqiong gaoshang Yuhuang dadi 玄穹高上玉皇大帝 (Jade Sovereign, Great Emperor, Most Exalted in Mysterious Eminence). Among the common people he is more intimately referred to as Tiangong 天公 (Lord of Heaven). The Jade Sovereign is the supreme deity of Chinese popular religion and also occupies a high position in the Taoist pantheon. His “birthday” is celebrated on the ninth day of the first lunar month as a major ritual occasion during the New Year holiday season.

Surprisingly, the Jade Sovereign's eminence is of comparatively recent date. His principal text, the *Yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經 (Collected Scripture on the Deeds of the Jade Sovereign; CT 10, variant version at CT 11) is likely a product of the late Tang or early Song. It is the earliest text devoted solely to the Jade Sovereign and attributes an importance to him not seen in earlier sources. There are some references in pre-Tang Taoist texts to a Jade Sovereign (Yuhuang) or Jade Emperor (Yudi 玉帝). In ★Tao Hongjing's (456–536) ★*Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Perfected Numinous Beings), an overview of the ★Shangqing pantheon, we find a Yuhuang daojun 玉皇道君 (Jade Sovereign, Lord of the Dao) and a Gaoshang Yudi 高上玉帝 (Most Exalted Jade Emperor), both among the ranks of secondary deities resident in the Heaven of Jade Clarity (Yuqing 玉清). By the Tang dynasty, the title Yuhuang had been widely adopted for the popular god of Heaven, and the intensified attention Taoists gave to Yuhuang may perhaps be viewed as an attempt to capitalize on the name recognition of this popular deity by reintegrating it into the Taoist pantheon with a significantly higher rank than before. The nowadays standard Taoist view that crystallized out of conflicting interpretations of his position is that the Jade Sovereign is chief among the Four Sovereigns (*siyu* 四御, namely Yuhuang, Taihuang 太皇, Tianhuang 天皇, and Tuhuang 土皇; Qing Xitai 1994, 3: 18–21), i.e., the highest celestial functionary after the Three Clarities (★*sanqing*). The preeminent position of Yuhuang within both Taoism and popular religion was reinforced when Emperors Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) and Huizong (r. 1100–1125) of the Northern Song dynasty in 1015 and 1116 respectively conferred prestigious

titles on the deity and added it to the roster of official sacrifices.



Fig. 86. The Jade Emperor (Yuhuang) surrounded by the deities of the mountains and the rivers.  
★Yongle gong (Palace of Eternal Joy), Pavilion of the Three Clarities (Sanqing dian 三清殿).

The Jade Sovereign's place close to the apex of the Taoist pantheon is reflected in his considerable importance in Taoist ritual practice. In addition to being venerated in every major ritual of the general liturgy, there has developed a corpus of liturgical texts specifically for his worship (e.g., *Yuhuang youzui xifu baochan* 玉皇宥罪錫福寶懺, CT 193; *Yuhuang manyuan baochan* 玉皇滿願寶懺, CT 194; and *Yuhuang shiqi ciguang dengyi* 玉皇十七慈光燈儀, CT 197). Many Taoist establishments contain shrines to Yuhuang, and the *Yuhuang benxing jijing* is a commonly recited scripture. A number of other scriptures are connected with the Jade Sovereign, most importantly the brief ★*Xinyin jing* (Scripture of the Mind Seal), a ★*neidan* text highly influential in the ★Quanzhen tradition.

To this day, the Jade Sovereign remains an important shared symbol between Taoism and popular religion, even if his popular image, as shaped by oral tradition and vernacular literature, continues to diverge significantly from that of the Taoist orthodoxy.

*Philip CLART*

▣ Chen Jianxian 1994; Fêng 1936; Little 2000b, 170–71; Ma Shutian 1996,

36–46; Maspero 1981, 88–92; Seidel 1987f

※ *Xinyin jing*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

## Yulong wanshou gong

玉隆萬壽宮

Palace of the Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Jade Beneficence (Western Hills)

The Yulong wanshou gong (a title granted in 1116) is the main temple in the Western Hills (★Xishan) near Nanchang (Jiangxi). Its name should be more literally translated as “Palace [where Sacrifices] for the Emperor's Ten-thousand-fold Longevity [are Performed].” It is dedicated to ★Xu Xun, who is said to have risen to heaven there. Under the name Youwei guan 遊帷觀 (Abbey of the Flying Curtain), it was already active in 682 and possibly earlier. Other temples associated with Xu Xun's heroic deeds are found throughout the area, such as the Tiezhu gong 鐵柱宮 (Palace of the Iron Pillar, a pillar that Xu cast to crush local demons) in downtown Nanchang, or the Qingyun pu 青雲譜 (Abbey of Azure Clouds) just south of the city.

The Yulong gong has been known as a very active cult and pilgrimage center since the Tang period. The main pilgrimage season, now as then, is the day of mid-autumn, the date of Xu's flight to heaven. The temple represents one of the best-documented cases of the gradual merging between a local cult and Taoism. Indeed, already during the Tang, this local cult had a Taoist Offering (★*jiao*) as its focus, and Taoist priests helped the cult to gain national legitimacy and prestige by providing the god with a hagiography and scriptures—a process that occurred in similar ways for thousands of other local saints. With Taoists as intermediaries, the Yulong gong has since the Tang continually been host to a great many revelations (morality books or ★*shanshu*, liturgical manuals, hagiographies) dispensed by Xu Xun and other saints, which were printed and stored there. A local Taoist order, the ★Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way), developed with Xu as its patriarch.



Yet the Yulong gong always remained a temple to a local saint before and above being a clerical institution. In modern times, it was a very impressive temple complex, drawing massive official support (Xu is the patron saint of all Jiangxi province), serviced by a community of ★Quanzhen clerics, but above all the center of a thriving lay-dominated cult to Xu, healer, exorcist, and diviner.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Akizuki Kan'ei 1978, 63–86 and passim, Hachiya Kunio 1990, 1: 279–82, 2: 267; Qing Xitai 1994, 4: 253–54; Schipper 1985d

※ Xu Xun; Xishan; TEMPLES AND SHRINES

*yulu*

語錄

recorded sayings

*Yulu*, or “recorded sayings,” are supposedly verbatim records of the oral teaching of a master to his community. The text provides each pronouncement with a context by noting whose and which question prompted it and under what circumstances it took place. Not all such texts are titled *yulu*, however, and not all works called *yulu* contain actual recorded sayings: many dialogic treatises are written in question-and-answer form but are not the proceedings of any actual lecture. Under discussion here are the real *yulu* which, as contextualized records, provide a unique view of the pedagogy of Taoist masters and their role in society.

*Yulu* is not a specifically Taoist genre. The Buddhist and Confucian *yulu* are more numerous and have a longer history (on the Buddhist *yulu*, see Yanagida Seizan 1983 and Berling 1987; for the Confucian *yulu*, see Gardner 1991). The widespread appearance of *yulu* in Taoist literature in the thirteenth century is closely related to the rise of new schools in the twelfth century, which spearheaded the great Taoist renewal of this period. Taoist masters of

the traditional schools did not normally give teachings to assemblies, and this is still the case today among masters of the various ★Zhengyi lineages in Taiwan and continental China. Their ritual activities do not include didactic explanations for lay participants. The new schools of the twelfth century, on the other hand, emphasized predication, and their recorded sayings are the most direct and precise evidence of these activities.

The school that produced the highest number of *yulu* is ★Quanzhen; this is logical considering the importance given by this proselytising order to opening the Taoist tradition to society at large. The participation of lay believers in the discussions is attested to by questions raised by artisans in the recorded sayings of ★Wang Zhijin, the *Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu* 盤山棲雲王真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Real Man Wang Qiyun from Mount Pan; 1247; CT 1059). This work is the most lively of all Quanzhen *yulu* and its language is also the most vernacular, which points to its authenticity. Other Quanzhen *yulu* are those of ★Ma Yu—the *Danyang zhenren zhiyan* 丹陽真人直言 (Straightforward Speeches of the Real Man [Ma] Danyang; ca. 1179; CT 1234) and the *Danyang zhenren yulu* 丹陽真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Real Man [Ma] Danyang; CT 1057)—and of an unknown master Jin 晉, a contemporary of ★Wang Zhe, the *Jin zhenren yulu* 晉真人語錄 (Recorded

Sayings of the Real Man Jin; CT 1056). The second generation of Quanzhen masters was even more prolific in this field, as their audiences grew to numbers undreamed of by the first patriarchs. The two most eminent masters in this regard are \*Yin Zhiping, who left us the *Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu* 清和真人北游語錄 (Recorded Sayings from a Journey to the North, by the Real Man [Yin] Qinghe; 1240; CT 1310), and the above-mentioned Wang Zhijin. These masters gave open lectures (*pushuo* 普說) in various circumstances, and particularly at night in the monasteries, which allowed everyone to attend after the chores of the day.

The tradition of impromptu teachings and their verbatim recording continued beyond the glorious thirteenth century, as shown in the *Suiji yinghua lu* 隨機應化錄 (Account of Induced Conversions According to Circumstances; 1401; CT 1076) of the early Ming Quanzhen master \*He Daoquan. The popularity of such works is also evidenced by an anthology, the *Zhenxian zhizhi yulu* 真仙直指語錄 (Straightforward Directions and Recorded Sayings of Real Men and Immortals; CT 1256), probably compiled in the fourteenth century, which quotes famous utterances by the Seven Real Men (*qizhen* 七真; see [table 17](#)) of the first generation of Quanzhen, along with a longer collection of Yin Zhiping's sayings.

While Quanzhen produced its recorded sayings in the north, the \*Nanzong lineage also used this genre: most remarkable in this regard are \*Bai Yuchan's *Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu* 海瓊白真人語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Real Man Bai of Haiqiong; 1251; CT 1307) and \*Li Daochun's *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 清庵瑩蟾子語錄 (Recorded Sayings of [Li] Qing'an, Master of the Shining Toad; CT 1060). Their teachings appear to be more technical, as they sometimes discuss \**neidan* concepts and quotations in a cryptic mode; such discussions may have been held for a restricted circle of disciples. However, they also exhibit the active participation one would expect from the adepts, and include riddles, non-verbal actions, and other pedagogical techniques developed by the Chan school of Buddhism and later adopted with caution and in moderation by most of the new Taoist schools.

Another new school that noted down and printed the oral teachings of its masters was the \*Jingming dao (Pure and Bright Way). The best part of the \**Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* (Complete Writings of the Pure and Bright [Way of] Loyalty and Filiality; 1327) is composed of the recorded sayings of the patriarch \*Liu Yu (*juan* 3 to 5) and his disciple Huang Yuanji 黃元吉 (1271–1326; *juan* 6). Although they use language more distant from the

vernacular, and are less prone to playing with the audience, the Jingming masters share with their Quanzhen and Nanzong colleagues a strong preference for explanations based on concrete parables developed at great length. Moreover, the way they elucidate basic concepts in purely spiritual terms is similar to Quanzhen pedagogy.

One feature common to these texts is their focus on actual practice, prompted by questions from the audience. Lay and ordained disciples alike ask for detailed instructions on meditation, ethical living and hygiene; they seem more concerned about the place of their own tradition within the landscape of Chinese religion than about doctrinal intricacies. Answering such practical questions, the masters often suggest modeling oneself on those with exemplary conduct. In these schools that flourished at the margins of the traditional ordination system, the role of the revealed scripture (*jing* 經) is not central; on the contrary, the deeds and words of the patriarchs—the immortal ones like \*Lü Dongbin or \*Xu Xun, as well as the human ones like \*Qiu Chuji—are considered to be the clearest expression of the Dao in action. This accounts for the foremost importance of anecdotal narration in these teachings.

The Yuan period was the Golden Age of the Taoist *yulu*. Similar works were written during the Ming and Qing dynasties, but they are often dedicated only to the discussion of technical concepts of *neidan*. Moreover, the later *yulu* did not enjoy a distribution as wide as those of the thirteenth century.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1986c, 161–70; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 137–202

*yulu zhai*

玉錄齋

Jade Register Retreat

The Jade Register Retreat is one of the Three Register Retreats (*sanlu zhai* 三錄齋), along with the Golden Register and Yellow Register Retreats (\**jinlu*

*zhai* and \**huanglu zhai*). Unlike the other two, the Jade Register Retreat is not mentioned in the \**Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials) and is considered to have originated sometime between the Tang and Song dynasties.

According to the thirteenth-century \**Lingbao yujian* (Jade Mirror of the Numinous Treasure; CT 547, j. 1), the Jade Register Retreat ranks second, between the Golden and Yellow Registers Retreats. It is said to “bring peace to the realms of the rulers, dukes, and officials who perform it. . . . It is not something that commoners should perform.” The text of the Jade Register Retreat that is thought to have been used during the Song period is preserved in eight manuals in the Taoist Canon (CT 499 to CT 506).

Gradually, the Jade Register Retreat assumed the meaning of a ritual performed to bring salvation to deceased women. For instance, j. 17 of Zhou Side's 周思得 (1359–1451) *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 (Golden Writings on the Great Achievement of Deliverance by the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity; in \**Zangwai daoshu*) mentions three types of great Offering rites (\**jiao*); the second, the Great Jade Register Retreat of the Middle Prime (*zhongyuan yulu dazhai* 中元玉籙大齋, is performed by the empress, the imperial consorts, and the nobility. Among the rites performed in present-day southern Taiwan, the Jade Register Retreat is only performed to rescue women who have died in childbirth from the hell known as Lake of Blood (*xuehu* 血湖).

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 637–49

※ *huanglu zhai*; *jinlu zhai*; *zhai*

*Yunji qiqian*

雲笈七籤

Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds

Zhang Junfang 張君房 (961?–1042?) compiled the *Yunji qiqian* foremost as a tribute to Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022), under whose mandate the first

Taoist Canon of the Song was completed. In a preface dating to ca. 1028–29, Zhang explains how he came to undertake this anthology as a result of participating in the preparation of the *\*Da Song Tiangong baozang* (Precious Canon of the Celestial Palace of the Great Song). He may very well have exaggerated the degree to which he was involved in compiling the Canon but there is no question that the *Yunji qiqian* itself stands as an invaluable legacy of his assignment to the project. Although he submits the text to Zhenzong for “perusal during the second watch” (*yiye zhi lan* 乙夜之覽), internal evidence reveals that Zhang's prefatory statement of dedication could not have been completed until the reign of Song Renzong (r. 1022–63). The fact that he also offers the anthology to those engaged in the collation of texts suggests that the preface may have taken shape over a period of some twelve years.

Zhang writes that he created this anthology by drawing together exemplars from the “seven components of the bookbag of the clouds” (*yunji qibu zhi ying* 雲笈七部之英). The term *yunji* is a well-established poetic trope for a bagful of Taoist writings and *qibu* alludes to the Three Caverns (*\*sandong*) and Four Supplements (*sifu* 四輔) into which the Canon was organized. Precisely how much of the Canon of 1016 is reflected in this creatively devised and entitled anthology remains an open question. Its value as a resource of writings from diverse schools of Taoist teachings available in the early eleventh century is beyond dispute.

*Editions and indices.* According to his preface, Zhang completed an anthology comprising 120 *juan*. This is the size familiar to most Song bibliographers but all extant editions contain 122 *juan*. The earliest known complete copy is the *Yunji qiqian* in the Ming Canon of 1445 (CT 1032), the so-called *\*Zhengtong daozaog* (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period). Its inconsistent use of alternative graphic forms in honor of Song taboos suggests that the editors of the Canon drew from a combination of editions in print or manuscript form. Such taboos are not observed in fragments of *j.* 95 and 111–13 from the Yuan Canon of 1244, the *\*Xuandu baozang* (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis), held in library collections of Beijing and Taipei. Although these surviving pages generally correspond to the text in the Ming Canon, variant features of note in the latter chapters include the addition of a list of entries at the head of the chapter.

Zhang Xuan 張萱 (1558–1641; DMB 78–80) published a copy of the text

in 1609, adding a table of contents. The Qingzhen guan 清真館 edition Zhang issued is reproduced in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 and the first printing of the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 in 1919–22. Apparently aware of the lacunae marring this edition, the compilers of the second printing of the *Sibu congkan* in 1929 chose to reproduce the superior copy in the Ming Canon. Reproductions of the text or portions of it are also found in a number of collectanea such as the \**Daozang jiyao* (Essentials of the Taoist Canon; vols. 19–20) and \**Daozang jinghua* (Essential Splendors of the Taoist Canon).

A remarkable modern edition of the *Yunji qiqian* published in 1988 by the Qilu shushe 齊魯書社 in Beijing is based on the copy of the text in the *Zhengtong daozaog* issued by Hanfen lou 涵芬樓 in 1923–26. Instead of adopting the pagination introduced by Hanfen lou, with twenty columns per page, this edition reproduces the text as it appears in the Ming Canon, with twenty-five columns per sheet. It is also enhanced by the addition of an analytic table of contents compiled by members of the Linguistic Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing.

Another outstanding modern reissue of the *Yunji qiqian* from the Ming Canon is the collated text edited by Jiang Lisheng 蔣力生. Huaxia chubanshe in Beijing published this punctuated, typeset edition in 1996. It provides invaluable documentation of variant readings from copies of the text contained in the *Siku quanshu*, *Sibu congkan*, collectanea of Taoist writings, and various other sources.

Early analytic studies of the contents of the *Yunji qiqian* by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (1955) and Sun Kekuan (1965) have been superseded by two indices. The two-volume *Index du Yunji qiqian* compiled under the editorship of Kristofer Schipper as a contribution to the “Projet Tao-tsang” (1981) provides a concordance to not only titles but also terms and proper names appearing in the anthology. Following Schipper's “Introduction” is an account by John Lagerwey (1981a) describing the nature of the compilation and principles of organization, with a survey of its contents according to thirty-seven headings. The contents of the *Yunji qiqian* are also systematically analyzed in the index to Taoist texts compiled by Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako (1988).

*Format and contents.* Reference works disagree on the total number of subject headings in the *Yunji qiqian*. The discrepancies are largely due to the inconsistent form and occasional redundancy of headings. The suffix *bu* 部

(section) appearing in the first eight major headings is conspicuously absent from all but one of the succeeding headings. Many headings apply to a single chapter whereas a few encompass as many as a dozen or so chapters. In the latter case, subheadings are commonly recorded after the heading at the beginning of a chapter. The overall presentation of subject matter bears some resemblance to that of the sixth-century *\*Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials).

Zhang Junfang does not rigorously identify the provenance of each text incorporated into the *Yunji qiqian*. Just how much can be considered his own writing remains to be determined. Some lengthy passages in the anthology seem to have been directly copied from its apparent exemplar, the *Wushang biyao*. Many scriptural and narrative texts are recorded in full and merit collation with their independently printed counterparts. A number of passages lacking any indication of title or authorship await identification. The vast majority of texts date before the Song. Among the latest to be included are three prefaces ascribed to Emperor Zhenzong (103.1a–2a, 117.1a–b, 122.16a–b). The contents of the 122 chapters are outlined below according to major headings in the anthology, primarily singling out titles and subjects taken up in related entries elsewhere in this volume.

1. *Daode jing*: prefaces of Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56), *\*Wu Yun* (?–778), and Lu Xisheng 陸希聲 (?–ca. 905).

2. Cosmogony: *\*Kaitian jing*.

3–5. Origin and Transmission of Scriptural Teachings: *\*Lingbao jingmu* dated 437, *Zhenxi [zhuan] 真系[傳]* ([Biographies of the] True Lineage) with preface dated 805 by Li Bo 李渤.

6–20. Scriptural Teachings of the Three Caverns: *\*Basu jing*, *\*Huangting jing*, *\*Yinfu jing*, *\*Shengshen jing*, *Neiguan jing* 內觀經, *\*Dingguan jing*, *\*Laozi zhongjing*.

21–28. Cosmology, Astral Contemplative Procedures, Topography: *\*Shizhou ji*, *Ershiba zhi* 二十八治, with corresponding text in *j. 7* of *\*Sandong zhunang*.

29–36. Gestation and Destiny, Hygiene, Diet, and Physical Therapy: *\*Yangxing yanming lu*, *\*Sheyang zhenzhong fang*.

37–40. Retreat Regulations and Codes of Behavior, with corresponding text in *\*Zhaijie lu*, *\*Laojun shuo yibai bashi jie*.

41–55. Ritual Purification, Visualization and Actualization Procedures: *\*Taidan yinshu*.



- 56–62. Embryonic Breathing: \**Yuanqi lun*, \**Fuqi jingyi lun*, \**Wuchu jing*.  
 63–78. *Jindan* 金丹 (Golden Elixir) Instructions and Pharmaceuticals:  
 \**Taiqing danjing yaojue*.  
 79–80. Talismans and Charts: \**Wuyue zhenxing tu*, \**Ershisi sheng tu*.  
 81–86. \**Gengshen* Purging of the Three Corpses (*sanshi*; see \**sanshi* and  
*jiuchong*) and Release from the Corpse (\**shijie*): with matching citations in  
*Wushang biyao* 87 as well as elsewhere in the *Yunji qiqian*.  
 87–95. Essential Teachings Conveyed by Perfected Beings and  
 Transcendents: \**Shenxian kexue lun*, \**Haikong zhizang jing*, \**Zuowang lun*.  
 96–99. Verse and Song: with matching citations in the \**Zhengao* and other  
 pre-Tang compilations in the Canon.  
 100–102. Chronicles: with matching citations in *Wushang biyao* 15,  
*Xuanyuan benji* 軒轅本紀 (Original Chronicle of Xuanyuan, the Yellow  
 Emperor), or *Xiantian ji* 先天紀 (Chronicle of the Prior Heavenly Realm), by  
 \*Wang Qinruo (962–1025).  
 103–22. Biographies: \**Yisheng baode zhuan*, \**Liexian zhuan*, \**Shenxian*  
*zhuan*, \**Dongxian zhuan*, \**Yongcheng jixian lu*, \**Daojiao lingyan ji*.

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 129–31; Lagerwey 1981a; Lin Fu-shih 1995, 97–100;  
 van der Loon 1984, 31–34, 38, 53–54, and 145; Lu Renlong 1990; Nakajima  
 Ryūzō 1986; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 209–81 (list of texts cited);  
 Schipper 1981; Schipper 1986; Sun Kekuan 1965, 126–43; Yoshioka  
 Yoshitoyo 1955, 422–81; Zhou Shengchun 2000, 90–92

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*yunü*

玉女

jade woman; jade maiden

Although *yunü* is usually translated as “jade woman” or “jade maiden,” this translation may be questionable since the term *yu* (jade) also means

“precious” and “beautiful.” Already at an early date, however, the term *yunü* also designated a female immortal, as it does for instance in Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 (ca. 179–117 BCE) *Daren fu* 大人賦 (Rhapsody on the Great Man; trans. Watson 1961, 2: 332–35).

Taoist scriptures from the Han period onward offer more extensive information. Among the most valuable early sources is the *\*Laozi zhongjing* (Central Scripture of Laozi). While in this work several deities are related to individual loci of the inner body, the Jade Woman of Mysterious Radiance of Great Yin, Taiyin Xuanguang Yunü 太陰玄光玉女), takes the place of the Queen Mother of the West (*\*Xiwang mu*) as the spouse of the King Lord of the East (Dongwang gong 東王公), but at the same time is the companion of several other partners. Her most important function is that of Mother of the Dao (Daomu 道母) or of the immortal Red Infant (*chizi* 赤子) who dwells in the center of the human body.

Later Taoist lore, especially the *\*Shangqing* scriptures, abounds with jade women of all sorts and descriptions, but they are invariably presented as splendid young creatures attired in glittering vestments. The iconography of the late Six Dynasties and Tang periods confirms the belief that the Jade Woman is the same as Lady Li (Li furen 李夫人), the mother of Laozi and therefore of the Dao. In mystical practices, the Jade Woman is also the celestial spouse of the practitioner. This is most extensively described in the *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 明堂元真經訣 (Instructions on the Scripture of the Original Real Man of the Hall of Light; CT 424; see Schafer 1978a).

The term *yunü* is also applied as a generic appellation for young female deities in the popular pantheon, such as the Jade Woman of Mount Tai (Taishan yunü 泰山玉女), also known as *\*Bixia yuanjun*.

Caroline GYSS

Yushi

雨師

Master of Rain

According to the *\*Liexian zhuan* (Biographies of Exemplary Immortals; trans. Kaltenmark 1953, 35), *\*Chisong zi* was the lord of rain during the age

of Shennong 神農, the third of the legendary emperors. He may originally have been a shaman with rainmaking powers. Later he went to Mount \*Kunlun and dwelt within the stone cavern of the Queen Mother of the West (\*Xiwang mu). He ascended and descended the mountain accompanied by wind and rain, and attained immortality together with the daughter of Yandi 炎帝 (the Fiery Emperor). Pinghao 萍號 in the *Tianwen* 天問 (Heavenly Questions) poem of the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu; trans. Hawkes 1985, 122–51) corresponds to the rain deity (“Pinghao causes rain”), as do Xuanming 玄冥, the water deity in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Commentary of Zuo; trans. Legge 1872, 669–72), and Net (*bi* 畢, Hyades), one of the twenty-eight lunar lodges (see \*[xiu](#)). Several stories also connect the Master of Rain with the Count of the Wind (for some examples, see the entry \*Fengbo). By the Ming period, images of Yushi were made in the form of a mature man with a black beard, carrying in his left hand a bowl decorated with a picture of a dragon, and sprinkling water with his right hand.

YOSHIKAWA Tadao

☞ Kaltenmark 1953, 35–36; Maspero 1981, 98–99

✕ TAOISM AND CHINESE MYTHOLOGY

*Yushu jing*

玉樞經

Scripture of the Jade Pivot

This scripture's full title is *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng Puhua tianzun yushu jing* 九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞經 (Scripture of the Jade Pivot of the Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation Whose Sound of Thunder Responds to the Primordials in the Nine Heavens). It seems to have evolved out of the key \*Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) movement scripture, the *Leiting yujing* 雷霆玉經 (Jade Scripture of the Thunderclap; CT 15). The present scripture (*Yushu baojing* 玉樞寶經, CT 16) was likely written several decades after its predecessor, perhaps in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. Its early promoters, if not its first recipients, were tied to the

Shenxiao master \*Bai Yuchan (1194–1229?), who, in addition to \*Lü Dongbin, Zhang Tianjun 張天君, and \*Zhang Jixian, is ascribed with its earliest commentary (*Yushu baojing jizhu*, 玉樞寶經集注, CT 99). It is also associated with “precious penances” (*baochan* 寶懺; CT 195 and CT 196) revealed by the Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation, and with ritual texts.

The scripture and its early commentaries inform us that its central deity, the Celestial Worthy of Universal Transformation (\*Puhua tianzun), is at once the ninth son of the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊), a transformation of the Perfect King of Jade Clarity (Yuqing zhenwang 玉清真王, who revealed the Shenxiao tradition to Wang Huoshi 汪火師), and the exalted transformation of the Great Saint of the Nine Heavens Who is Upright and Luminous (Jiutian zhenming dasheng 九天貞明大聖). The deity's formal title likely emerged in the twelfth century. This central god divulged the scripture to his assistant, the Thunder Officer and Hoary Gentleman (Leishi haoweng 雷師皓翁), who uttered it for humanity.

The core of the scripture consists of two key parts, one dealing with the marvelous aspects of self-cultivation of the Utmost Way (*zhidao* 至道), and the other dealing with the regular patterns of the ebb and flow of vital energies in the cosmos (*qishu* 氣數). Practitioners believed that by reading the scripture or even calling out the name of its revealing deity, they could not only avoid misfortune, but also attain everlasting life. Such powers inherent in this scripture and its presiding divinity, and the self-cultivation practices built upon them, were later elaborated into a cult to commemorate the Thunder Deity's birthday on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth lunar month.

*Lowell SKAR*

▣ Legge 1891, 2: 265–68 (part. trans.)

※ Bai Yuchan; Puhua tianzun; *leifa*; Shenxiao

## *Zangwai daoshu*

### 藏外道書

#### Taoist Texts Outside the Canon

Photographic reproductions (some not easily legible) of 991 texts outside the Taoist Canon appear in this thirty-six-volume publication compiled under the editorship of Hu Daojing 胡道靜 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, vols. 1–20 published in 1992, vols. 21–36 in 1994). Volume one opens with a preface dated 1990 by Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, outlining the history of Taoism and underscoring the need to make texts available for research. The succeeding preface of 1992 by Hu Daojing and coeditors Chen Yaoting 陳耀庭, Duan Wengui 段文桂, and Lin Wanqing 林萬清 traces the history of the Taoist Canon and names some of the outstanding titles selected for publication. The editors state that the intent behind this publication is to preserve textual resources of importance to Chinese culture and to encourage research in the field of Taoist studies, especially in regard to the Ming-Qing period. Indeed, only a small part of the texts predate the Ming, since most known pre-Ming Taoist texts are found in the *Daozang*.

The sources of the texts reproduced here are varied. Some are from other rather easily accessible Taoist or literary collections, such as the *\*Daozang jiyao* (Essentials of the Taoist Canon) and the *Wulin zhanggu congbian* 武林掌故叢編 (General Compilation of Historical Sources on Hangzhou). Others are rare editions or manuscripts held by Taoist or public libraries. In any case, this collection is a major resource for the history of Ming-Qing Taoism, as reflected in the compilation of vols. 3 and 4 of the *Zhongguo daojiao shi* (History of Chinese Taoism; Qing Xitai 1988–95). Several other collections of source material have been published since then, including the thirty-six-volume *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan* 中國道觀志叢刊 (Collectanea of Monographs of Taoist Temples in China; Nanjing: Jiangsu guangling shushe, 2000), which overlaps in part with vols. 19, 20, and 33 of the *Zangwai daoshu*.

Finding a text in *Zangwai daoshu* is made convenient by vol. 36, which is

devoted to a comprehensive concordance to all characters in the 991 titles, modeled on Kristofer Schipper's concordance to *Daozang* titles (Schipper 1975b). A set of general guidelines (*fanli* 凡例) completing the prefatory material discloses plans to publish a *Zangwai daoshu tiyao* 藏外道書提要 (Conspectus of Taoist Texts Outside the Canon), which would be welcome considering the total absence of any literature on the large majority of the 991 texts. It also lists eleven organizational categories: 1. *Guyi daoshu* 古佚道書 (Ancient Lost Books on the Dao), 2. *Jingdian* 經典 (Scriptures), 3. *Jiaoli jiaoyi* 教理教義 (Pedagogy), 4. *Sheyang* 攝養 (Preserving and Nourishing Life), 5. *Jielü shanshu* 戒律善書 (Observances and Morality Books), 6. *Yifan* 儀範 (Ritual Codes), 7. *Zhuanji shenxian* 傳記神仙 (Hagiography), 8. *Gongguan dizhi* 宮觀地志 (Topographies and Temple Records), 9. *Wenyi* 文藝 (Literary Arts), 10. *Mulu* 目錄 (Bibliography), 11. *Qita* 其他 (Other Subjects). The publication itself adopts a modified version of this set of categories, omitting the last two altogether. The rarer or more remarkable components of each volume are listed below.

1. Published transcriptions of \*Mawangdui manuscripts, a Beijing National Library copy of the *Taiqing fenglu jing* 太清風露經 (Scripture of Great Clarity on Wind and Dew) from the \**Xuandu baozang* (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis), and texts from the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Great Compendium of the Yongle Reign Period).

2. Four Ming-Qing commentaries to \**Zhuangzi*.

3. Duplicate of the third title in vol. 2, scriptural commentaries, a vernacular exegesis of the *Daode jing* dated 1920, and illustrated texts from Ming woodcut printings.

4. An 1845 exegesis of the \**Yushu jing* (Scripture of the Jade Pivot) and texts dedicated to \*Guan Yu, \*Wenchang, and \*Zaoshen, including a manuscript dated 1845.

5. A 1915 printing of the \**Fanghu waishi* (The External Secretary of Mount Fanghu) by \*Lu Xixing and anthologies from the legacies of \*Bai Yuchan, the legendary \*Zhang Sanfeng, \*Wu Shouyang, and \*Liu Huayang.

6. *Daoyan neiwai bijue quanshu* 道言內外祕訣全書 (Complete Writings of Secret Instruction on Inner and Outer Taoist Teachings) compiled by \*Peng Haogu between 1597 and 1600, *Daotong dacheng* 道統大成 (Great Achievement of the Taoist Legacy) compiled by Wang Qihuo 王啟瀟 in 1899, and the *Longmen xinfa* 龍門心法 (Core Teachings of Longmen) by

\*Wang Changyue (?–1680).

7. *Xuanzong neidian zhujing zhu* 玄宗內典諸經注 (Commentaries on All Scriptures of the Inner Canon of the Mysterious Lineage) compiled by \*Shao Yizheng in 1460 and the \**Lüzu quanshu* (Complete Writings of Ancestor Lü) compiled by Liu Tishu 劉體恕 in 1741.

8. An 1880 printing of the \**Daoshu shi'er zhong* (Twelve Books on the Dao) compiled by \*Liu Yiming (1734–1821).

9. Beijing library copy of a 1577 manuscript *Zhenxian shangsheng* 真仙上乘 (Higher Vehicle of Perfected Transcendence) and Ming-Qing publications on \**neidan*.

10. *Gu Shuyinlou cangshu* 古書隱樓藏書 (Collection of the Ancient Hidden Pavilion of Books; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 184–86) compiled by \*Min Yide (1748–1836) and *neidan* writings from the *Daozang jiyao* and the *Daoyan wuzhong* 道言五種 (Five Taoist Teachings) compiled during the Kangxi reign period (1662–1722) by Tao Susi 陶素耜 (fl. 1676).

11. *Daoshu shiqi zhong* 道書十七種 (Seventeen Books on the Dao) and *Jiyi zi dingpi daoshu sizhong* 濟一子頂批道書四種 (Four Books on the Dao with the Upper Marginal Critique of Jiyi zi) compiled in 1841 by \*Fu Jinqian (1765–1844).

12. Variant forms of the ledgers of merit and demerit (*gongguo ge* 功過格; Brokaw 1991), commentaries on the \**Taishang ganying pian* (Folios of the Most High on Retribution) and the *Yinzhi wen* 陰鷲文 (Essay on Secret Virtue), and other types of morality books (\**shanshu*) compiled from the Yuan to the Qing.

13–15. *Guangcheng yizhi* 廣成儀制 (Compendium of Guangcheng Liturgy) compiled by Chen Fuhui 陳復慧, a Qianlong (1735–95) Taoist master at Mount Qingcheng (\*Qingcheng shan, Sichuan), with published and manuscript components dating from 1824 to 1914. Guangcheng is a Sichuan ritual tradition with strong \*Quanzhen influence.

16–17. *Shangqing lingbao jidu dacheng jinshu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書 (Golden Writings on the Great Achievement of Deliverance by the Numinous Treasure of Highest Clarity) compiled by Zhou Side 周思得 (1359–1451), codices on \**liandu* rituals of 1552 and 1767 (the latter by \*Lou Jinyuan) published by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo (1959–76, 1: 503–96), and an 1889 manuscript of a \**fendeng* ritual formulary published by Kristofer Schipper (1975c).

18. Ming manuscript and published hagiographic texts including a chronicle of \*Laojun by Xie Shouhao 謝守灝 (1134–1212), an illustrated *Qunxian ji* 群仙集 (Anthology of the Gathered Transcendents) dating to 1483, *Shenyin* 神隱 (Reclusion in Spirit) by \*Zhu Quan (1378–1448), an account of the guardian of Mount Lu (\*Lushan, Jiangxi) by Ye Yiwen 葉義問 (1098–1170), *Guang liexian zhuan* 廣列仙傳 (Expanded Biographies of Exemplary Immortals) compiled in 1583 by Zhang Wenjie 張文介, and the hagiographic anthology *Zhuding yuwen* 鑄鼎餘聞 (Residual Accounts of the Cast Tripod) compiled in 1899 by Yao Fujun 姚福均.

19. Five Ming and Qing topographies of the Luofu Mountains (\*Luofu shan, Guangdong), Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), Mount Lao (\*Laoshan, Shandong), and Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu).

20. Topography of Mount Hua (\*Huashan, Shaanxi) dated 1831, Ming and Qing monographs on sacred sites in the Hangzhou (Zhejiang) region from the *Wulin zhanggu congbian* of the late nineteenth century, a 1927 reprint of an 1832 monograph on the \*Xuanmiao guan (Abbey of Mysterious Wonder) in Suzhou (Jiangsu), the monograph on the Beijing \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) compiled in 1934 by Oyanagi Shigeta, and the *Xiaoyao shan Wanshou gong zhi* 逍遙山萬壽宮志 (Monograph of the Palace of Ten-thousand-fold Longevity at Mount Xiaoyao) dating to 1878.

21. Taoist manuscripts from \*Dunhuang.

22. *Daode jing* and *Zhuangzi* editions, and various scriptures for ritual chanting revealed during the Qing through spirit writing (see \*[fuji](#)).

23. Late Qing manuals for spiritual practice, some revealed through spirit writing, and the works of the *neidan* master Liu Mingrui 劉名瑞 (1839–1931).

24. *Neidan* poetry and treatises of various late imperial spiritual masters, including the Baiyun guan abbot Chen Mingbin 陳明霖 (1854–1935) and the sectarian leader Yuan Zhiqian 袁志謙 (1761–1834); and documents pertaining to the Taoist Association (Daojiao hui 道教會) established in 1911, two Qing *Daozang* bibliographies, and works on cosmography.

25. Many short and rare Ming, Qing, and Republican *neidan* treatises, including texts revealed from \*Lü Dongbin through spirit writing and published by groups of lay devotees, and two \**nüdan* works.

26. More *neidan* and *nüdan* treatises by masters of the late Qing and Republican periods (including \*Zhao Bichen and \*Chen Yingning), and a



manual on magical healing (*zhuyou ke* 祝由科).

27. Other commentaries to the *Ganying pian* and the *Yinzhi wen*, and morality books compiled by a Beijing spirit-writing group of the last decades of the Qing period (on which see Fan Chunwu and Wang Jianchuan 1996).

28. More Qing-period morality books, either compilations of classical tracts or anthologies of revelations obtained by spirit writing, including instructions for spiritual practice, and the remarkable semi-autobiographical essay on morality *Chuyu jiuben* 除欲究本 (Removing Desires and Searching for the Essential) by the Quanzhen monk Dong Qingqi 董清奇 (fl. 1806–13).

29. Various manuscript liturgical manuals, mostly consisting of exorcism rites, regulations for state ritual, and manuals for daily morning and evening services.

30. Printed Qing liturgical manuals: litanies (*chan* 懺) for merit-making, and *liandu* death rituals.

31. Hagiographic works, Quanzhen historiography (including the rare 1847 *Baiyun xianbiao* 白雲仙表 or *Charts of the Immortals of the White Clouds* on the Baiyun guan), lineage records of late Qing and twentieth-century lay Quanzhen groups, and descriptions of popular gods.

32. A Qing hagiographic compendium, and gazetteers on Mount Gezao (\*Gezao shan, Jiangxi), the Luofu Mountains, and Mount Wudang (\*Wudang shan, Hubei).

33. Mountain and temple gazetteers.

34. Poetic anthologies of various Yuan, Ming, and Qing Taoists.

35. A well-known Quanzhen novel, various tracts revealed by spirit writing and a sketchbook for Taoist iconography.

36. A concordance to the titles of texts included in the whole collection.

*Judith M. BOLTZ and Vincent GOOSSAERT*

田 天 Chengyang 1995; You Zi'an 1996

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*zaohua*

造化

## “creation”

The term *zaohua*, which means “to inform (*zao*) and transform (*hua*),” derives from the \**Zhuangzi* and is generally used as a synonym for the cosmos. *Zaohua zhe* 造化者, lit., “what informs and transforms [the world],” is the Dao itself or its \**qi* (pneuma), the energy of life that does not create anything, but, like a potter, gives a determinate and transient form to the indeterminate. The analogy ends here, because the *zaohua zhe* is neither a person nor an entity, and does everything naturally and spontaneously without working. In this sense, *zaohua* is a synonym of \**ziran* (natural or spontaneous).

*Zao* is the coming of something out of nothing (\**wu*), and *hua* is the return to emptiness. *Zao* is movement, and *hua* is quiescence (see \**dong* and *jing*). In other instances, *zao* is said to be the foundation (\**ti*) and the One, *hua* its operation (\**yong*) and the Two, and *zaohua* their interaction or the Three. The “great *zaohua*” (*da zaohua* 大造化), however, neither forms and transforms, nor does it not form and not transform: it is the permanent Dao.

In \**neidan*, the alchemical process aims to go out of or beyond *zaohua* to a different *zaohua*. This points to a dialectic between movement and quiescence, or between the generation of the world by the mind (\**xin*) and the return (\**fan*) to the emptiness of the Dao. The borderline that simultaneously joins and separates these two facets is the “secret of creation,” the infinitesimal first movement of the beginning of life (\**ji*) and of the mind (*xin*), which alchemists wish to “steal” (*dao* 盜) to go beyond *zaohua*.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Robinet 1997b, 8

※ *bianhua*; Dao; *ji*; *ziran*

Zaoshen

※ 竈神

Stove God

The Stove God, also known as King of the Stove (Zaowang 竈王), Lord of the Stove (Zaojun 竈王), or Royal Lord of the Stove (Zao wangye 竈君), is a household god popular throughout China. A paper image of the god, sometimes including depictions of his wife and children, is mounted on the wall near the stove. He is thought to observe the actions of family members, reporting their good or bad deeds to the Jade Sovereign (\*Yuhuang) once a year. On the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of the twelfth lunar month, the family offers food, incense, and prayers to the deity. Candy or sweet rice cakes are often smeared on the god's mouth, to make him speak sweetly in his report to heaven, or to seal his lips to prevent him from reporting at all. The image of the god is then burned, and he rises to heaven with the smoke. A new image is put up when he returns, usually on New Year's Day.

The cult to the Stove God is first referred to in the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects) of Confucius (trans. Legge 1893, 159) and is recognized in the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites; trans. Legge 1885, 1: 269, 272, 277) as a sacrificial cult (*si* 祀). The earliest surviving text dedicated to the Stove God is the *Anzao jing* 安竈經 (Scripture on Pacifying the Stove; CT 69), possibly dating to the Song dynasty (960–1279). This scripture lists prohibitions to be observed in the presence of the stove, and provides instructions for monthly observances.

Theodore A. COOK

▣ Chard 1990; Chard 1995; Maspero 1981, 112–15; Schafer 1975; Stein R. A. 1970; Yang Kun 1944

※ Siming; TAOISM AND POPULAR RELIGION

*zhai*

齋

1. fast; purification; 2. Retreat

The *zhai* ritual is performed to obtain benefits through abstinence and purification. In the early tenth century, according to \*Du Guangting (850–933), there were more than two dozen types of *zhai*. In 1201, Lü Yuansu 呂元素 (fl. 1188–1201) describes ten of them in his *Daomen dingzhi* 道門定制

(Regulations for the Taoist Community; CT 1224):

1. Retreat of the Great One (*Taiyi zhai* 太一齋), performed by the emperor himself
2. Retreat of the Nine Heavens (*jiutian zhai* 九天齋), for the welfare of the nation
3. Golden Register Retreat (*\*jinlu zhai*), for the protection of the emperor and the harmony and peace of the people
4. Jade Register Retreat (*\*yulu zhai*), for the court and the empress
5. Yellow Register Retreat (*\*huanglu zhai*), for the salvation of the dead
6. Retreat of the Luminous Perfected (*mingzhen zhai* 明真齋), for the ancestors
7. Retreat of the Cavernous Abyss (*dongyuan zhai* 洞淵齋), for relieving sickness
8. Retreat of the Nine Shades (*jiuyou zhai* 九幽齋), also for the salvation of the dead
9. Retreat of the Five Refinements (*wulian zhai* 五鍊齋), for removing sin and obtaining salvation
10. Retreat of Orthodox Unity (*zhengyi zhai* 正一齋), for bestowing scriptures and registers

The classification of the *zhai* into ten types actually dates from early times. In his *\*Bianzheng lun* (Essays of Disputation and Correction), the Buddhist priest Falin 法琳 (572–640) criticizes the contemporary Taoist rituals using the expression “Three Registers and Seven Grades” (*sanlu qipin* 三籙七品). The Three Registers were the Golden, Jade, and Yellow Registers, and the Seven Grades were the Retreats of Cavern of Perfection (*dongzhen zhai* 洞真齋), Spontaneity (*ziran zhai* 自然齋), Highest Clarity (*shangqing zhai* 上清齋), Mandating the Teachings (*zhijiao zhai* 指教齋), Mud and Soot (*\*tutan zhai*), Luminous Perfected (*mingzhen zhai*), and Three Primes (*sanyuan zhai* 三元齋). Falin's list is based on pre-Tang sources and probably reflects the status of *zhai* rituals toward the end of the sixth century.

*History.* The term *zhai* originally referred to the purification of body and mind (see *\*xinzhai*). Clothes and food were changed, body and living

quarters were cleansed, and the mind was purified through releasing negative thoughts. The “handwritten documents of the Three Offices” (*sanguan shoushu* 三官手書; see \**sanguan*) of the early Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) were partly based on a similar idea: by reflecting on one's sins, offences resulting in misfortune would be extinguished. The Mud and Soot Retreat, in which penitents undid their hair, smeared mud on their faces, and then lay in the mud, expressed the idea of seeking forgiveness for sins through suffering, and was therefore a further extension of the same notion.

The most basic form of *zhai*, which stems from this concept of redemption, was first codified by \*Lu Xiuqing (406–77). In his *Wugan wen* 五感文 (Text on the Five Commemorations; CT 1278), Lu compiled liturgies for nine kinds of *zhai*: Golden Register, Yellow Register, Luminous Perfected, Three Primes, Eight Nodes (*bajie zhai* 八節齋), Spontaneity, Cavern of Perfection, Three Sovereigns (*sanhuang zhai* 三皇齋), Mandating the Teachings of the Great One (*taiyi zhijiao zhai* 太一指教齋), and Three Primes Mud and Soot (*sanyuan tutan zhai* 三元塗炭齋). In Lu's formulation, the \*Lingbao *zhai* focuses on repentance (\**chanhui*). Its features become clear when the Mud and Soot Retreat is compared to its later form, the Three Primes Mud and Soot Retreat. While the earlier *zhai* is a rite of repentance during which the faithful smear themselves with mud, in Lu's version the rite is performed by a priest with the faithful merely shouldering the financial burden of the ritual. Later Taoist *zhai* are, on the whole, successors of the liturgies compiled by Lu Xiuqing. Their structure was continued by \*Zhang Wanfu (fl. 710–13) and passed down to Du Guangting.

*Structure.* Today the *zhai* are not performed independently but rather during the first half of the \**jiao* (Offering) rituals. In most cases there is a recitation of a litany of repentance, followed by the Presentation of the Memorial (*jinbiao* 進表, see \**baibiao*) to notify the deities of the merits accrued from repentance. After the *zhai* rites have been performed, the *jiao* proper begins, during which the deities are thanked and given offerings.

YAMADA Toshiaki

▣ Bell 1988; Benn 2000; Chen Dacan 1987; Dean 2000; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 452–63; Lagerwey 1981b, 147–70; Lagerwey 1987c; Liu Zhiwan 1983b, 36–43; Matsumoto Kōichi 1983; Robinet 1997b, 166–83; Schipper 1993, 75–76; Tian Chengyang 1990; Yamada Toshiaki 1995b; Yamada

Toshiaki 1999; Zhang Zehong 1996; Zhang Zehong 1999a

※ *huanglu zhai; jiao; jinlu zhai; tutan zhai; xinzhai; yulu zhai*

*Zhaijie lu*

齋戒錄

Register of Retreats and Precepts

The *Zhaijie lu* is a short text in the Taoist Canon (CT 464) that describes the different types and times of \**zhai* in the middle ages. It dates from around the mid-eighth century, as it clearly cites materials from the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Excerpts from the Essential Liturgies and Observances; CT 463), a major ritual text of the early eighth century, and is itself cited in the *Zhiyan zong* 至言總 (Comprehensive Ultimate Words; CT 1033), a collection of Taoist methods of the ninth century. Besides the independent edition in CT 464, it is also included in *j.* 37 of the \**Yunji qiqian*.

The independent edition is divided into ten sections, which specify the *zhai* or periods of increased purification to be held within a given month or year, how these ceremonies can be classified, and how they are further used to celebrate the eight nodal days of the year (*bajie* 八節, namely, equinoxes, solstices, and the first day of each season). The last three sections describe food preparation for the ceremonies, specifics of moral prohibitions, as well as organizational guidelines. The text is comprehensive but does not go into much detail.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Malek 1985; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 181–82 (list of texts cited); Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1967

※ *zhai*

*zhan chilong*

## 斬赤龍

### “beheading the Red Dragon”

Menstrual blood is called Red Dragon (*chilong* 赤龍) in *\*neidan*, by analogy with male semen, which is called White Tiger (*baihu* 白虎). As menstrual blood is the woman's energetic basis, it must be transformed, because the Original Pneuma (*\*yuanqi*) is lost with menstruation as it is in men with ejaculation. In *\*nüdan* (inner alchemy for women), the method consists of progressively reducing the menses so that the menstrual flow first becomes yellow and then disappears altogether. *Zhan chilong* and its synonym *duan chilong* 斷赤龍 refer to this process.

The term *chilong* to designate blood is found in the *\*Baopu zi* (15.267; trans. Ware 1966, 245), but the earliest reference to the “beheading of the Red Dragon” dates from no earlier than 1310. It is found in the *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 (Chronicle of the Divine Transformations and Wondrous Powers of the Imperial Lord of Pure Yang; CT 305, 7.11b–12a; trans. Ang 1993), a work associated with *\*Lü Dongbin*. The text recounts a story about the conversion of a woman called Perfected Guan (Guan zhenren 關真人) between 1241 and 1252: “The Perfected Guan from Siming 四明 (Zhejiang) came from a poor family. When her parents wanted her to marry at the age of seventeen, she fled and took refuge in the depth of the mountains. There she met an old man with blue eyes and thick eyebrows (i.e., Lü Dongbin). He drew a line on Guan's stomach and told her: ‘I have beheaded the red dragon for you. Now you can join the Dao.’”

The method is also called “transmuting blood and returning it to whiteness” (*huaxue guibai* 化血歸白) or “refining the form of Great Yin” (*taiyin lianxing* 太陰鍊形). The return to the color white is explained by the link that exists, according to medical and alchemical conceptions, between maternal milk and menstrual blood. Two days before menstruation, the maternal juices descend to the abdomen, become red and flow out. According to the third precept in the *Xiwang mu nüxiu zhengtu shize* 西王母女修正途十則 (Ten Principles of the Queen Mother of the West on the Correct Path of Female Cultivation), “the supreme precelestial jewel (*xiantian zhibao* 先天至寶), similar to a star or a pearl, is placed in the uterus during puberty. . . . If at this time a girl knows how to maintain a pure nature and protect herself from licentious games, she can stop the flow at the Dark Enclosure (*youbi* 幽閉,

the pubis). . . . This thing achieves Original Unity (*yuanyi* 元一) and neither transforms itself into Red Pearls (*chizhu* 赤珠) nor into Celestial Waters (*tiangui* 天癸, the first menses). However, in a common woman . . . it becomes hot like fire, forces the gates and goes down, breaking the doors and flowing out” (see also Wile 1992, 194). The nineteenth-century *Taiyin lianxing fa* 太陰鍊形法 (Method of Refining the Form of Great Yin) says: “When Real Yang is blooming, the menses naturally end and the breasts retract like those of a man: this is called ‘beheading of the Red Dragon.’”

“Beheading the Red Dragon” takes place during the first of the three stages in the Ming and Qing system of *neidan* practice. In men, this stage consists of refining essence to transmute it into pneuma. In women, it consists of “refining the form of Great Yin,” which is achieved by developing inner concentration and by a controlled stimulation of sexual energy, especially through the massage of breasts.

Catherine DESPEUX

▣ Despeux 1990, 243–68; Furth 1999, 70–93

※ *nüdan*

Zhang Boduan

張伯端

987?–1082; *zi*: Pingshu 平叔; *hao*: Ziyang zhenren 紫陽真人 (Real Man of Purple Yang); also known as Zhang Yongcheng 張用成

A native of Tiantai 天臺 (Zhejiang), Zhang Boduan is considered the first patriarch of the Southern Lineage (\*Nanzong) of \**neidan*. His work, the \**Wuzhen pian* (Folios on Awakening to Perfection), is one of the foremost alchemical texts since the Northern Song period. The main documents on his life are his preface and postface to the *Wuzhen pian*, dated 1075 and 1078, respectively, and three other sources: Lu Sicheng's 陸思誠 “*Wuzhen pian ji*” 悟真篇記 (Note on the *Wuzhen pian*; 1161/1173), found at the beginning of the *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 悟真篇三注 (Three Commentaries to the *Wuzhen*



*pian*; CT 142); \*Weng Baoguang's "Zhang zhenren benmo" 張真人本末 (The Story of the Perfected Zhang), in the *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sansheng biyao* 悟真直指詳說三乘祕要 (Straightforward Directions and Detailed Explanations on the *Wuzhen pian* and the Secret Essentials of the Three Vehicles; CT 143, 15a–16b); and the biography in the \**Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (49.7b–11a). The last work states that Zhang lived from 984 to 1082. Most scholars, however, accept the dates 987–1082 given in the *Sansheng biyao*.

According to these sources, Zhang Boduan, a scholar and *jinshi*, began his career as a civil servant. Shortly afterward, having committed an error while performing his duties, he was banished to Lingnan 嶺南 (the Guangdong/Guangxi region) and placed in charge of the army register. During the Zhiping reign period (1064–67), Zhang served as advisor to Lu Shen 陸誥 (1022–70), an army commander in Guilin 桂林 (Guangxi), and followed Lu when he was transferred to Chengdu (Sichuan). There, in 1069, Zhang received alchemical teachings from a Perfected (or Real Man, \**zhenren*). After Lu's death in 1069, Zhang was sent to Qinlong 秦隴 (the Gansu/Shaanxi region) where he served Ma Mo 馬默 (fl. 1064–1100). When Ma was recalled to the capital, Zhang gave him the *Wuzhen pian* and asked him to circulate it. Zhang later accompanied Ma to Yunnan, and died there on April 15, 1082. After he was cremated, his disciples found an unusual amount of relics (*sheli* 舍利) in his ashes. In 1196, a bridge in Tiantai was renamed *Wuzhen qiao* 悟真橋 (Bridge of the Awakening to Perfection), and the following year Zhang's house was declared a monument, later becoming the site of a shrine in his honor.

Besides the *Wuzhen pian*, Zhang Boduan is credited with the authorship of three other works:

1. *Wuzhen pian shiyi* 悟真篇拾遺 (Supplement to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 144; see Wong Shiu Hon 1978b).
2. *Yuqing jinsi Qinghua biwen jinbao neilian danjue* 玉清金笥青華祕文金寶內鍊丹訣 (Alchemical Instructions on the Inner Refinement of the Golden Treasure, a Secret Text from the Golden Box of the Jade Clarity Transmitted by the Immortal of Green Florescence; CT 240), actually written by a disciple in the Luofu Mountains (\**Luofu shan*, Guangdong; Chen Bing 1985, 36).

3. \**Jindan sibi zi* (Four Hundred Words on the Golden Elixir), ascribed to Zhang but likely by \*Bai Yuchan.

Zhang Boduan's basic premise was the unity of the Three Teachings, i.e., Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Although he advocated the joint cultivation (\**shuangxiu*) of one's inner nature and vital force (\**xing* and *ming*), his *neidan* practice begins with basic techniques to strengthen the vital force and ends with Chan methods of meditation and sudden enlightenment. In his later years, in fact, Zhang seems to have turned to Chan Buddhism, and his *Wuzhen pian shiyi* is a miscellanea dealing with Chan topics. The preface to the *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 悟真篇注釋 (Commentary and Exegesis to the *Wuzhen pian*; CT 145) even says that Zhang preached Buddhist doctrines before his death, with a disciple named Liu Fengzhen 劉奉真. In the postface to the *Wuzhen pian*, Zhang indeed presents himself as a follower of the Sixth Patriarch of Chan Buddhism, Huineng 慧能 (638–713).

The Perfected whom Zhang Boduan claims to have met in 1069 is never mentioned by name, but Weng Baoguang states that it was the deity Qingcheng zhangren 青城丈人 (Great Man of Mount Qingcheng; *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 悟真篇注釋, CT 145, preface, 1a). A later tradition followed by Bai Yuchan and his disciples identifies this deity as \*Liu Haichan. Zhang's teachings were transmitted directly to \*Shi Tai and indirectly to Liu Yongnian 劉永年 (fl. 1138–68), who was Weng Baoguang's master. Zhang himself did not found a school, but was acknowledged as the first patriarch of Nanzong in the thirteenth century.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 173–74; Davis and Chao 1939; Hussein 1976; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 304–6, 497

※ *Jindan sibi zi*; *Wuzhen pian*; *neidan*; Nanzong

Zhang Daoling

張道陵

second century; *zi*: Gongqi 公祺 *or* Fuhan 輔漢

also known as Zhang Ling 張陵

Widely revered as the founder of Taoist religion, Zhang Daoling was a seminal figure closely linked to the origin of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao). Traditional historical accounts say that he was born in Feng 豐, in the kingdom of Pei 沛 (Jiangsu) and journeyed to Sichuan, perhaps during Han Shundi's reign (125–144 CE), in search of the way of transcendence. \*Ge Hong's fourth-century \**Shenxian zhuan* portrays him as an alchemist and former student at the imperial academy, but there is no corroborating evidence for this within early Taoist history and it seems likely that this is yet another example of Ge transforming everyone into an advocate of his own practice.

The signal event in Zhang Daoling's life occurred according to tradition in 142, atop a mountain variously given as \*Heming shan (Crane-call Mountain) or Huming shan 鶴鳴山 (Swan-call Mountain) and usually placed to the west of Chengdu. Although standard histories say merely that he fabricated Taoist (or talismanic) texts there, Taoist sources claim that he was visited by a divine figure, the Supreme Lord Lao (\*Laojun), accompanied by a large retinue. This deity bestowed upon Zhang the aforementioned scriptures, the title of Celestial Master (\**tianshi*), and the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity (*zhengyi mengwei* 正一盟威). This marked the inception of the Way of the Celestial Masters or Way of Orthodox Unity (\*Zhengyi), which was transmitted to his son \*Zhang Heng, and through him to Daoling's grandson, \*Zhang Lu. It is uncertain what elements of church organization and doctrine attested during Zhang Lu's life date to Zhang Daoling's period, but some sacred texts (Ge Hong records twenty-four scrolls and an inscription from 173 CE mentions twelve), the covenant, and the title of Celestial Master all seem to be part of the founding revelation.



Fig. 87. Painted scroll of Zhang Daoling. The scroll is owned by a Taoist master in Chingshui 清水, Taichung, Taiwan. Photograph by Julian Pas.

Legends gathered quickly about the figure of Zhang Daoling. One of the earliest, known already to the painter Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (392–467), concerned two disciples, Wang Chang 王長 and Zhao Sheng 趙昇, whom Zhang Daoling tested on Mount Yuntai (Yuntai shan 雲臺山).

Zhang Daoling has a special place within the history of Taoism. He is frequently acknowledged in rituals as the patriarch of the liturgical tradition, and he is often represented among the set of paintings that constitute a priest's sacred arena or *tan* 壇. He is typically portrayed carrying a sword and riding a tiger, attributes associated with his exorcistic powers.

*Terry KLEEMAN*

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 34 and *passim*; Campany 2002, 349–56; Giles L. 1948, 60–64; Liu Ts'un-yan 2005; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 39–46; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 156–62; Robinet 1987c

※ Tianshi dao; Wudoumi dao; Zhengyi

Zhang Enpu

張恩溥

1904–69; *zi*: Heqin 鶴琴; *hao*: Ruiling 瑞齡  
(Auspicious Longevity)

The first son of the sixty-second Celestial Master \*Zhang Yuanxu (1862–1924) and Lady Wan 萬氏 (1874–1934), Zhang Enpu served as the Celestial Master of the sixty-third generation for a total of forty-five years, from 1924 until his demise. When Communist troops occupied the Celestial Master headquarters at Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi) in 1931, Zhang took refuge in Shanghai where he continued his ritual practices until he was able to return home in 1936. Ten years later he went back to Shanghai and established the Shanghai Taoist Association (Shanghai daojiao hui 上海道教會) to serve as the center for an ambitious program of research and education.

In April 1949 Zhang vacated his home at Mount Longhu and settled in Taipei, Taiwan. Supported by a pension from the Ministry of the Interior, he took up residence at the Juexiu gong 覺修宮 (Palace of Awakened Cultivation), a \*Quanzhen abbey in Taipei. Zhang sought and eventually gained permission in 1950 to set up the Taiwan Taoist Association (Taiwan sheng daojiao hui 臺灣省道教會) so as to revive Taoist practice in consonance with the \*Zhengyi teachings of the newly relocated Celestial Master lineage. Seven years later a Taoist Devotees Association (Daojiao jushi hui 道教居士會) and Taoist Great Ritual Masters Association (Daojiao da fashi hui 道教大法師會) emerged to encourage teaching and publication, registration of temples, and proper training of all personnel. Chief among the publications that Zhang helped to achieve is the 1962 reprinting of the Ming Taoist Canon (see \*[Zhengtong daoze](#)). He spoke of this goal during an interview with the American scholar Holmes Welch, whose published account records the date of Zhang's birth as 1894, the year of the horse, rather than the year of the dragon (1904) generally given in Chinese accounts of the patriarchy.

In 1964 Zhang carried his mission to the Malay Peninsula. Four years later he was elected to serve as director of the Taoist Association of the Republic of China (Zhonghua minguo daojiao hui 中華民國道教會), which superseded the Taiwan Taoist Association. Shortly after a visit to the Philippines Zhang perished at home in Taipei and the position of Celestial Master of the sixty-fourth generation fell to his nephew Zhang Yuanxian 張源先.

▣ Burkhardt 1953–58, 1: 132–35; Welch 1957–58; Zhang Jiyu 1990, 214–15; Zhang Yuanxian 1977, 103–5

※ Zhengyi

## Zhang Guolao

### 張果老

Zhang Guolao, one of the Eight Immortals (*\*baxian*), is actually Zhang Guo 張果, a Tang dynasty *\*fangshi* (master of methods). Since his age was considered uncountable, he was given the appellation Lao 老 (Elder), and so was known as Zhang Guolao (Zhang Guo, the Elder). His biography appears in the *Jiu Tangshu* (Old History of the Tang) and the *Xin Tangshu* (New History of the Tang). According to it, Zhang Guo, while living as a hermit on Mount Zhongtiao (Zhongtiao shan 中條山) in Hengzhou 恆州 (Hebei), was invited to court by the Empress Wu (r. 690–705), but did not obey the summons, pretending to be dead. Later, in the time of Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56), he was invited to court at the eastern capital of Luoyang. Xuanzong is said to have questioned him closely on everything from political issues to the drugs of immortality.

When Xuanzong had the *fangshi* Xing Hepu 邢和璞, skilled at calculating people's life spans, calculate Zhang Guo's, Zhang told him: "I was born in the *bingzi* 丙子 year of Emperor Yao 堯 and acted as a palace attendant to him." According to traditional chronology, this placed his birth around 2100 BCE. He was also asked to pit his skills against the *fangshi* Shi Yeguang 師夜光, who was famed for his clairvoyance, but Shi was not able even to see his form. Then Xuanzong told a eunuch, a famous strong man, that he had heard that a person who could drink an extract of *jin* 堇 (monkshood or wolfsbane, an herb containing a deadly poison) without writhing in agony was a true adept, and had Zhang Guo do so in the time of greatest cold. Zhang Guo drank down three cups of it, and only became gloriously drunk. "Bad wine, isn't it!" he exclaimed, and fell asleep. On waking, when he looked in a mirror, Zhang Guo found that his teeth had been completely burned. He

ordered an attendant to fetch an iron staff, and proceeded to knock his teeth out. These he placed in his sash. Then he rubbed his gums with some ointment he had with him, and as he slept a little while later, new white teeth sprang forth. This persuaded Xuanzong that Zhang Guo truly was a divine person. He wanted to give his sister Yuzhen Gongzhu 玉真公主 to Zhang as a wife, but Zhang refused and returned to Hengzhou. At this time, the emperor bestowed on him the name of Tongxuan xiansheng 通玄先生 (Elder of Pervading Mystery). Nothing is known of his later whereabouts, but Xuanzong built a Taoist monastery at Puwu 蒲吾 (Hebei), where Zhang Guo had his hermitage, and called it Qixia guan 棲霞觀 (Abbey of Dwelling in Mist). It is said that Zhang Guo wrote a work called *Yinfu jing xuanjie* 陰符經玄解 (Arcane Explication of the *Yinfu jing*). This may perhaps be the “Yellow Emperor's \**Yinfu jing* in one scroll” annotated by Zhang Guo and included in the Taoist Canon (CT 112, and YJQQ 15.1a–11a).

Both Standard Histories of the Tang dynasty contain much the same material as that given above, but in the story quoted in the “Divine Immortals” (“Shenxian” 神仙) section of the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Xingguo Reign Period; 978), Zhang Guo's mystical power is accentuated. For example, when the Taoist \*Ye Fashan is asked by Xuanzong about Zhang Guo's real identity, he replies, “He is the essence of primordial Chaos, from the time when Heaven and Earth first split apart.” Having revealed the secret, he is punished and falls dead, blood pouring from him. Later, when Zhang Guo's coffin is opened after his death, his body is found to have disappeared. The fact that there were no remains in the grave was believed to indicate that Zhang Guo had obtained “release from the corpse” (\**shijie*) and become immortal.

YOSHIKAWA Tadao

📖 Little 2000b, 328–29; see also bibliography for the entry \**baxian*

※ *baxian*; HAGIOGRAPHY

Zhang Guoxiang

張國祥

?–1611; *zi*: Wenzheng 文徵; *hao*: Xinzhan 心湛 (Mindful)

The loss of his son led the forty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Yongxu 張永緒 (?–1566) to designate his nephew Zhang Guoxiang as his successor. The Longqing Emperor (r. 1567–72), however, did not look favorably on the \*Zhengyi patriarchy and stripped Zhang of his title, demoting him to a Fifth Rank post as Supervisor of the \*Shangqing gong (Palace of Highest Clarity) at Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). In 1577 the Wanli Emperor (r. 1573–1620) renewed imperial recognition of Zhang as Celestial Master of the fiftieth generation. When Zhang presented himself at the capital of Nanjing (Jiangsu), the emperor ordered a restoration of the Chaotian gong 朝天宮 (Palace in Homage to Heaven) to serve as Zhang's residence and personally inscribed a tablet identifying it as the Longhu shan zhenren fu 龍虎山真人府 (Bureau of the Perfected of Mount Longhu). He also arranged Zhang's betrothal to the daughter of his Commandant-escort Xie Gongzhao 謝公詔. Zhang remained in the capital for thirteen years.

In 1607 the emperor ordered Zhang to oversee the compilation and publication of a supplement to the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong reign period, which came to be known as the \**Wanli xu daoze* (Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Period). When a flood in 1609 left the Shangqing gong in ruins, Zhang appealed to the emperor for funds to repair the abbey but did not survive to see its full restoration. The emperor honored him with the construction of the Mingyang guan 明陽觀 (Abbey of Luminous Yang) at his burial site in Jinxi 金溪 (Jiangxi), southwest of Mount Longhu.

The 1607 supplement to the Taoist Canon includes a copy of the \**Han tianshi shijia* (Lineage of the Han Celestial Master) by \*Zhang Zhengchang, with eight additional biographies supplied by Zhang Guoxiang. He is also credited with the compilation of a *Longhu shanzhi* 龍虎山志 (Monograph of Mount Longhu) in 3 *juan*.

Judith M. BOLTZ

■ Oyanagi Shigeta 1934, 347–48; Zhang Jiyu 1990, 208–9; Zhang Yuanxian 1977, 90–91

※ *Han tianshi shijia*; *Wanli xu daoze*; Zhengyi



## Zhang Heng

張衡

?–179; *zi*: Lingzhen 靈真

Zhang Heng is traditionally regarded as the second leader of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) and early church documents refer to him as the “inheriting master” (*sishi* 嗣師). Little else is known about him. Early historical sources merely state that he acceded to leadership of the movement on \*Zhang Daoling's death and passed his position on to his son, \*Zhang Lu. There are no dates for his birth, but a sixth-century source says that he became leader on the seventh day of the first lunar month of 178. He is said to have attained the Dao and ascended to Heaven the following year. Zhang Lu's mother, presumably Heng's wife, was famous for her magical powers and youthful appearance and was patronized by Liu Yan 劉焉, Governor of Yizhou 益州 (Sichuan). Commentators as early as Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372–451) have speculated that the Zhang Xiu 張脩 mentioned as a local religious leader in Sichuan at this time might in fact be an error for Heng.

*Terry KLEEMAN*

▣ Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 39–46

※ Tianshi dao; Wudoumi dao

## Zhang Jixian

張繼先

1092–1126; *zi*: Jiawen 嘉聞, Daozheng 道正, Zunzheng 遵正; *hao*: Xiaoran zi 儵然子 (Master of Swiftness), Xujing xiansheng 虛靖先生 (Elder of Empty Quiescence)

Zhang Jixian succeeded his uncle, the twenty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Jingduan 張景端 (1049?–1100?), as \*Zhengyi patriarch of the thirtieth

generation. His father Zhang Churen 張處仁 served as magistrate of Linchuan 臨川 (Jiangxi). He is said to have remained mute until the age of five when the call of a rooster suddenly evoked from his lips a remarkably insightful quatrain. Four years later, at the age of nine, Zhang inherited the mantle of the Celestial Master patriarchy.

Accounts of Zhang's exploits as exorcist, rain-maker, and queller of flood demons are featured in a range of narrative texts, the best known of which is the opening episode of the *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Water Margin). Two biographic resources in the Taoist Canon clearly drew on a comparable body of lore. A concise chronicle is recorded in the *\*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* (19.11b–13a). Ostensibly verbatim transcriptions of Zhang's conversations with Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125) are included in the corresponding entry of the *\*Han tianshi shijia* (3.1a–6b).

Zhang Jixian reportedly answered the summons of Huizong four times. The emperor is said to have been so impressed with Zhang's success in ritual practice and his pedagogical approach that he honored him in 1105 with the title Xujing xiansheng (Elder of Empty Quiescence). Zhang resisted Huizong's effort to retain him in the capital. When he disclosed the need to restore the Celestial Master compound at Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), the emperor authorized a massive reconstruction and enlargement of the estate. Huizong's short-lived successor Song Qinzong (r. 1125–27) issued an urgent call for Zhang to return to Bianliang 汴梁 (Henan). Before he could comply, Zhang expired at the Tianqing guan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Blessings) in Sizhou 泗州 (Anhui) on the very day that the capital fell to the Jurchens. Numerous stories evolved around reputed sightings of Zhang throughout the countryside thereafter.

The Taoist Canon contains two collections of writings traced to Zhang Jixian. A sequence of heptasyllabic quatrains is printed without prefatory matter as the *Mingzhen powang zhangsong* 明真破妄章頌 (Exemplary Lauds on Illuminating Perfection and Smashing Falsity; CT 979). The late fourteenth-century *\*Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual, j. 71) includes a variant form of this text under the title *Xujing tianshi powang zhang* 虛靖天師破妄章 (Stanzas by the Celestial Master of Empty Quiescence on Smashing Falsity). The *Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Generation Celestial Master, Perfected Lord of Empty Quiescence; CT 1249), compiled by \*Zhang Yuchu, brings together a diverse body of both verse and prose.

According to his preface of 1395, the forty-third Celestial Master prepared this text for publication after searching through temple libraries for the lost works of his ancestor. High-ranking officials are named as the recipients of a number of Zhang Jixian's communications. Among the best known compositions is the “Dadao ge” 大道歌 (Song of the Great Dao) that, according to Zhang Yuchu's hagiographic account, the thirtieth Celestial Master submitted to Song Huizong. Closing the anthology is Zhang Jixian's farewell address, also recorded in the Celestial Master hagiography. The authenticity of writings ascribed to Zhang in these two anthologies remains in some cases open to question. Additional texts in his name appear in various other compilations within the Taoist Canon.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 63, 116, 189, and 194–95; Kubo Noritada 1987a; Sun Kekuan 1968, 33–40; Zhang Yuanxian 1977, 71–73

※ Zhengyi

Zhang Keda

張可大

1218–63; *zi*: Zixian 子賢; *hao*: Guanmiao xiansheng 觀妙先生  
(Elder Who Observes the Marvelous)

Named the thirty-fifth Celestial Master in 1230 after more than two decades of unclear leadership in the \*Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) headquarters on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), Zhang Keda held tenure at a time of both great confusion and vitality in the centers of Taoist authority. After Zhang Jingyuan 張景淵, the heir apparent of the thirty-fourth Celestial Master Zhang Qingxian 張慶先 (?–1209?, Keda's uncle), passed away prematurely, Zhang Boyu 張伯瑀 (Keda's grandfather) took over the affairs of Celestial Master, but his early death without a ready heir apparent put the instructional and ritual duties of Celestial Master in the hands of Zhang Tianlin 張天麟 (?–1230, Keda's father). When Tianlin passed away in 1230

under the reign of Song Lizong (r. 1224–64), Zhang Keda, just twelve years old, became the thirty-fifth Celestial Master.

During Keda's tenure, many ritual masters reportedly came to his mountain to receive their official Taoist registers (\*LU). His spiritual pedigree was helpful in getting him summoned to Lizong's court in 1236, 1238, and 1239 to deal with various disruptions in the natural order. In 1239 he received the title Elder Who Observes the Marvelous (Guanmiao xiansheng). In 1254 the Mongol court summoned him again, giving him control over the three main Taoist initiation centers (Longhu shan, \*Maoshan, and \*Gezao shan) and Taoist abbeys in the Southern Song, and put him in charge of the Palace of the Dragon's Soaring (Longxiang gong 龍翔宮). He oversaw the rebuilding of the Abbey of Perfect Virtuousness (Zhenyi guan 真懿觀) on Mount Longhu, and extended its land holdings, while also succeeding in removing them from the tax rolls. In the fourth lunar month of 1262 he handed over his ceremonial sword and seal to his second son, \*Zhang Zongyan (1244–91), who became the thirty-sixth Celestial Master, before passing away.

*Lowell SKAR*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 58

※ Zhengyi

Zhang Liang

張良

?–187 BCE; *zi*: Zifang 子房

Zhang Liang was the chief military strategist and political adviser to Liu Bang 劉邦 (?–195 BCE), the first emperor of the Han, in the campaigns that established that dynasty. Zhang's extraordinary ability to predict the right course of action seems to have derived from the teachings of the *Taigong bingfa* 太公兵法 (The Grand Duke's Art of War), a book bestowed on him by an old man in plain clothes who turned out to be Sir Yellow Stone (Huangshi gong 黃石公) after their celebrated encounter. Zhang's success in advising

Liu Bang is detailed in his biography in *Shiji* 55 (trans. Watson 1961, 134–51). For services rendered he was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Liu (Liu hou 留侯). In this otherwise standard narrative of diplomacy and war, Zhang is credited with practices and attitudes that appear unmistakably Taoist. When ill, he is said to have practiced \**daoyin* exercises and to have given up eating grain. Later, he retired from public life, expressing the desire to “roam with \*Chisong zi.” In retirement he studied abstaining from grains (\**bigu*), *daoyin*, and lightening the body (*qingshen* 輕身). In later Taoist tradition, he is said to have been the eighth (or sometimes sixth or ninth) generation ancestor of \*Zhang Daoling.

*Benjamin PENNY*

📖 Bauer 1956

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

Zhang Liusun

張留孫

1248–1322; *zi*: Shihan 師漢

Zhang Liusun is one of the few court Taoists who managed to influence the religious policy of the Chinese empire while keeping his reputation untarnished. Born into a family remotely related to the Celestial Masters, Zhang was educated on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), a hereditary calling for his clan. He was only twenty-eight when, in 1276, he accompanied the thirty-sixth Celestial Master, \*Zhang Zongyan (1244–91), to an audience with the Mongol emperor Khubilai khan (Shizu, r. 1260–1294). At that time Khubilai had entered Jiangnan 江南 in a campaign to annihilate the Song empire, which would take three more years to complete. Zhang Zongyan was invited to stay at court, like the patriarchs of other religious orders recognized and granted autonomy by the Mongols. However, Zhang Zongyan disliked the climate of Yanjing (Beijing) and returned to Mount Longhu, leaving Liusun as his delegate. The imperial family took a strong liking to the young

Taoist, and after the latter cured Khubilai's mother, he rose to a position of prestige that he was never to abandon. Several miracles performed for Khubilai and the next four emperors augmented his aura and helped to maintain his political advisory role. He was proposed as a candidate to become Celestial Master, but declined firmly; he was then made the first patriarch of a newly created institution, the \*Xuanjiao.

Zhang's influence at court enabled him to further the cause of southern intellectuals willing to assume high political positions, but he did so carefully and never found himself too involved with the losing side in the volatile world of mid-Yuan politics. His support and stable position endeared him so much to southern scholars that they unanimously heaped praise on him, especially in several funerary inscriptions. He also successfully pushed for institutional independence for the Taoist administration. Many of his disciples filled the higher positions within the Taoist administration in southern China. His influence, privileges, and titles (but not his nobility rank, which no other Taoist attained under the Yuan) passed on to his disciple \*Wu Quanjie (1269–1346) when the latter became his successor.

While Zhang Liusun is widely documented as a political figure, his private life and attitudes are little known, and none of his writings survive. Nevertheless, Zhang left an important legacy independent of his imperial connections: just before his death, he initiated the building of Beijing's \*Dongyue miao (Shrine of the Eastern Peak) with his own private funds, to repay the favors that fate had granted him. The Dongyue miao was to become one of China's most important temples.

*Vincent GOOSSAERT*

▣ Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 357–59; Takahashi Bunji 1997; Rinaker Ten Broeck and Yiu 1950–51

※ Xuanjiao

Zhang Lu

張魯

?–215 or 216; *zi*: Gongqi 公祺

Zhang Lu was the grandson of \*Zhang Daoling and the third hereditary leader of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao). While alive he was called simply “master” (*shijun* 師君) and early church documents refer to him as the “continuing master” (*xishi* 系師). Zhang Lu's mother was said to possess demonic arts (*guidao* 鬼道) and maintained a “youthful appearance” (*shaorong* 少容); through these arts she drew close to Liu Yan 劉焉, Governor of Yizhou 益州 (Sichuan), and no doubt facilitated Lu's rise to power.

Standard histories record that in 191, Zhang Lu, having taken a commission as Commander of Volunteers (*duyi sima* 督義司馬) under Liu Yan, attacked and killed the Governor of Hanzhong 漢中, then established a theocratic state in Hanzhong and Ba 巴 commanderies (modern Sichuan/Shaanxi), uniting the indigenous population of Zong 賚 tribesmen and the local Han Chinese inhabitants. One account says that at this time he also killed Zhang Xiu 張脩 and assimilated his followers. In 200, a rift developed between Lu and Liu Yan's son and successor, Liu Zhang 劉璋, whom Lu thought “stupid and cowardly”; when Lu rebelled, Liu Zhang killed his mother and younger brother. Zhang Lu came to an accommodation with the Han state and accepted from them the titles Leader of Palace Attendants Quelling the People (Zhengmin zhonglang jiang 鎮民中郎將) and Governor of Hanning 漢寧 (Hunan). The Hanzhong state survived until 215, when, after initially retreating into Ba commandery, Zhang Lu surrendered to Cao Cao 曹操. Cao enfeoffed him as Marquis in Lang 閬 (Sichuan) and General Quelling the South (Zhennan jiangjun 鎮南將軍), and married daughters to some of his sons, but Lu died soon thereafter, in 215 or 216, and was buried in Ye 鄴 (Henan). The Hanzhong community was divided, with one portion being transferred to the northwest and another being settled near the capital of Ye, in central China.

In fact, Zhang Lu's role in the founding of the Celestial Master sect was of great significance. All of the social features of the sect, including the system of parishes (\**zhi*), the “charity lodges” (*yishe* 義舍), the public works, the Three Assemblies (\**sanhui*), etc., are clearly attested only within the context of Lu's millennial Hanzhong state, though all are sometimes traced back to Zhang Daoling. Moreover, Lu is the likely author of the \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Laozi* (Bokenkamp 1997, 58–59). As such, he can be seen as a significant theorist within the Taoist Church. His grandfather usually gets the credit, but Lu can legitimately be called the father of Taoist religion,

much as Paul is the father of Christianity.

Terry KLEEMAN

▣ Bokenkamp 1997, 34–35 and passim; Goodman 1994; Kleeman 1998, 76–79; Ōfuchi Ninji 1991, 46–55; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 1: 178–81; Robinet 1987b

※ Tianshi dao; Wudoumi dao

Zhang Sanfeng

張三丰 (or: 張三峰)

*ming*: Quanyi 全一 *zi*: Junbao 君寶

Zhang Sanfeng (“Zhang Triple Abundance” or “Zhang Three Peaks”) is a famous Taoist said to have lived between the end of the Yuan and beginning of the Ming periods. His historical existence, however, is unproved. In early biographies—including the one in the *Mingshi* (History of the Ming, 299.7641–43)—he is usually said to be a native of Yizhou 懿州 (Liaoning), but other sources give different birthplaces. According to these works he was seven feet high and had enormously big ears and eyes, his appearance suggested the longevity of a turtle and the immortality of a crane, and his beard and whiskers bristled like the blades of a halberd. He tied his hair into a knot and, regardless of the season, wore only a garment made of leaves. In his youth, Zhang is supposed to have studied Buddhism under the Chan master Haiyun 海雲 (1201–56), but then mastered *\*neidan* and reached immortality. He was known for his extraordinary magical powers as well as his ability to prophesy.

In the first years of the Ming period, Zhang reportedly established himself on Mount Wudang (\*Wudang shan, Hubei), where he lived in a thatched hut. With his pupils he rebuilt the mountain monasteries destroyed during the wars at the end of the Mongol dynasty. From Mount Wudang, Zhang went to the Jintai guan 金臺觀 (Abbey of the Golden Terrace) in Baoji 寶雞 (Shaanxi), where he announced his departure, composed a hymn, and passed



away. Later he came back to life, travelled to Sichuan, and visited Mount Wudang again.

*Zhang Sanfeng as a patron saint and god.* The belief in the real existence of Zhang Sanfeng during the early Ming dynasty is reflected in the emperors' continued efforts to locate him. The search for Zhang started in 1391 by order of the Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368–98) and was extended from 1407 to 1419 by the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403–24). Both sent out delegates several times, but they all returned without success. Promoted by the Ming emperors' interest, a cult developed around Zhang that spread widely and lasted until the later years of the Qing dynasty.

As time went on, the legends multiplied and became increasingly exaggerated. Zhang is known as the founder of *\*taiji quan* (a claim without historical evidence) and the patron saint of practitioners of this technique. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a connection to the sexual techniques (*\*fangzhong shu*) was also established and texts dealing with these practices were ascribed to him. The belief that Zhang was the master of Shen Wansan 沈萬三, a popular deity of wealth, led to his own identity as a god of wealth in the seventeenth century. The Western Branch (Xipai 西派) of *neidan* and various Qing sects also regarded Zhang Sanfeng as their first patriarch.

*Works of Zhang Sanfeng.* The *Zhang Sanfeng quanji* 張三丰全集 (Complete Collection of Zhang Sanfeng) contains writings both ascribed to and about Zhang Sanfeng (Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 222–23). This work consists of eight *juan* whose content is as follows:

1. Prefaces, Edicts, Biographies, Taoist Schools, Correcting Errors, Manifestations
2. Prose Writings, Concealed Mirrors (*Yinjian* 隱鑑)
3. Essays on the Great Dao (*Dadao lun* 大道論), Straightforward Explanation of the Mysterious Moving Power (*Xuanji zhijiang* 玄機直講), Speaking Simply about the Dao (*Daoyan qianjin* 道言淺近)
4. Mysterious Essentials (*Xuanyao* 玄要 in two parts, with a supplement)
5. Clouds and Waters (*Yunshui* 雲水, in three parts)
6. Folios of Celestial Words (*Tiankou pian* 天口篇), Admonitions to

the World (*Xunshi wen* 訓世文)

7. Scriptures of the Nine Sovereigns (*Jiuhuang jing* 九皇經), Scripture of the Three Teachings (*Sanjiao jing* 三教經), Scripture on Salvation (*Duren jing* 度人經), Scripture on Enlightenment (*Puti jing* 菩提經), Buddhist Hymns
8. Leisurely Talks among Water and Rocks (*Shuishi xiantan* 水石閒談), Past and Contemporary Poems, Concealed Mirrors (*Yinjing* 隱鏡), Collected Records

An edition of the *Zhang Sanfeng quanji* is found in the *\*Daozang jiyao* (vols. 17–18).

*Martina DARGA*

▣ Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: 391–94 and 515–6; Seidel 1970; Wong Shiu Hon 1979; Wong Shiu Hon 1982

※ HAGIOGRAPHY

Zhang Sicheng

張嗣成

?–1344?; *zi*: Ciwang 次望; *hao*: Taixuan zi 太玄子  
(Master of Great Mystery)

Zhang Sicheng became the thirty-ninth Celestial Master after the death of his father, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (?–1316), the thirty-eighth Celestial Master. Like his predecessors under Mongol rule, Sicheng maintained control over the three major Taoist ordination centers (*\*Longhu shan*, *\*Maoshan*, and *\*Gezao shan*) and all Taoist affairs south of the Yangzi River, and continued to issue ordination certificates and ritual registers (*\*LU*) to Taoist priests.

Receiving an imperial title from Yuan Renzong (r. 1312–20) in 1318, he was summoned in 1325 by Yuan Taiding (r. 1324–28) and presided over a major Offering (*\*jiao*) ritual in the Palace of Perpetual Spring (Changchun gong 長春宮, the present *\*Baiyun guan*) in Beijing, assisted by Sun Lüdao 孫履道 and *\*Wu Quanjie* (1269–1346). He became head of the Academy of

Gathered Worthies (Jixian yuan 集賢院) in 1326. After traveling to various sacred mountains, he passed away and was succeeded by his younger brother Zhang Side 張嗣德 (?–1353), who became the fortieth Celestial Master.

Zhang Sicheng is credited with the *Daode zhenjing zhangju xunsong* 道德真經章句訓頌 (Instructional Lauds on the Sections and Sentences of the Authentic Scripture of the Dao and Its Virtue; CT 698), and had a hand in compiling the annotated *\*Yushu jing* (Scripture of the Jade Pivot; CT 99).

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 243–44

※ Zhengyi

Zhang Wanfu

張萬福

fl. 710–13; hao: Dade 大德 (Great Virtue)

Except for remarks that he made in his own works, we know virtually nothing of Zhang Wanfu's life. He was a priest residing at the Taiqing guan 太清觀 (Abbey of Great Clarity) in Chang'an during the reign of Tang Ruizong (r. 684–90, 710–12) and participated in the compilation of the *\*Yiqie daojing yinyi* (Complete Taoist Scriptures, with Phonetic and Semantic Glosses). He also witnessed and perhaps participated in the *\*Lingbao* and *\*Shangqing* ordinations of Princesses Jinxian 金仙 (Gold Immortal) and Yuzhen 玉真 (Jade Perfected), Ruizong's daughters, on February 11 of 711 and December 1 of 712. Eight of his works, most written in this period, have survived in the *Daozang*:

1. *Duren jingjue yinyi* 度人經訣音義 (Instructions on the Scripture on Salvation, with Phonetic and Semantic Glosses; 710/713; CT 95). This annotation of the *\*Duren jing* is undoubtedly a rare fragment from the *Yiqie daojing yinyi*.
2. *Sandong zhongjie wen* 三洞眾戒文 (All Precepts of the Three Caverns; 710/713; CT 178). Here Zhang supplies eleven sets of

precepts that officiants administered to aspirants during initiations and ordinations. His enumeration is incomplete.

3. *Sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* 三師名諱形狀居觀方所文 (Taboo Names, Vitae, and Locations of Home Abbeys of the Three Masters; 710/713; CT 445). This is a collection of blank forms that priests filled in with information about the officiants who presided at their ordination: the Ordination Master (*dushi* 度師), the Registration Master (*jishi* 籍師), and the Scripture Master (*jingshi* 經師). These documents were used whenever a priest performed his offices.
4. *Juan 16 of the \*Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 (Standard Liturgies of the Supreme Great Yellow Register Retreat; CT 508). Here Zhang revised and enlarged \*Lu Xiuqing's liturgy for the performance of the Nocturnal Invocation (*\*suqi*). In the signatures to this text and CT 1240 below, Zhang's title is given as priest of the Qingdu guan 清都觀 (Abbey of the Clear Metropolis) so they were probably written after 713.
5. *Sandong fafu kejie wen* 三洞法服科戒文 (Codes and Precepts for the Liturgical Vestments of the Three Caverns; 710/713; CT 788). This is a work devoted to describing the vestments of priests and raiments of the gods.
6. *Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa Zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi* 醮三洞真文五法正一盟威籙立成儀 (Liturgy for Establishing an Offering with the Authentic Scripts and the Five Methods of the Three Caverns, and the Registers of the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity; date unknown; CT 1212; part. trans. Lagerwey 1994). Here Zhang constructed a liturgy in thirteen parts for petitioning the gods to bestow blessings on the souls of the dead by manipulating various sacred writs.
7. *Daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zhairi li* 道士受三洞經誡法籙擇日曆 (Calendar for Selecting the Days on which Taoist Priests should Receive Scriptures, Precepts, and Liturgical Registers of the Three Caverns; CT 1240). This work supplies the proper dates for transmitting various registers (*\*lu*) and scriptures (Kalinowski 1989–90, 95–96).
8. *Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo* 傳授三洞經誡法籙略說

(Synopsis of Transmissions for Scriptures, Precepts, and Liturgical Registers of the Three Caverns; dated January 1 of 713; CT 1241). This is a survey of Taoist initiations and ordinations that describes admonitions, texts, oaths, pledges, and various other aspects of the rite. Zhang's account of the princesses' investitures appears at the end of the text. Next to the \**Fengdao kejie*, this is the main source for materials on medieval ordinations (Schipper 1985c).

Charles D. BENN

▣ Benn 1991, 137–51; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 2: 282–95

※ *Yiqie daojing yinyi; Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi*

Zhang Yuanxu

張元旭

1862–1924; *zi*: Xiaochu 曉初

The son of the sixty-first Celestial Master Zhang Renzheng 張仁景 (1841–1903), Zhang Yuanxu held the position of Celestial Master of the sixty-second generation for twenty-one years, from 1904 until his demise. In 1910 the American Methodist missionary Carl Kupfer called upon Zhang and published an account of his visit, together with photographs. Upon the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, the Chief Military Commission of Jiangxi terminated the authority of the Celestial Master patriarchy, confiscating their estate at Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi) and revoking their entitlement.

Two years later President Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859–1916) restored both land and title to Zhang Yuanxu. He travelled widely thereafter, extending the influence of his legacy from Beijing and Tianjin to Shanghai and Hankou. At a meeting in Shanghai of the Taoist Association of the Republic of China (Zhonghua minguo daojiao zonghui 中華民國道教總會) attended by representatives of \*Zhengyi temples throughout Jiangsu and Zhejiang, Zhang proposed building schools, hospitals, and various industries to revitalize the Taoist heritage of China. He perished in Shanghai without seeing the fruition

of these plans and was succeeded by his eldest son \*Zhang Enpu. His grave at Mount Longhu was completely restored in 1994, under the initiative of a devotee from Malaysia.

Zhang's writings include the *Bu Han tianshi shijia* 補漢天師世家 (Supplementary Lineage of the Han Celestial Master), with a colophon dating to 1918. This continuation of the \**Han tianshi shijia*, published by Oyanagi Shigeta, includes biographies for patriarchs from the fiftieth to the sixty-first generation.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 63; Kupfer 1911, 91–106; Oyanagi Shigeta 1934, 347–56; Shanren 1994; Zhang Jiyu 1990, 213–14; Zhang Yuanxian 1977, 102

※ Zhengyi

Zhang Yuchu

張宇初

1361–1410; *zi*: Zixuan 子璿, Xinfu 信甫; *hao*: Jishan 耆山 (Venerable Mound), Wuwei zi 無為子 (Master of Non-action)

Zhang Yuchu was the eldest son of the forty-second Celestial Master \*Zhang Zhengchang (1335–78) and Lady Bao 包氏, a fifth-generation descendant of Bao Hui 包恢 (1182–1268; SB 832–34) of Nancheng 南城 (Jiangxi). Succeeding his father as the forty-third Celestial Master, Zhang is remembered not only for his role as an influential leader of the \*Zhengyi school but also as a renowned scholar with a substantial literary legacy to his name.

The Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368–98) put Zhang in charge of all Taoist affairs of state in 1380 and authorized an honorary title for his mother. Over the years Zhang obliged the emperor by presiding over ritual services held in and around the capital of Nanjing (Jiangsu). In 1390 Hongwu ordered the restoration of the central abbey of the Celestial Master headquarters at Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi), the \*Shangqing gong (Palace of Highest

Clarity). The next year covertly issued talismanic registers were banned by imperial decree. Zhang was then given possession of a new seal in the name of the Zhengyi patriarchy, to be used in producing talismanic registers as safeguards for sacred mountain sites.

Hongwu's successor, the Jianwen Emperor (r. 1399–1402), dismissed Zhang and so he went into retirement at a new retreat built outside Mount Longhu, which he called Xianquan 峴泉 (Alpine Spring). By the Yongle reign period (1403–24), Zhang was back in favor at court. In 1406 the Yongle Emperor assigned him the task of collecting and classifying Taoist writings, an endeavor that ultimately led to the compilation of the *Da Ming daoze jing* 大明道藏經 (Scriptures of the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming), popularly known as the *\*Zhengtong daoze jing* (Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period). In addition to serving in a ritual capacity on behalf of the emperor, Zhang went twice by imperial decree to Mount Wudang (\*Wudang shan, Hubei) in search of the legendary \*Zhang Sanfeng. Not long after this quest Zhang conveyed his sword and seal of office to his brother Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (1364–1427) and took his last breath.

Zhang compiled a *Longhu shanzhi* 龍虎山志 (Monograph of Mount Longhu) in ten *juan*, a fragmentary copy of which served as the foundation for a reedition of the text in 1740. In addition to prefaces and colophons attached to various texts, the Ming Taoist Canon contains four titles in Zhang Yuchu's name:

*\*Daomen shigui* (Ten Guidelines for the Taoist Community), *Duren shangpin miaojing tongyi* 元始無量度人上品妙經通義 (Comprehensive Meaning of the Wondrous Scripture of the Upper Chapters on Salvation; CT 89), *Sanshi dai tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu* 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Thirtieth Generation Celestial Master, Perfected Lord of Empty Quiescence; CT 1249), and *Xianquan ji* 峴泉集 (Anthology of Alpine Spring; CT 1311). A variant edition of the last title is included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Writings of the Four Repositories) of 1782. Zhang's vast writings display the many ways he sought to locate the unifying features behind an increasing diversity of religious expression during the Ming.

Judith M. BOLTZ

Sun Kekuan 1977, 313–47; Tu Fang 1976b; Zhang Jiyu 1990, 203–4

※ *Daomen shigui*; *Zhengtong daoang*; *Zhengyi*

## Zhang Zhengchang

張正常

1335–78; *zi*: Zhongji 仲紀; *hao*: Chongxu zi 冲虛子  
(Master of the Unfathomable Emptiness)

When Zhang Zhengchang's father, the thirty-ninth Celestial Master \*Zhang Sicheng (?–1344?) drowned on a pilgrimage to the Five Peaks (\**wuyue*), his uncle Zhang Side 張嗣德 (?–1353) became Celestial Master of the fortieth generation. Upon his uncle's demise, Zhang supported the succession of Zhang Side's son Zhang Zhengyan 張正言 (?–1359) as the forty-first Celestial Master. With the death of his cousin, Zhang Zhengchang became the forty-second Celestial Master in the very year his father had prophesied.

Zhang offered a pledge of support in 1361 to the troops occupying Jiangxi under Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–98), as the Mongol empire began to collapse, and gained protection of the patriarchal estate at Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). Twice, in 1365 and 1366, Zhu warmly received Zhang as an honored guest at his headquarters in Nanjing (Jiangsu). Following Zhu's enthronement in 1368 as the Hongwu Emperor (r. 1368–98), Zhang again paid homage and was given the title of Da zhenren 大真人 (Great Man of Perfection), which, according to the official historical record, was devised to replace the title \**tianshi* that the emperor found offensive. Authorized by Hongwu to be in charge of all Taoist affairs of state, Zhang oversaw appointments to and restorations of temple compounds throughout the country. The emperor often summoned him to the capital for consultation, once notably in 1370 to inquire into the nature of ghosts and spirits. Zhang's mother Lady Hu 胡氏 (1291–after 1371) celebrated her eightieth birthday the same year, leading the emperor to bestow honorary titles on both her and Zhang's father.

In 1377, at the emperor's behest, Zhang joined the imperial entourage paying homage to the Five Peaks. Like his father, he did not live to complete



the journey. After a visit to Mount Song (\*Songshan, Henan), Zhang returned to Mount Longhu where he perished on the fifth day of the twelfth lunar month (4 January 1378). His eldest son \*Zhang Yuchu succeeded him as the forty-third Celestial Master.

The Ming Taoist Canon includes an amplified version of one compilation produced under Zhang's direction, the \**Han tianshi shijia* (Lineage of the Han Celestial Master). Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–81), author of a preface to this work, also composed the stele inscription mounted at Zhang's grave. The emperor himself submitted a eulogy for the memorial service held at Mount Longhu.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

☞ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 62; Chen Yuan 1988, 1233–42; Shiga Takayoshi 1963; Tu Fang 1976a; Zhang Jiyu 1990, 202–3

※ *Han tianshi shijia*; Zhengyi

Zhang Zixiang

張子祥

fl. ca. 600 (?); *zi*: Linbo 麟伯

Zhang Zixiang is now listed as \**tianshi* (Celestial Master) during the Sui (581–618) period, tenth in line of succession from \*Zhang Daoling. Yet there are no contemporary sources on him, and no texts that mention him by name for well over half a millennium after his supposed existence. The first textual evidence for any line of masters claiming Zhang Daoling's spiritual authority dates only to the ninth century: at best, references of that period can be used to grant some historicity to figures in this line going back to the start of the eighth century or a little earlier.

This is not to deny the existence during the Sui of Taoists who claimed descent from Zhang Daoling. Even earlier, several such persons are mentioned by generation (twelve and thirteen) in contemporary sources of the early and middle sixth century, and Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) speaks of both

Laozi and Zhang Daoling having descendants living everywhere in the empire in his day (see *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集, T. 2103, 7.134a). But in the same fashion that a tendency began to emerge soon after this to treat the Tang imperial house as the descendants of Laozi *par excellence*, so one particular family of Zhangs based at \*Longhu shan (Dragon and Tiger Mountain) in Jiangxi gradually turned into the sole representatives of all the descendants of Zhang Daoling. The pace of this second development, however, was certainly much slower, since in the mid-eighth century, long after the assertion of right to rule by divine descent by the Tang dynasty, we still find Zhangs unconnected with Longhu shan claiming descent from Daoling without assuming any position of privilege within Taoism.

A shift in this situation may however have been stimulated by the spread of the cult of Zhang Daoling's image beyond the narrow circles of the Taoist priesthood to become, as it is today, the common property (particularly through calendars and other mass printed materials) of anyone without special Taoist affiliations throughout China. Again, the firmest textual evidence for the start of this process comes from the ninth century, though there is a source of that period which ascribes to a painter of the mid-eighth century an icon of a “*tianshi*” (perhaps not the great Taoist) in a Buddhist temple (see *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記, Huashi congshu ed., 3.45). As for the family base of the Zhangs at Longhu shan, this connection can only be verified too from sources of the late ninth, though there is some evidence that the line of *tianshi* were already in residence there in the early ninth century. Other materials both earlier (eighth century) and indeed contemporary suggest that Longhu shan was among a number of sites that claimed Zhang Daoling's legacy.

In short, there is no absolute proof that Zhang Zixiang and his immediate successors never existed, but the conception of his role would seem to be the ninth-century outcome of eighth-century developments.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Barrett 1994b; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 63

※ Tianshi dao

Zhang Zongyan

## 張宗演

1244–91; *zi*: Shichuan 世傳; *hao*: Jianqi 簡齊 (Simple and Even)

Zhang Zongyan, the second son of the thirty-fifth Celestial Master \*Zhang Keda (1218–63), became the thirty-sixth Celestial Master after his father's passing. His tenure was marked by an expansion of the \*Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) religious authority at a time when the reins of political authority over China passed into Mongol hands. After Khubilai khan captured the Southern Song capital in 1276, he summoned Zongyan to his court and put him in charge of all Taoist affairs south of the Yangzi River. Zhang presided over an Offering (\**jiao*) in the court that year and another Offering in the Palace of Perpetual Spring (Changchun gong 長春宮, the present \*Baiyun guan) in 1277 before returning home to Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). Zongyan left his disciple \*Zhang Liusun (1248–1322) behind as his proxy at court, thus beginning the remarkable (and short-lived) history of an ad hoc Taoist religious institution known as the Mysterious Teaching (\*Xuanjiao). Zongyan returned to the capital again in 1281 to preside over another Offering and to extend the practice to the Taoist ordination centers on Mount Longhu, Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu), and Mount Gezao (\*Gezao shan, Jiangxi). The thirty-sixth Celestial Master was succeeded by his eldest son, Zhang Yudi 張與棣 (?–1294).

*Lowell SKAR*

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 58

※ Xuanjiao; Zhengyi

## Zhao Bichen

### 趙避塵

1860–after 1933; *hao*: Qianfeng laoren 千峰老人  
(Old Man of the Thousand Peaks), Shunyi zi 順一子  
(Master Who Follows the One)

Zhao Bichen was born in Yangfang 陽坊 (Hebei). His appellation Qianfeng laoren was inspired by the name of Mount Qianfeng (Hebei), one of the centers of the \*Longmen school in northern China. He was the eleventh master in the lineage of the \*Wu-Liu school, and the founder of its branch known as Thousand Peaks (Qianfeng 千峰).

Zhao received teachings from several Taoist and Buddhist masters. The first was Liu Mingrui 劉名瑞 (1839–1931), a \**neidan* master of Mount Qianfeng who prophesied his own death in 1901. His second teacher was Wuchan 悟蟾, whom Zhao met in 1893 in a temple in Jiangsu. Although Wuchan usually taught Buddhism, he reserved his teachings on \**xing* and \**ming* for a select few. In 1895, Zhao met the Venerable Master Liaokong (Liaokong shizun 了空師尊), who claimed to have received the methods of *xing* and *ming* directly from \*Liu Huayang in 1799. Liaokong instructed Zhao to found the branch of the Thousand Peaks in 1921. Zhao's last teacher was Tan Zhiming 譚至明, the second patriarch of the Gold Mountain (Jinshan 金山) branch founded by the fourth-generation disciple of Longmen, Sun Xuanqing 孫玄清 (1517–69). Tan not only had a profound influence on Zhao, but also appointed him third patriarch of the Gold Mountain.

Zhao Bichen is the author of three popular books on Nourishing Life (\**yangsheng*): the *Weisheng shenglixue mingzhi* 衛生生理學明指 (Clear Directions on Hygiene and Physiology; after 1921; trans. Despeux 1979); the *Weisheng sanzi fajue jing* 衛生三字法訣經 (Scripture of Methods of Hygiene in Three-Character Verses; after 1921); and the *Xingming fajue mingzhi* 性命法訣明指 (Clear Directions on Methods for Inner Nature and Vital Force; 1933; part. trans. Lu K'uan Yü 1970).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Despeux 1979; Lu K'uan Yü 1970

※ *yangsheng*; *neidan*

Zhao Guizhen

趙歸真

?–846

Zhao Guizhen was probably the most controversial Taoist master in Chinese history, if only because he was responsible for unleashing the only fullscale, empire-wide persecution of Buddhism that China ever witnessed, but even among those sympathetic to Taoism his reputation appears to have been decidedly mixed. He seems to have been summoned to court in the 820s, a period when a succession of emperors were shortening their lives with alchemical experiments, and rose rapidly in imperial favor: by 826 he had been given a title so grandiloquent as to be rivalled only by those bestowed by Tibetans on contemporary Chinese Buddhist hierarchs in \*Dunhuang. But the following year, after another imperial alchemical fatality, he was exiled to the far south, in response to the criticisms of ministers like Li Deyu 李德裕 (787–850) who opposed the influence of holy men at court. Since Li was a patron of the current leader of the \*Maoshan Taoist community, we must suppose that he was in his own eyes distinguishing between respectable holy men acceptable to aristocrats like himself and opportunists. The two men were to meet again when Zhao was recalled to court by a new and enthusiastically Taoist emperor, Wuzong, in 840.

Zhao's exploitation of this opportunity to egg his monarch on against the Buddhists was probably not offensive to Li: he patronized Buddhism too in a small but affluent way, but having risen by this point to a chief ministership could doubtless see good fiscal and other political reasons for a purge of that religion. On the other hand Zhao's promotion of further experiments in imperial alchemy, which according to the diary of the visiting Japanese monk Ennin 圓仁 (“not a neutral observer,” especially since he was expelled from the country at this point) drove the emperor to grossly violent acts of insanity, must have filled Li with foreboding. After he had wasted prodigious amounts of labor on constructing a sort of landing strip for flying immortals, Wuzong died from the effects of the alchemical materials he had been ingesting in 846, and his successor exiled Li to the deep south, where he did not long survive.

Zhao's punishment, however, was more immediate, since reliable sources suggest that he was beaten to death in the market as a public spectacle. Yet some late Tang writers preferred to believe that he had only been exiled once again, and recount stories of his days at Wuzong's court reminiscent of the glorious high noon of imperial patronage for Taoist wonder workers one hundred years earlier. No doubt these anecdotes simply reflect bias of another type, or wishful thinking in an era of palpable decline, or at least confusion,

since one of Zhao's colleagues, a man of some standing in the Taoist priesthood, was indeed exiled rather than (as some sources have it) put to death. But the fact remains that most of what we know of Zhao Guizhen as an actor in history stems from the writings of those who had no reason to like him. His real level of attainment as a Taoist priest remains unknowable.

T. H. BARRETT

▣ Barrett 1996, 84–90; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 282–83; Sunayama Minoru 1990, 389–415

Zhao Yizhen

趙宜真

?–1382; *hao*: Yuanyang zi 原陽子 (Master of Primary Yang)

An initiate and major codifier of the \*Qingwei (Pure Tenuity) tradition, Zhao Yizhen also exemplified the broad learning of Yuan and early Ming dynasty Taoist priests. He was born in Anfu 安福 district, Jizhou 吉州 (Jiangxi), where his father had been an official. His main biography, by the forty-third Celestial Master, \*Zhang Yuchu (1361–1410), claims Zhao was a thirteenth-generation descendant of Zhao Dezhao 趙德昭 (951–78; SB 70–71), the second son of Song Taizong (r. 976–97), who had lived in Junyi 浚儀 near the Northern Song capital, Kaifeng (Henan). Although Zhao wanted to be an official, an illness reportedly kept him from taking the exams to become a Presented Scholar (*jinshi*), and a dream, bolstered by his father's assent, prompted him to turn to Taoism.

Zhao first studied with the Qingwei master Zeng Guikuan 曾貴寬, who dwelt at the Abbey of the Cavernous Abyss (Dongyuan guan 洞淵觀) in Anfu. He also later studied with Zhang Tianquan 張天全, a disciple of the renowned \**neidan* specialist and self-proclaimed \*Quanzhen master Jin Zhiyang 金志陽 (1276–1336), at the Abbey of the Great Space (Taiyu guan 泰宇觀) in Ji'an 吉安 (Jiangxi). Zhao then went north to learn from Li Xuanyi 李玄一 at Nanchang (Jiangxi), and he also learned more about alchemy from a Feng Waishi 馮外史. Afterward, Zhao concentrated on the Thunder Rites (\**leifa*) and attracted many disciples in the process.

Before the Red Turbans passed through northern Jiangxi, Zhao and his disciples moved west to Sichuan, after which he returned to Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi) during the term of the forty-second Celestial Master \*Zhang Zhengchang (1335–78) and most likely when the great painter and Jin Zhiyang's disciple, Fang Congyi 方從義 (1301?–1391) was there, too. From Mount Longhu, Zhao passed south to Yudu 雩都 in Ganzhou 贛州 (Jiangxi), and while at the Abbey of Purple Yang (Ziyang guan 紫陽觀) he instructed disciples such as the Ganzhou native \*Liu Yuanran (1351–1432). Two months after announcing his imminent death to his disciples in 1382, Zhao passed away. The hagiography states that a Liu Ruoyuan 劉若淵 (i.e., Liu Yuanran?) and Cao Ximing 曹希鳴 (?–1397) were his main disciples.

*Works.* Several texts survive that Zhao may have had a hand in compiling. The most renowned is likely the *Xianchuan waike bifang* 仙傳外科祕方 (Secret Methods Transmitted by Transcendents for External Ailments; CT 1165). Its 1378 preface by Zhao states that the original text had been compiled by a Yang Qing 楊清. It was only after Zhao's death, however, that a disciple named Wu Youren 吳有壬 saw to the work's publication. The brief *Lingbao guikong jue* 靈寶歸空訣 (Instructions of the Numinous Treasure for Returning to the Void; CT 568) is an annotated poem on meditation, followed by a long afterword by Zhao. A liturgical text, the *Bao fumu en zhongjing* 報父母恩重經 (Important Scripture on Repaying One's Parents' Blessings; CT 663), contains an undated colophon signed by Zhao and shows his interest in the Perfected Warrior (\*Zhenwu) cult in Yuan and Ming times. Zhao (or his disciples) may also have edited the opening eight or so chapters of the \**Daofa huiyuan* (Corpus of Taoist Ritual), and several others as well among the first fifty-five, which focus on Qingwei ritual. Finally, the *Yuanyang zi fayu* 原陽子法語 (Exemplary Sayings of the Master of Primary Yang; CT 1071) contains materials purported to have been written by Zhao, even though they were edited by his disciple Liu Yuanran, who taught \*Shao Yizheng (?–1462), the final editor of the Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong reign period.

Lowell SKAR

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 190–92; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 372–73; Schipper 1987

※ Qingwei

Zhen dadao

真大道

Authentic Great Way

When \*Liu Deren (1122–80) founded the Taoist teaching called Dadao 大道, later known as Zhen dadao, the northern plain along the Yellow River was witnessing a large religious revival, with many movements proselytizing and building new shrines. The Zhen dadao shares several features with these movements, and especially with \*Quanzhen, into which it seems to have been partly assimilated after its decline. The Zhen dadao, however, stands out for its emphasis on austerity and autarchy. Its communities were encouraged to live from tilling the land and to refrain from eating meat, drinking alcohol, and committing other worldly sins. Its somewhat apocalyptic overtones, communal values, and rejection of medicine in favor of faith healing make it appear as an agrarian egalitarian movement not unlike the early \*Tianshi dao.

Despite their ideology of self-sufficiency, however, the Zhen dadao patriarchs travelled all around northern China to convert new adepts and initiate the founding of new communities. Their predication was supported by miracles in healing or exorcism. In one instance, these are described as pertaining to the method of “accusation and summons” (*hezha* 劾召), apparently in relation to the \*Tianxin zhengfa rites. Under the fifth patriarch, Li Xicheng 酈希成 (fl. 1246), the Zhen dadao was recognized by the Mongol regime as an independent entity and the patriarchy was moved to Beijing. The order then began its most glorious period, as shown by the extant epigraphic evidence, which dates from 1278 to 1343. During this period, the order sent missionaries into the newly-conquered territory of southern China, but no traces of its presence there have been found.

The Zhen dadao communities were organized around monasteries often called Tianbao gong 天寶宮 (Palace of the Celestial Treasure). The little remaining epigraphic evidence suggests, at least in core areas like Henan, the existence of a dense network of one or more convents and assembly halls per district, subordinated to the larger monasteries, which housed ordained preachers. Adepts were divided into celibate (*chujia* 出家) and married (*zaijia* 在家) groups. The hierarchy of the Zhen dadao and its rank titles are very specific and will probably never be fully understood because of the lack



of sources. None of its scriptures, neither the liturgical texts used by the order nor the literary anthologies published by its masters, seems to have survived.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Chen Yuan 1962, 81–109; Qing Xitai 1988–95, 3: 20–31 and 243–66; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 164–69; Yao Tao-chung 1980, 34–40

※ Liu Deren

### *Zhengao*

真誥

#### Declarations of the Perfected; Authentic Declarations

The *Zhengao* is a collection of \*Shangqing materials based on notes taken by \*Yang Xi and his patrons Xu Mai 許邁 (300–348) and Xu Mi 許謐 (303–76). Although it is a minor work compared to the Shangqing revealed writings, it has enjoyed greater fame due to the renown of its compiler, \*Tao Hongjing, who completed it probably in 499. A similar compilation by \*Gu Huan (420/428–483/491), now lost, was of great help to Tao, whose main contribution was to judge the authenticity of the fragmentary manuscripts he possessed on the basis of his remarkable acquaintance with the calligraphy of both Yang and the Xus. The present text (CT 1016) has a preface by Gao Sisun 高似孫 dated 1223, and underwent interpolations including the addition of some commentaries.

*Content.* The edition of the *Zhengao* in the Taoist Canon is divided into seven *pian* (sections) and twenty *juan* (scrolls), but this was not the original format. The work was initially arranged into ten *juan*, although some later quotations refer to ten *pian*. In the present text, in fact, *pian* 1, 2, and 4 are each split in two parts, making ten *pian* altogether; the arrangement into twenty *juan* results from the further subdivision of each *pian* into two parts.

The division into seven *pian* resulted from an effort, sometimes clumsy, made by Tao Hongjing to give coherence to the whole. The first *pian* (corresponding to *juan* 1–4) contains texts that relate Yang Xi's visions and

hymns sung by the divinities on those occasions. The second and third *pian* (*juan* 5–8 and 9–10) are devoted to minor recipes and methods, with information on the afterlife of the Xus' relatives and acquaintances in *juan* 7 and 8. The fourth *pian* (*juan* 11–14) contains a semimythical description and history of Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu), the early center of the Shangqing school. The fifth *pian* (*juan* 15–16) is devoted to a description of the netherworld. The sixth *pian* (*juan* 17–18) consists of writings from Yang Xi and the Xus. The seventh and last *pian* (*juan* 19–20) contains Tao's own writings about his editorial method, the history of the Shangqing corpus of writings—especially how they were plagiarized and scattered—and the genealogy of the Xu family. This ideal sequence, however, is often disturbed by interpolations, repetitions, and insertion of fragments in wrong places.

*The Zhengao and the Shangqing revelations.* Unlike the \**Dengzhen yinjue* (Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Reality), which was also compiled by Tao Hongjing, the *Zhengao* was intended to reach a wider audience; Gao Sisun's preface states that it contains the “weft” (*wei* 緯), i.e., the background of the Shangqing revelations. The collected fragments relate the circumstances of the revelations and describe Yang Xi's visions of spiritual beings. They contain instructions given by the divinities on the meaning of the scriptures, on the history of the methods, and on those who transmitted them. Other fragments respond to questions asked by Yang Xi or the Xus, or specify rules for daily life. Tao also includes passages of texts pertaining to the revelations or external to them. He often comments on the authenticity of purported Shangqing scriptures circulating in his time, stating whether he considers a text to be original and specifying the sources of the quoted passages. His notes are an important resource to identify texts whose titles changed over the time.

Some textual fragments quoted in the *Zhengao* belong to scriptures that had not yet been revealed to the world by Yang Xi's time, and therefore complement the original sources. This is the case with the revelations granted by Peijun 裴君 (Lord Pei), a Shangqing immortal who, according to Tao Hongjing, was a Buddhist adept before he took \*Chisong zi as his master and converted to Taoism (Robinet 1984, 2: 375–84). Peijun plays an important role in the *Zhengao*. A large part of *juan* 5 contains materials attributed to him (5.4b–17a); similarly, most of *juan* 9 is devoted to the *Baoshen jing* 寶神經 (Scripture for Treasuring the Spirit), revealed by Peijun and also contained in the *Baoshen qiju jing* 寶神起居經 (Scripture on the Behavior for

Treasuring the Spirit; CT 1319; Robinet 1984, 2: 359–62). The *Baoshen jing* attests to a tradition different from early Shangqing, that emphasizes faith and effort in the practice.

Another set of textual fragments is related to the Mao 茅 brothers and their biography, now partly lost (see \*Maojun, and Robinet 1984, 2: 389–98). They include a visionary description of Mount Mao, a method to absorb the efflorescences of the Sun and Moon, and the story of Guo Sichao 郭四朝, an early inhabitant of Mount Mao. These fragments seem to derive from earlier texts and orally transmitted local traditions, and belong to a larger corpus that also contained the recipes for drugs now found in the *Jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue* 九轉還丹經要訣 (Essential Instructions on the Scripture of the Reverted Elixir in Nine Cycles; CT 889; Robinet 1984, 2: 395–96), and the method of the *Mingtang xuanzhen* 明堂玄真 (Mysterious Real Man of the Hall of Light) which is now found in the *Yupei jindang shangjing* 玉佩金璫上經 (Superior Scripture of the Jade Pendant and the Golden Ring; CT 56; Robinet 1984, 2: 213–18, 396–97).

Finally, *juan* 4 and 14 contain parts of the lost *Jianjing* 劍經 (Scripture of the Sword), a work devoted to a method revealed to \*Ziyang zhenren for making a magic sword used to obtain \*shijie (release from the corpse). The “Prolegomena on the Ingestion of Atractyl” (“Fuzhu xu” 服朮敘), ascribed to the Lady of Purple Tenuity (Ziwei furen 紫微夫人), one of the divinities who appeared to Yang Xi, is scattered in *juan* 6 and 10. Parts of *juan* 15 and 16 may have constituted the *Fengdu ji* 酆都記 (Records of Fengdu), so entitled after the name of the subterranean town that hosts the headquarters of the underworld administration (see \*Fengdu).

*Isabelle ROBINET*

■ Bokenkamp 1996b (part. trans. of *j.* 1); Chen Guofu 1963, 19–27 and 233–35; Ishii Masako 1980, 121–372; Ishii Masako 1991 (part. trans.); Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 17–122; Kroll 1996c; Mugitani Kunio 1991 (concordance); Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 36–49 (list of texts cited); Robinet 1984, 1: 35–57, 2: 313–45; Strickmann 1977; Strickmann 1981; Yoshikawa Tadao and Mugitani Kunio 2000 (trans.); Zhong Laiyin 1992

※ Tao Hongjing; Shangqing

## Zheng Yin

鄭隱

ca. 215–ca. 302; *zi*: Siyuan 思遠

Although Zheng Yin is frequently mentioned in \*Lingbao texts, very little is known of his life. He devoted himself to classical Confucian learning but turned late in life to the Dao, physiological and dietary practices, medicine, prognostication, and related disciplines. \*Ge Hong (283–343), who was one of his disciples, draws in the \**Baopu zi* a picture of his master as a strong and young-looking eighty-year-old man who could easily go without food for fifty days and had succeeded twice in compounding elixirs (trans. Ware 1966, 309–17). Zheng reportedly travelled to various mountains, including Mount Maji (Maji shan 馬迹山, Jiangsu) where he lived among wild beasts, and finally became an immortal.

Beyond the hagiographic elements, information on Zheng Yin focuses on his role as recipient of local textual and doctrinal corpora. As one of the major figures of the southern \**fangshi* milieu during the early Six Dynasties, he inherited the oral and written legacy of \*Zuo Ci and \*Ge Xuan. Ge Hong reports that Zheng had collected about 1,200 scrolls (*juan*) of texts. Most notably, these included major talismanic writings such as the \**Sanhuang wen* (Script of the Three Sovereigns) and the \**Wuyue zhenxing tu* (Charts of the Real Forms of the Five Peaks), texts that later became part of the Lingbao corpus, as well as alchemical treatises of the early \*Taiqing tradition.

*Grégoire ESPESSET*

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 93–95

※ Ge Xuan; Ge Hong

*Zhenghe Wanshou daoze*

政和萬壽道藏

Taoist Canon of the Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity of the

## Zhenghe Reign Period

Compiled during the Zhenghe reign period (1111–17) of Song Huizong (r. 1100–1125), the *Zhenghe Wanshou daoze* superseded the \**Da Song Tiangong baoze* (Precious Canon of the Celestial Palace of the Great Song) completed a century earlier under Song Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). This second Taoist Canon of the Song is the first to have been produced as a woodcut printing. The history of its compilation reflects the pervasive imperial effort to define the limits of acceptable religious practice according to the authority of a state-sanctioned Canon.

The origins of this Canon, like its predecessor, may be traced to imperial directives regarding liturgical practice. In 1108 Huizong ordered the distribution of a vast ritual code to Taoist abbeys throughout the empire. He also commanded prefectural and district officials to call on Taoist masters (\**daoshi*) willing to uphold this very code of ritual. Enactment of this decree was apparently deferred for at least two years due to conflicting opinions of those compiling the new code. To overcome these problems, Huizong wrote to Councillor of State Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121) in 1110, asking him to prepare a definitive edition of the liturgical code he had commissioned.

By the turn of 1114, the emperor ordered circuit intendants and prefects to have the residents of their respective domains submit all Taoist writings in their possession. The texts retrieved from this nationwide search were initially gathered at the Shuyi ju 書藝局 (Office of Calligraphy) of the Hanlin Academy in the capital Kaifeng (Henan). In his 1116 preface to a corpus of \**Tianxin zhengfa* ritual, Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 speaks of being summoned in mid-1115 to collate these texts in the preparation of a printed Canon (\**Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao*; preface, 1b). Among other clergymen known to have been assigned to the same task are Liu Yuandao 劉元道 of Kaifeng and Wang Daojian 王道堅 of Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). A Taoist official (*daoguan* 道官) named Cheng Ruoqing 程若清 may well have served as editor-in-chief since he is the collator to whom Manichaean texts printed in Fujian were falsely ascribed. The prefect of Fuzhou, Huang Shang 黃裳 (1043–1129), was also named in these fake attributions, as overseer of the block cutting.

It was in fact Prefect Huang who was instrumental in providing the site and means for the printing of the Canon. By 1114, he had already petitioned the

emperor to approve construction of a library to accommodate the collected Taoist writings at the Tianning wanshou guan 天寧萬壽觀 (Abbey of the Ten-thousand-fold Longevity of Celestial Tranquillity) on Mount Jiuxian (Jiuxian shan 九仙山, Fujian). In a decree issued the same year, Huizong announced the establishment of the new facility, giving it the name by which the new Canon itself came to be known, Zhenghe Wanshou daoze. Nearly five years passed before Huang was able to assemble a team of block-cutters, financed by a special levy. Fuzhou was at that time known for its skilled block-cutters, whose accomplishments included a reprint of the Buddhist Canon entitled *Chongning Wanshou dazang* 崇寧萬壽大藏 (Great Canon of the Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity of the Chongning Reign Period). The blocks of the new Taoist Canon completed by 1119 at Mount Jiuxian were eventually dispatched to the capital where prints appear to have been issued periodically according to demand.

It is estimated that a total of about 70,000 blocks were cut to produce the *Zhenghe Wanshou daoze*. This new Canon was notably larger than its immediate predecessor, with altogether 5,381 *juan* filling 540 *han* 函 (cases). The table of contents as well as a catalogue in ten *juan* are both lost. Among indisputable contributions are commentaries authorized for inclusion by Huizong in late 1118. Just how many copies of the Canon were printed from the blocks cut in Fuzhou remains a mystery. Records of the holdings of numerous abbeys, as well as personal accounts and anecdotal evidence, seem to indicate that it was widely copied, often by hand.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

■ Chen Guofu 1963, 135–56; van der Loon 1984, 39–47; Zhu Yueli 1992, 148–49

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*zhengjiao*

正醮

Orthodox Offering

The Orthodox Offering is a rite performed as part of the \**jiao* (Offering). Its purpose is to request that the deities descend, and to offer food and drink to them. In present-day southern Taiwan, it is included in large-scale *jiao* lasting more than two days, and is performed on the evening or night of the last day (usually the second or third day, depending on the length of the *jiao*). Thus it is the last rite performed at the *jiao* altar.

In this ritual, a black banner hangs above the main altar, stretching from the Altar of the Three Clarities (*sanqing tan* 三清壇) to the Altar of the Three Realms (*sanjie tan* 三界壇). The banner is called Celestial Bridge (*tianqiao* 天橋) and is used by the deities to descend to this world. The rite begins with Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛; see \**bugang*) and the Purification of the Altar (*jingtán* 淨壇; Lagerwey 1987c, 73–77), followed by the Lighting of the Incense Burner (\**falu*). Next, during the first half of the rite, the priest faces each table of the altar and in turn offers incense and veneration. Then he invites the deities, in order from the lowest to the highest. During the second half of the rite, the priest and community representatives kneel before the Altar of the Three Realms and invite eighteen supreme deities (including the Three Clarities, \**sanqing*) in six groups (6 x 3), again from the lowest to the highest. After each invitation, firecrackers are set off to announce that the deities have descended, and two of the priests, the leader of the troupe (*yinban* 引班) and the keeper of the incense (*shixiang* 侍香), wave purificatory pennants over the heads of the community representatives. When the deities have been welcomed, the whole audience turns to face the Three Clarities. The deities are venerated again and wine is presented three times to each. Their names are called in inverse order to the rite of Petitioning the Deities (*qingshen* 請神), which thus exists in a corresponding relationship with the Orthodox Offering.

After the offering of wine and the Extinction of the Incense Burner (*fulu* 復爐; Lagerwey 1987c, 146–47), the rite continues with the removal of the Authentic Scripts (*zhenwen* 真文). This corresponds to the act of placing the Scripts in the five directions around the altar during the Nocturnal Invocation (\**suzhi*). After the Scripts have been removed, the altar is dismantled. Finally, the audience stands facing the altar of the Three Realms, and the deities are dismissed.

*ASANO Haruji*

■ Lagerwey 1987c, 56–58; Ōfuchi Ninji 1983, 356–68

※ *jiao*

### *Zhengtong daoze*

正統道藏

#### Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period

The *Da Ming daoze jing* 大明道藏經 (Scriptures of the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming) completed during the reign of the Zhengtong Emperor (r. 1436–49) has come to be known in modern printings as the *Zhengtong daoze*. It is the successor to the *\*Xuandu baoze* (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis) produced in 1244. The precise chronology of the Ming compilation is difficult to reconstruct, but its origins may be traced to the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403–24). Like earlier canonical collections of Taoist writings, the story of how the *Zhengtong daoze* took shape is closely tied to the story of a ruling house determined to regulate religious affairs.

*History of the compilation.* In a decree issued at the close of 1406, the Yongle Emperor enjoins the forty-third Celestial Master *\*Zhang Yuchu* (1361–1410) to submit the body of Taoist texts he had been charged with collecting so that blocks could be cut for printing. Variant compositions by Zhang himself speak of receiving an imperial mandate to compile a Taoist Canon in the summer of either 1406 or 1407. How much he actually accomplished before his demise in 1410 is not known. The extent to which his younger brother and successor Zhang Yuqing 張宇清 (1364–1427) may have pursued this venture also remains to be determined. One person known to have been summoned to serve on the editorial team during the Yongle reign period is Tu Xinggong 涂省躬, a disciple of Taoist Master Luo Suxing 羅素行 at the Yuxu guan 玉虛觀 (Abbey of the Jade Void) in Nanchang (Jiangxi).

Further imperial support of the project came when the Zhengtong Emperor finally took up where his great-grandfather, the Yongle Emperor, had left off. In 1444 he authorized *\*Shao Yizheng* 邵以正 (?–1462) to supervise the collation of texts and overcome what lacunae remained so that publication of the Canon could proceed. The task appears to have been completed in short



order. The date recorded on the frontispiece of each case (*han* 函) of the *Zhengtong daoze* reads “eleventh day of the eleventh month of Zhengtong 10 (1445).” Yu Daochun 喻道純 of Changsha 長沙 (Hunan) and Tang Xiwen 湯希文 (?–1461) of Liyang 溧陽 (Jiangsu) have been identified as members of the editorial staff under Shao Yizheng.

*Imperial presentations of the Canon.* Copies of the Canon were presented to several major temples throughout the empire. A stele inscription marks the imperial bestowal of the new Canon to the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing. It opens with the statement of presentation composed by the Zhengtong Emperor on the tenth day of the eighth month of 1447. He entrusts the Canon to the clergy, charging them in their reading and incantations to pray for order in the country and the well-being of its people (上為國家祝釐，下與生民祈福). Only authorized personnel were to be allowed access to the Canon, ensuring not only proper veneration but also its safekeeping within the abbey.

The stele inscription of 1447 also includes a dedication composed by Senior Compiler in the Hanlin Academy Xu Bin 許彬 (*jinshi* 1415). In addition to reiterating the force of the imperial commendation, Xu traces the publication of the *Daoze jing* 道藏經 from the Yongle Emperor's decree to the fulfillment of his intent by the reigning Emperor. Once supplemental texts had been prepared, according to Xu, the resulting Canon came to a total of 5,305 *juan* 卷 in 480 cases. The ambiguous term *juan* is understood here to refer to chapters. Altogether 4,551 volumes or fascicles (*ce* 冊) were accommodated within the 480 cases.

Additional accounts attest to the imperial gift of a Canon in 1447 to temples in the south, including the \*Shangqing gong (Palace of Highest Clarity) on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi) and the Yuanfu gong 元符宮 (Palace of the Original Tally) on Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu). A copy of the Canon is also known to have been presented in 1476 by the Chenghua Emperor (r. 1465–87) to the Chaotian gong 朝天宮 (Palace in Homage to Heaven) in Nanjing (Jiangsu). At least seven temples, moreover, received a print of the Canon made in 1598 on behalf of the Empress Dowager Li 李氏, mother of the Wanli Emperor (r. 1573–1620).

*Format, size, and sources.* The Ming Canon was produced in a format corresponding to that of the Buddhist Canon printed in 1440 by imperial mandate. In both cases, the sheets were folded accordion-style, just as editions of the Buddhist Canon issued in the south had been produced. But

instead of 30 columns of text folded in five units of six columns, each sheet of the Ming Canon was printed with 25 columns of text folded in five units of five columns. Each column accommodated seventeen characters. Data recorded within the folds include the case label according to the first 480 words (*tian* 天 to *ying* 英) of the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand-Word Text), followed by the number of the fascicle and of the printed sheet. Unlike the *Xuandu baozang* of 1244, these small-print annotations lack running title and the names of block-cutters.

It is estimated that approximately 74,080 blocks were used to cut the 1445 Canon, whereas nearly 10,000 more would have been required to match the size of the larger-format Song Canon produced in 1119. In overall quantity of print, the Ming Canon is thus about 12% smaller than the size documented for the \**Zhenghe Wanshou daozaang* (Taoist Canon of the Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity of the Zhenghe Reign Period). Just how many texts in the *Zhengtong daozaang* can be traced back to the Song Canon remains unclear, but certainly among likely candidates are those honoring Song taboos. About half of the titles in the Ming Canon are post-Song compilations. It is thought unlikely that any texts from the Jurchen Canon of 1192 would have been available to the fifteenth-century editors, but nearly forty titles in the Ming Canon may have come from the Yuan Canon of 1244. Very few titles bear Ming period dates but a number of texts in the *Zhengtong daozaang* include reference to “Da Ming guo” 大明國 (Great Ming state).

*Table of contents and classification of texts.* The final component of the Canon includes a *Daozaang jing mulu* 道藏經目錄 (Index of the Scriptures in the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming; CT 1431), listing some 1,400 titles by case labels. It is prefaced by an introduction entitled “Daojiao zongyuan” 道教宗源 (Lineal Origins of the Taoist Teaching) and “Fanli” 凡例 (General Guidelines), outlining the organization of the Canon. The first half of the introduction corresponds to the opening passage in the *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 道門經法相承次序 (The Scriptures and Methods of Taoism in Orderly Sequence; CT 1128, 1.1a–2a), compiled no earlier than the latter half of the seventh century. A slightly variant version of the same text appears in the eleventh-century \**Yunji qiqian* (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds, 3.4b–5b), under the title “Daojiao sandong zongyuan” 道教三洞宗元 (Lineal Origins of the Three Caverns of the Taoist Teaching).

As the introduction explains, the contents of the Canon are presented within seven units known as the Three Caverns (\*SANDONG) and Four

Supplements (*sifu* 四輔). The supplements Taixuan 太玄 (Great Mystery), Taiping 太平 (Great Peace), and Taiqing 太清 (Great Clarity) are regarded as appendices to the initial three units, Dongzhen 洞真 (Cavern of Perfection), Dongxuan 洞玄 (Cavern of Mystery), and Dongshen 洞神 (Cavern of Spirit), respectively. The last unit, Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity), is said to serve as a common thread to the caverns and supplements (正一通貫洞輔). This sequence of units is thought to mirror seven levels of ordination, from the highest rank of Dongzhen to Zhengyi. Each of the Three Caverns is subdivided into twelve components (see [table 27](#)).

Table 27

1	Basic Texts ( <i>benwen</i> 本文)
2	Divine Talismans ( <i>shenfu</i> 神符)
3	Jade Instructions ( <i>yujue</i> 玉訣)
4	Numinous Charts ( <i>lingtu</i> 靈圖)
5	Catalogues and Registers ( <i>pulu</i> 譜錄)
6	Precepts and Observances ( <i>jielü</i> 戒律)
7	Ceremonial Protocols ( <i>weiyi</i> 威儀)
8	Methods ( <i>fangfa</i> 方法)
9	Techniques ( <i>zhongshu</i> 眾術)
10	Records and Biographies ( <i>jizhuan</i> 記傳)
11	Encomia and Lauds ( <i>zansong</i> 讚頌)
12	Memorials and Announcements ( <i>biaozou</i> 表奏)

The twelve divisions (*shi'er bu* 十二部) of the Taoist Canon.

The actual distribution of texts within the Ming Canon is not necessarily in keeping with these categorical headings. Nevertheless, the fact that the editors of this Canon chose to honor a pre-Song classification of texts into three “caverns” of thirty-six components seems to underscore their commitment to sustaining a continuity in canonic organization. No subdivisions are found in either the four supplements following the Three Caverns or the \**Wanli xu daoze* (Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Period) compiled in 1607.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

■ Bokenkamp 1986c; Boltz J. M. 1986b; Boltz J. M. 1986c; Boltz J. M. 1987c; Boltz J. M. 1994; Chen Guofu 1963, 174–204; Chen Yuan 1988, 1257–60, 1265–66, and 1298–99; Liu Ts'un-yan 1973; van der Loon 1984, 58–63; Ozaki Masaharu 1983b; Ozaki Masaharu 1986a; Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng 1991; Schipper 1975b; Schipper and Verellen 2004; Weng Dujian 1935; Zhong Zhaopeng 1993; Zhong Zhaopeng 1999; Zhu Yueli 1992, 155–62; Zhu Yueli 1996

※ Shao Yizheng; Zhang Yuchu; *Daozang mulu xiangzhu*; *Daozang quejing mulu*; *Wanli xu daoasang*; DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

## Zhengyi

### 正一

#### Orthodox Unity; Correct Unity

Together with \*Quanzhen, the Zhengyi school is one of the two main branches of Taoist religion. It is also known as Way of the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi dao 正一道), Teaching of the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi jiao 正一教), and Branch of the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi pai 正一派).

The term Orthodox Unity, or Correct Unity, has been used since the formative period of Taoist religion. According to tradition, in 142 CE \*Laojun bestowed the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity (*zhengyi mengwei* 正一盟威) on \*Zhang Daoling. This is deemed to be the founding act of Taoism as an organized religion. According to the \**Xiang'er* commentary to the *Daode jing*, dating from ca. 200 CE, “the One is the Dao” (*yi zhe dao ye* 者道也; Bokenkamp 1997, 89). The teaching was called “orthodox” to distinguish it from the many “false skills” (*weiji* 偽伎) or unorthodox practices prevalent in the waning years of the Later Han dynasty. Zhang's contemporaries referred to his teaching as the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice (\*Wudoumi dao), while during the Six Dynasties the southern Taoists called it the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao). Thus, the designations of Way of the Five Peck of Rice, Way of the Celestial Masters, and Covenant of Orthodox Unity all refer to the Zhengyi teaching; but “Way of the Five Peck

of Rice” usually refers to the earliest period, while some scholars tend to use “Way of the Celestial Masters” with reference to the Six Dynasties and Tang periods and “Teaching of Orthodox Unity” for the later periods. This entry is mainly concerned with Zhang Daoling's school from the Song period onward; on its history and features through the Tang period, see the entries \*Wudoumi dao and \*Tianshi dao.

*History in the Song-Yuan period.* The Celestial Masters (\**tianshi*; see [table 23](#)) resided on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). After the mid-Tang period, they frequently received imperial appointments, and Taoist priests traveled to the mountain to obtain transmissions of methods and registers (\*LU). In 1239, the Southern Song emperor Lizong (r. 1224–64) ordered the thirty-fifth Celestial Master, \*Zhang Keda, to bring together the Talismans and Registers of the Three Mountains (*sanshan fulu* 三山符籙). This expression denoted the three Taoist schools—Zhengyi, \*Shangqing, and \*Lingbao—formally based on Mount Longhu, Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu) and Mount Gezao (\*Gezao shan, Jiangxi), respectively. These schools were united under the leadership of Mount Longhu, but only Zhang Keda was bestowed the honorary name “Elder” (*xiansheng* 先生). After the Yuan dynasty had vanquished the Southern Song, Khubilai khan (r. 1260–94) acknowledged the claim of Zhang Daoling's descendants to the title Celestial Master, and from the thirty-sixth generation onward they were granted the right to act as the leaders of Taoism in Jiangnan. Any important affair relating to Taoism in that area was managed by or brought to the attention of the Celestial Master at Mount Longhu.

In 1304, the thirty-eighth Celestial Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (?–1316), was appointed Head of the Teaching of Orthodox Unity, Guarding the Talismans and Registers of the Three Mountains (*Zhengyi jiaozhu zhuling sanshan fulu* 正一教主注領三山符籙). Reaffirming its position of supremacy, Mount Longhu was put in charge of the other two ranges by imperial decree. This led to the formation of the Zhengyi school with a structure similar to that of Quanzhen. All schools of Taoist religion, with the exception of Quanzhen, were in fact reunited at Mount Longhu and together came to be called the Teaching of Orthodox Unity.

*Main features.* Throughout its history, the Zhengyi school has been distinguished by four main characteristics. First, the school regards the Celestial Master as its religious leader. The title of Celestial Master is said to

have been passed on from generation to generation, beginning with Zhang Daoling. After Zhang Yucai was declared Head of the Teaching of Orthodox Unity, successive Celestial Masters also inherited this title. Although the court later suppressed the designation Celestial Master, and Mount Longhu lost its power to actually control the other mountains and oversee regional Taoist offices, the Celestial Master continued to be commonly regarded as the Zhengyi spiritual leader, and he is still revered as such today.

The second main feature is the institution of conferring registers (*lu*) when entering Taoism. Registers serve as proof of the continued transmission of Taoist schools, and people studying the Dao were considered as ordained priests only after they were conferred registers. These were divided into grades; different grades expressed different degrees of familiarity with the Taoist practices and rites. Therefore, conferring registers was an important Zhengyi institution to guarantee the completeness and purity of its organizational structure. (For more details on this institution, see the entry \*LU.)

Third, Zhengyi regards Laozi as the ancestor of its teaching, but developed its own corpus of scriptures and writings. The extant Ming edition of the Taoist Canon records altogether thirty-one works under the heading Orthodox Unity (*zhengyi*). These works are traditionally said to interconnect the three major sections of the Canon (\*SANDONG or Three Caverns).

Fourth, the main religious practices of the Teaching of Orthodox Unity are the \*zhai (Retreat) and \*jiao (Offering) rituals, as well as the use of talismans (\*FU) and registers. The liturgy also integrates popular customs and culture, and can be performed in the local dialects. Zhengyi priests can leave their families and live in temples, or they may also stay with their families. They are usually allowed to eat meat and abstain from it only when they perform rituals.

*Later history.* In the Hongwu reign period (1368–98) of the Ming dynasty, the emperor suppressed the use of the title of Celestial Master within Zhengyi, but this only increased veneration for him. From the end of the Ming, the Teaching of Orthodox Unity gradually declined. In the Daoguang period (1821–50) of the Qing dynasty, the Celestial Master was no longer invited to the capital to see the emperor and relations between the court and Zhengyi came to an end. Thus, the teaching could only be handed down among the populace, and its traditional institutions and activities were kept alive only within the school itself.

In the last twenty years, after an interruption of more than half a century, the Teaching of Orthodox Unity in the People's Republic of China has reinstated its statutes for conferring registers (Lai Chi-tim 2003). The residence of the Celestial Master at Mount Longhu was renovated, the scriptures rites were rearranged, and a great number of young Taoist priests were educated and are now filling all echelons of the school's organizations. The Zhengyi teaching is displaying new vitality, and its future development deserves the close attention of everyone concerned with Taoism.

*CHEN Yaoting*

▣ Barrett 1994b; Chen Bing 1986; Guo Shusen 1990; Ishida Kenji 1992; Matsumoto Kōichi 1982; Qing Xitai 1988–95, vols. 3 and 4, passim; Qing Xitai 1994, 1: 193–99; Ren Jiyu 1990, 547–60, 628–46; Schipper 1982–83; Welch 1957–58; Zhang Jintao 1994; Zhang Jiyu 1990; Zhuang Hongyi 1986

※ Tianshi dao; Wudoumi dao; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. III.7 (“Song, Jin, and Yuan: Zhengyi”) and sec. III.9 (“Ming and Qing: Zhengyi”)

### *Zhengyi fawen jing*

正一法文經

Scripture of the Code of Orthodox Unity

The *Zhengyi fawen* 正一法文 (Code of Orthodox Unity) was an extensive collection of the rules and rites of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) that first arose in the fifth century. Over the years it grew to sixty scrolls, then was divided into separate sections and, for the most part, lost. The Harvard-Yenching index of the Taoist Canon lists twenty-five texts with the title “Zhengyi fawen,” nine of which are still extant (Weng Dujian 1935, 67). No traces of the compendium were recovered from \*Dunhuang, but citations of its contents begin with the \**Wushang biyao* and continue into the early Song (\**Yunji qiqian*, *Taiping yulan*).

One of the most frequently cited among these sources is the *Zhengyi fawen*

*jing* (CT 1204), set as a dialogue of the Most High (Taishang 太上) with the first Celestial Master, \*Zhang Daoling. Asked about the causes for people's misfortunes (1a), the Most High explains that they are due to lack of faith in the laws of retribution, contempt for the Dao, breaking of the precepts (\**jie*), and indulgence in sensual pleasures. People should rather pursue devotional activities, such as performing rites of repentance, burning incense, giving charity, sponsoring monasteries, and making sacred images (1b–2a). These lists, as well as the Buddhist tenor of the text, suggest a sixth-century date.

The work then specifies nine states of danger that cause people to be restless and unable to sleep. They are: sickness, imprisonment, war, floods, fires, poisonous creatures, earthquakes, inner terror, and hunger and cold. These nine are brought as punishments for human sins by a group of nine major demons who each have nine billion lesser entities at their disposal (2a–3b). In addition, there are five evil Emperors, associated with the five directions and the five colors, who each spread sicknesses, poisons, and disasters that match their colors (3b–4b). And there are five punishing swords that are distributed by celestial officers and bring diseases and disasters in a pattern corresponding to the Five Phases (\**wuxing*), e.g., the sword of Wood brings hunger and cold, that of Fire, headaches and fevers, and so forth (4b–5a).

The last section of the text focuses on countermeasures, especially centering around the worship of the Celestial Worthies (*tianzun* 天尊) of the ten directions. Their names as listed here (7a–b) are identical with those found in the \**Fengdao kejie* (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao), but the order is different: instead of bowing first to the cardinal, then to the intermediate directions, here the practitioner is to follow a consecutive circle, moving clockwise and beginning with the east. For each deity, on the other hand, worship procedures, production of statues, and copying and recitation of scriptures (\**songjing*) closely match similar instructions given in the *Fengdao kejie*.

Livia KOHN

※ *jie* [precepts]; Tianshi dao

*Zhengyi weiyi jing*



## 正一威儀經

### Scripture of Dignified Liturgies of Orthodox Unity

The *Zhengyi weiyi jing* (CT 791), probably dating from the late sixth century, contains 132 entries under a total of thirty headings, formulating concrete instructions for priests and renunciants of the Way of the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao). In a concluding note (19b–20a), the text claims that it originated with the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊) and was transmitted to the Most High (Taishang 太上), who in turn passed it on to the first Celestial Master \*Zhang Daoling.

In content, the *Zhengyi weiyi jing* deals with ordination procedures and daily religious behavior, including sections on receiving the Dao, ritual vestments and shoes, reciting and explaining scriptures, serving the teacher, performing obeisances, sounding bells and lighting lamps, residences and furniture, eating and drinking, travels, and the ceremonies surrounding death.

Many of the text's instructions are compatible and even identical with instructions given in other texts on monastic and ritual organization of the early Tang, such as the *\*Fengdao kejie* (Codes and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao). The rules here are less well organized, however, and do not appear in a structured setting of systematic explanation. Also, they are limited in a sectarian context by their close link to the first Celestial Master Zhang Daoling, who was particularly venerated among the southern Celestial Masters. The work is thus a precursor of the monastic codes proper. It provides an idea of how much of the monastic organization was directly inherited from the lay priesthood of the Celestial Masters.

*Livia KOHN*

※ *jie* [precepts]; Tianshi dao; MONASTIC CODE; ORDINATION AND PRIESTHOOD

### *Zhenling weiye tu*

### 真靈位業圖

### Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Real

(or: Perfected) Numinous Beings

The *Zhenling weiye tu*, compiled by \*Tao Hongjing (456–536), was originally part of the \**Dengzhen yinjue* (Concealed Instructions for the Ascent to Reality). It is not found in the current version of this work (CT 421) but survives in a reedition (CT 167) by \*Lüqiu Fangyuan (?–902). The text ranks the *zhenling* in seven degrees according to their ranks and functions. Each rank is further divided into middle, left and right, and in some cases female \**zhenren* and miscellaneous groups are added. Many of the *zhenling* are also mentioned in such texts as the \**Zhengao*, the *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 元始上真眾仙記 (Records of the Supreme Perfected and All the Immortals of Original Commencement; CT 166), and the *Zhoushi mingtong ji* 周氏冥通記 (Records of Mr. Zhou's Communications with the Unseen; CT 302; trans. Mugitani Kunio and Yoshikawa Tadao 2003). Most of the lower-ranking ones, however, do not appear to be recorded elsewhere.

While the classification of the *Zhenling weiye tu* is similar to the one found in the “Gujin ren biao” 古今人表 (Charts of People of Antiquity and the Present Day) chapter of the *Hanshu* (History of the Former Han), the division into seven ranks is also closely related to Tao's view of numerology, which ascribes a special meaning to the number 7. In the *Zhengao*, for instance, Tao refers to the highest \*Shangqing scriptures, the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*), and the “Inner Chapters” of the \**Zhuangzi* as each incorporating the truth; all these works were composed of seven scrolls. Both the *Zhengao* and the *Dengzhen yinjue* were also divided into seven sections.

The main deities and immortals mentioned in the descriptions of the seven ranks are the following:

1. Deities of the Jade Clarity (Yuqing 玉清) heaven, with the Lord of the Dao, Sovereign of Emptiness (Xuhuang daojun 虛皇道君, i.e., the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement or Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊) in the center, the Most Exalted Lord of the Dao (Gaoshang daojun 高上道君) leading the deities on the left side, and the Lord of the Dao, Original Sovereign (Yuanhuang daojun 元皇道君) leading those on the right.
2. Deities and *zhenling* of the Highest Clarity (Shangqing 上清) heaven, with the Most High Great Lord of the Dao, Mysterious

Sovereign of the Jade Dawn (Taishang yuchen xuanhuang da daojun 太上玉晨玄皇大道君) in the middle, the Lord of the Dao, Celestial Emperor of the Great Tenuity of the Purple Dawn (Zichen taiwei tiandi daojun 紫晨太微天帝道君) leading the deities on the left, and the Lord of the Dao of Mysterious Origin, Saint of the Latter Age of the Imperial Dawn of the Golden Portal (Jinque dichen housheng xuanyuan daojun 金闕帝晨後聖玄元道君) leading those on the right, while the Great Authentic Original Princess of the Nine Numina (Jiuling taizhen yuanjun 九靈太真元君) leads the female *zhenren*.

3. Deities of the Taiji 太極 (Great Ultimate) heaven, with the Imperial Lord of the Golden Portal (\*Jinque dijun) in the center, the Yellow Old Lord (Huanglao jun 黃老君) leading the deities on the left, and Xiliang Ziwen 西梁子文 leading those on the right.
4. Deities of the Great Clarity (Taiqing 太清) heaven, with the Most High Lord Lao (\*Laojun) in the center, \*Zhang Daoling leading the deities on the left, and Zhao Chezi 趙車子 leading those on the right.
5. Miscellaneous immortals of the Nine Palaces (\*Jiugong 九宮) who have not yet been assigned to one of the higher heavens. In the center is the Secretary of the Nine Palaces (*jiugong shangshu* 九宮尚書), namely Zhang Feng 張奉, leading the immortals on the left is the Minister of the Left (*zuoxiang* 左相), and leading those on the right is the Minister of the Right (*youxiang* 右相).
6. Earthbound male and female immortals in the Huayang 華陽 Grotto-Heaven (\**dongtian*), with the Middle Lord Mao (Zhong Maojun 中茅君, i.e., Mao Gu 茅固, on whom see under \*Maojun) in the middle, the Minor Lord Mao (Xiao Maojun 小茅君, i.e., Mao Zhong 茅衷) leading the immortals on the left, and Liu Yi 劉翊 leading the immortals on the right.
7. Various deities who control the bureaus of the underworld (\*Fengdu); at the center is the Great Emperor of Northern Yin (Bei Yin dadi 北陰大帝), leading the deities on the left is Qin Shihuang 秦始皇, and leading those on the right is Dai Yuan 戴淵.

▣ Ishii Masako 1983a, 130–39; Ma Xiaohong 1998; Ren Jiyu 1990, 183–89; Strickmann 1979, 179–81

※ Tao Hongjing; Shangqing; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

*zhenren*

真人

Real Man or Woman; Authentic Man or Woman;  
True Man or Woman; Perfected

The term *zhenren* denotes one of the highest states in the Taoist spiritual hierarchy. While the word *zhen* does not appear in the five Confucian classics, it is found in both the *Daode jing* and the *\*Zhuangzi*. *Daode jing* 21 says, “Within [the Dao] is an essence (*\*jing*); this essence is the highest reality (*zhen*),” and *Zhuangzi* 31 defines the term saying: “Reality (*zhen*) is what is received from Heaven; it is so of itself (*\*ziran*) and cannot be altered (*yi* 易).” In *Zhuangzi* 2, the ruler of the universe is called *zhenzai* 真宰 (Real Ruler) and *zhenjun* 真君 (Real Lord), and one who has attained the Dao is called *zhenren*.

Elsewhere in the *Zhuangzi*, the *zhenren* is described as follows:

What is the meaning of *zhenren*? The *zhenren* of ancient times did not struggle against adversity, was not proud of success, did not plan his actions. . . . One who was like this could climb high places and not be afraid, go into water and not get wet, enter fire and not be burned. This is because his knowledge was able to rise to the Dao. The *zhenren* of ancient times slept without dreaming, and woke without any worry. He ate without caring about taste, and his breath was very deep. A *zhenren* breathes through his heels whereas the ordinary man breathes through his throat. . . . The *zhenren* of ancient times knew nothing about delighting in life, nor did he hate the world of death. He was not glad of coming forth, nor reluctant to go in. He merely went with composure and came with composure. (Chapter 6; see also trans. Watson 1968, 77–78)

While the *Zhuangzi* does not describe a person with supernormal powers as a *zhenren*, it is easy to see how the idea could be adopted into the search for eternal youth and immortality. The words quoted above no doubt influenced the speech of the *\*fangshi* Lu Sheng 盧生 when he was trying to influence

Qin Shi huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE), who was fascinated by the idea of immortality: “The *zhenren* enters water but does not get wet, enters fire but does not get burned, flies among the clouds, and has a length of life equal to that of Heaven and Earth” (*Shiji* 6).

Thus the *zhenren* entered Taoist religion colored by the idea of immortality. The Taoist *zhenren* was ranked higher than the immortal (*\*xianren*) in the celestial hierarchy. For instance, the *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* 紫陽真人內傳 (Inner Biography of the Real Man of Purple Yang; see *\*Ziyang zhenren*) says that “there are various degrees of *xian*,” upper, middle and lower. “Those whose names appear in the Golden Script (*jinshu* 金書, i.e., the list of the upper ranks of the celestial bureaucracy) are *zhenren*.” The Grotto-Heavens and Blissful Lands (*\*dongtian* and *fudi*) that Taoists conceived as being scattered all over China were inhabited by middle-ranking immortals (the earthly immortals, *dixian* 地仙) and were ruled by *zhenren* who had been appointed by Heaven.

Sometimes the *zhenren* would descend from Heaven into the body of the practitioner. The Six Dynasties *\*Laozi zhongjing* (Central Scripture of Laozi) explains a technique for nourishing the Real Man Child-Cinnabar (*Zidan zhenren* 子丹真人) within one's own body. *Zidan* is a lord (*jun* 君), an infant (*chizi* 赤子), and the embryo of immortality.

From around the end of the Former Han dynasty the idea spread that a *zhenren* who had received the Heavenly Mandate (*tianming* 天命) would appear to renew the world. Liu Xiu 劉秀, who founded the Later Han dynasty, was called Baishui *zhenren* 白水真人 (Real Man of the White Water), and Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220) of Wei was also sometimes called *zhenren*. These examples show a correspondence with the thought of the *\*Taiping jing* (j. 71), which considers the *zhenren* to be a ruler on earth in contrast to the “divine man” (*\*shenren*) who rules in heaven.

MIURA Kunio

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 279; Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1999, 52–101; Izutsu Toshihiko 1983, 444–56; Lagerwey 1987a; Larre 1982, 239–46; Robinet 1993, 42–48; Yamada Toshiaki 1983b, 336–38; Yearley 1983

※ *shenren*; *xianren*; TRANSCENDENCE AND IMMORTALITY

## Zhenwu

真武

### Perfected Warrior

Zhenwu, also known as the Dark Warrior (Xuanwu 玄武) or Highest Emperor of the Dark Heaven (Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝), is a divinity known for his powers of healing and exorcism. In Han dynasty cosmology, the Dark Warrior was one of the four animals corresponding to the cardinal directions (see under *\*siling*). Usually depicted as a serpent coiled around a tortoise, the Dark Warrior was correlated with winter, water, the color black, and the constellations of the northern quadrant of the sky.



Fig. 88. Zhenwu (Perfected Warrior). Chen Yanqing 陳彥清 (fl. early fifteenth century). Photograph by Robert Hashimoto. The Art Institute of Chicago. See Little 2000b, 294.

The Perfected Warrior was later worshipped as an individual deity, perhaps as early as the seventh century. In 1018, during the reign of Song Zhenzong, he received the title Perfected Warrior, Numinous Response Perfected Lord (Zhenwu lingying zhenjun 真武靈應真君). In 1304, under the Yuan dynasty, he was granted the title Primordial Sage of the Dark Heaven, Benevolent and Majestic Highest Emperor (Xuantian yuansheng renwei shangdi 玄天元聖仁威上帝). The peak of the Perfected Warrior's importance, however, came during the Ming dynasty. In 1412, the Yongle Emperor sponsored a major

reconstruction project on Mount Wudang (\*Wudang shan, Hubei), the Perfected Warrior's center of worship. By the Ming, depictions of the Perfected Warrior had acquired a number of distinctive iconographic features, including the loose hair and bare feet characteristic of spirit mediums. Also in Ming times, the vernacular novel *Beiyou ji* 北遊記 (Journey to the North; trans. Seaman 1987), attributed to Yu Xiangdou 余象斗 (fl. 1596; DMB 1612–14), recounts the Perfected Warrior's adventures over the course of seven incarnations.

Theodore A. COOK

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 86–91; de Bruyn 2004; Despeux 1994, 138–40; Grootaers 1952; Lagerwey 1992; Little 2000b, 291–311; Major 1985–86

※ Wudang shan; *siling*; DEITIES: THE PANTHEON

### *Zhenxian beiji*

#### 真仙碑記

#### Epigraphic Records of Real Men and Immortals

The *Zhongnan shan Shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji* 終南山說經臺歷代真仙碑記 (Epigraphic Records of the Successive Generations of Real Men and Immortals Who Lived at the Platform for Explaining the Scriptures on the Zhongnan Mountains; CT 956) is a collection of thirty-five biographies written by Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 (fl. 1279–1308). The stele, still standing today at the \*Louguan (Tiered Abbey), is one of the most impressive monuments of Taoist \*EPIGRAPHY of the Yuan dynasty. Its format and size are rather unusual for a stele inscription. Zhu Xiangxian abbreviated a Six Dynasties hagiographic work, now lost, adding the biographies of the \*Quanzhen masters \*Yin Zhiping and Li Zhirou 李志柔 (1189–1266). Yin Zhiping was considered to be a novel \*Yin Xi who restored the primal age of Taoism, and his biography echoes the first and longest one in the collection, devoted to Yin Xi himself. The other biographies are very short and focus on Taoists from the late Warring States to the late Six Dynasties, most of whom

we only know through quotations of this same work.

Zhu Xiangxian, who hailed from Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu), moved early to the Louguan and became a Quanzhen monk there, spending his life in the various shrines of this major center. He took upon himself the task of commemorating the legacy of the holy place, from the time of Laozi to the spectacular revival after Quanzhen took control of it in 1236. Zhu also compiled the *Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji* 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集 (Anthology from the Continued Celebration [of the Appearance] of the Purple Clouds at the Tiered Abbey of Antiquity; CT 957; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 126), a collection of inscriptions, prose texts, and poetry pertaining to the history of the Louguan.

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 235–39; Wang Shiwei 1993; Wang Zhongxin 1995

※ Louguan; Quanzhen; EPIGRAPHY

Zhenyuan

真元

[Lineage of the] True Origin

The Taoist Canon contains nine works belonging to Zhenyuan textual lineage. Some of them are incomplete, while others derive from the division of one text into two parts. They all approximately date from the twelfth century, but internal evidence supports their claim to represent a tradition that goes back to Tang times (eighth-ninth centuries). The nine texts—the last two of which are addressed to beginners—are the following:

1. *Zhenyuan tongxian daojing* 真元通仙道經 (Zhenyuan Scripture of the Dao on Entering Immortality; CT 57), incomplete.
2. *Xiuzhen liyan chaotu* 修真歷驗鈔圖 (Excerpts and Diagrams on Successive Experiences of Cultivating Authenticity; CT 152, and YJQQ 72.16b–38b).
3. *Zhenyuan miaojing pin* 真元妙經品 (Wondrous Scripture in



Sections of Zhenyuan; CT 436), with a preface spuriously attributed to Tang Xuanzong (r. 712–56).

4. *Zhenyuan miaojing tu* 真元妙經圖 (Wondrous Scripture and Diagrams of Zhenyuan; CT 437).
5. *Zhenyuan yinyang zhijiang tushu houjie* 真元陰陽陟降圖書後解 (Later Explications of the Zhenyuan Diagrams and Writings on the Ascent and Descent of Yin and Yang; CT 438). This and the previous text were probably a single work later divided into two parts. Altogether, they contain a set of twelve diagrams.
6. *Zhenyuan tushu jishuo zhongpian* 真元圖書繼說終篇 (Final Folios with Additional Explanations on the Diagrams and Writings of Zhenyuan; CT 439).
7. *Zhenyuan miaodao yaolie* 真元妙道要略 (Abridged Essentials of the Wondrous Way of Zhenyuan; CT 924). This text, which is incomplete, appears to be the second part of no. 2 above.
8. *Kaihua zhenjing* 開化真經 (Authentic Scripture on the Opening of Transformation; CT 1133).
9. *Juntian yanfan zhenjing* 鈞天演範真經 (Authentic Scripture Explaining the Rules for Harmonizing with Heaven; CT 1134).

The main doctrinal feature of these texts is a synthesis of Confucian ethics, Taoist philosophy, medical traditions, numerology, *\*neiguan* (inner observation), *\*neidan*, and Buddhism. In its ideal of universal salvation (*\*pudu*), the lineage also reveals a *\*Lingbao* influence. The term *zhenyuan* itself is a synonym for Dao borrowed from *\*Shangqing*, a school to which the texts claim to be affiliated.

The Zhenyuan pantheon consists of ten major gods who are appellations (*hao* 號) of the supreme divinity (*tian chenzun* 天宸尊). Among them are Laozi, Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊 (Celestial Worthy of the Numinous Treasure; see *\*sanqing*), and a Buddhist-like god of universal compassion. The supreme divinity takes on different forms in relation to diverse human characteristics and social functions, each of which requires specific virtues. The man of superior rank aims to achieve universal salvation by practicing non-interference (*\*wuwei*).

The Great Ultimate (*\*taiji*) plays the same major role of primordial Unity as does the Great One (*\*Taiyi*) in Han times: it connects the trigrams and

hexagrams of the \**Yijing* and Han cosmology with the void of the *Daode jing*, the Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*), and the circulation of pneuma in the cosmos and in the human body. The *neidan* language and spirit are noticeable: practices are performed on double levels, body and spirit, cosmos and human. This remarkably syncretic lineage represents a link between Shangqing and *neidan*.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Robinet 1989–90; Wang Ka 1993b

※ *neidan*

### *Zhenzheng lun*

甄正論

Essays of Examination and Correction

The *Zhenzheng lun* (T. 2112) is Buddhist polemical work in three chapters. The author, Xuanyi 玄嶷 (fl. 684–704), formerly a metropolitan Taoist priest named Du You 杜又, had renounced his original religious career some time toward 695, and after being granted thirty years of seniority as a Buddhist monk so as to assure him an equivalent position in the Buddhist hierarchy, produced this attack on his former colleagues some time before the end of the reign of the Empress Wu in 705. No doubt the official dominance of the Buddhistic ideology espoused by the Empress from 690 onward inspired his conversion, though discreet imperial support for Taoism continued throughout this period. Xuanyi's revelations are somewhat disappointing, sounding polemical themes already well developed by predecessors. Even his allegations concerning the forgery of Taoist texts such as the \**Benji jing* (Scripture of the Original Bound) by Taoist priests (in this case, Liu Jinxi 劉進喜 and Li Zhongqing 李仲卿) through the plagiarization of Buddhist works, though more detailed than most, can be found in earlier sources.

His analysis of Taoism is, however, unique. For though he follows the tactic of attempting to deny Taoism “cultural space” by distinguishing the

otherworldly goals of Buddhism from the legitimate but worldly concerns of both Laozi and his like (considered as Chinese political thinkers), and also of practitioners of the macrobiotic arts (considered purely as hygienic regimes), he adds a surprising third category. Opposed as he is to the pretensions of those Taoists who have confected through plagiarism a false religion to rival Buddhism, the Taoism of “talismans and registers” (*fulu* 符籙) associated with the Celestial Masters (\*Tianshi dao) he condones, by contrast, as mere folk belief. There was probably a political motive at work here, too. The Empress Wu showed a remarkably tolerant attitude toward popular religious cults, including Taoist ones, since she needed their support for her legitimation as the only female emperor in Chinese history. It was the readiness of the erudite Taoist priests of the metropolis to see their religion become during the reign of her husband the state sponsored family cult of the dynasty which she eventually supplanted that was her real target. Taoists of this type, the monastic, celibate rivals of the Buddhists, Xuanyi denounced in a most obliging fashion. After the Empress Wu we hear no more of the Buddhist acceptance of the married priesthood of Taoism among the people; indeed, even the Chinese state seems to have relaxed only when it was assigned to the hereditary oversight of the Zhang family many centuries later. On this point the *Zhenzheng lun* provides a unique insight into a highly unusual phase in Chinese religious history; for the rest it tends to supplement information available elsewhere.

*T. H. BARRETT*

▣ Barrett 1998, 424; Forte 1976, 119, 123

※ TAOISM AND CHINESE BUDDHISM

*zhi*

芝

“numinous mushrooms”; “excrescences”

The term *zhi*, which has no equivalent in Western languages, refers to a

variety of supermundane substances often described as plants, fungi, or “excrecences.” Also known as *lingzhi* 靈芝 (numinous *zhi*), *yinzhi* 隱芝 (concealed

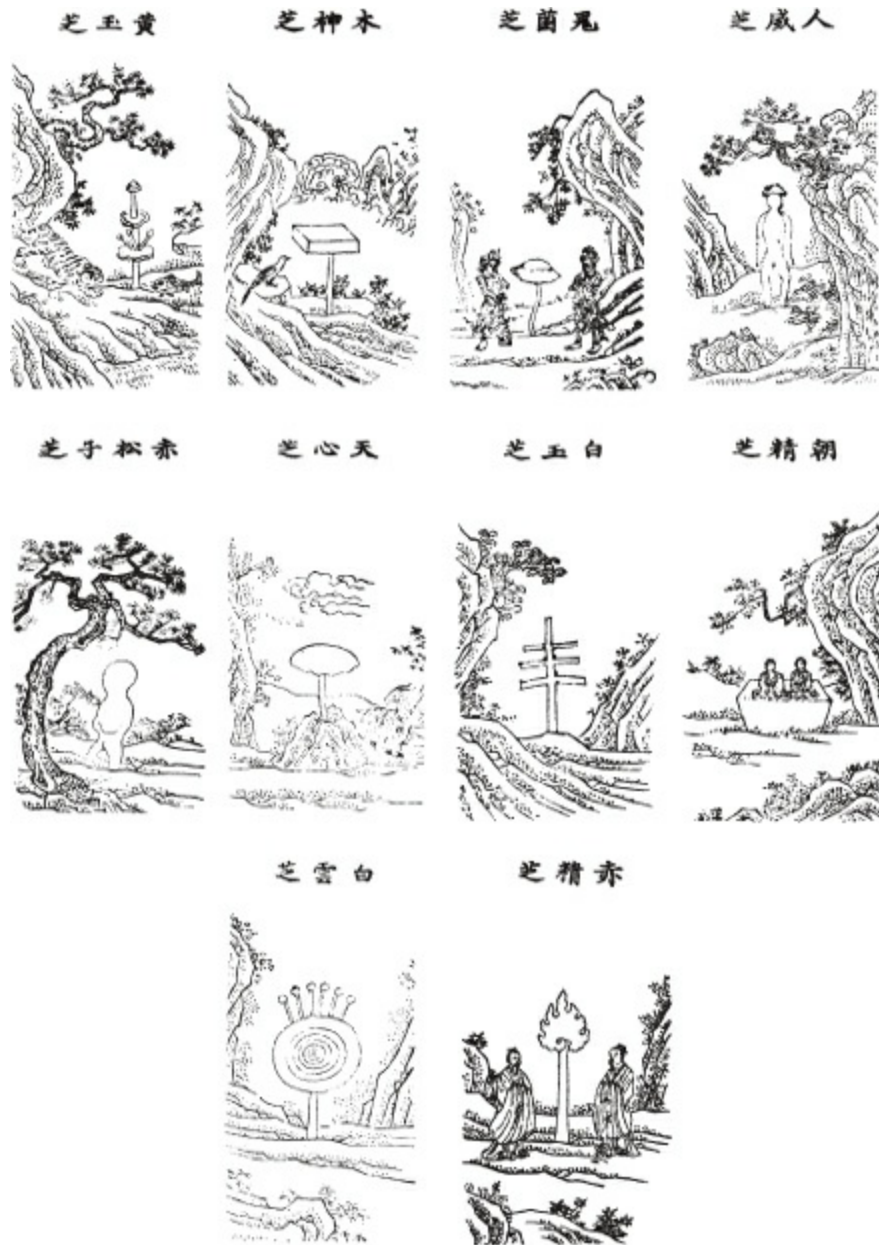


Fig. 89. Illustrations of *zhi* (“numinous mushrooms,” or “excrecences”).  
*Zhicao pin* 芝草品 (Classified *Zhi* Plants; CT 1406).

*zhi*), or *zhicao* 芝草 (*zhi* plants), and often associated with jade (for instance in the expression *yuzhi* 玉芝, “jade and *zhi*”), they are said to grow spontaneously in mythical places like \*Penglai or on mountains that also

produce precious minerals. While there may be no better term than “mushrooms” or “excrescences” to refer to them, and even though \*Ge Hong states that they “are not different from natural mushrooms (*ziran zhi* 自然芝)” (\**Baopu zi*, 16.287), the *zhi* pertain to an intermediate dimension between mundane and transcendent reality. Early sources associate them with some female divine beings, and consider them to be auspicious portents sent by Heaven. Ingesting them confers longevity and immortality to a degree equivalent to that of the alchemical elixirs.

The first classical discussion of the *zhi* is found in chapter 11 of the *Baopu zi* (trans. Ware 1966, 179–85). Drawing from texts now lost that described them with illustrations, Ge Hong distinguishes five sorts of *zhi*—each of which is said to include more than one hundred varieties—based on their shapes: stone *zhi* (*shizhi* 石芝), wood *zhi* (*muzhi* 木芝), plant *zhi* (*caozhi* 草芝), flesh *zhi* (*rouzhi* 肉芝), and mushroom *zhi* (*junzhi* 菌芝). Ge Hong also adds a significant detail, saying that unless the deities and spirits of a mountain agree to disclose the *zhi*, “one could even step right over them without seeing them.” Accordingly, ascending a mountain to collect the *zhi* requires preliminary purification rites and the performance of breathing practices and the Pace of Yu (*Yubu* 禹步; see \**bugang*). Another meaningful aspect that emerges from Ge Hong's discussion is that some *zhi* continuously radiate light. The Stone Elephant (*shixiang* 石象), for instance, yields a light “visible by night at one hundred feet.” The *zhi* of the Seven Brilliances and the Nine Radiances (*qiming jiuguang* 七明九光) issues a brightness that “resembles that of the stars; by night these lights are visible at one hundred feet, and each beam can clearly be distinguished from the others, spreading out without merging with the others.”

Two of Ge Hong's descriptions correspond to those given in the *Jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue* 九轉還丹經要訣 (Essential Instructions on the Scripture of the Reverted Elixir in Nine Cycles; CT 889), a \*Shangqing text that originally was part of \*Maojun's revealed biography (Robinet 1984, 2: 389–98), and that describes Maojun as planting five *zhi* on Mount Mao (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu), the early seat of the Shangqing school. This is also the topic of the *Zhong zhicao fa* 種芝草法 (Methods for Planting the *Zhi* Plants; CT 933), a work probably dating from the late Six Dynasties that in turn shares passages with another Shangqing text, the *Mingjian yaojing* 明鑑要經 (Essential Scripture of the Bright Mirror; CT 1206; 8b–13a). It contains instructions attributed to Laozi and states that the best *zhi* are those growing

above deposits of cinnabar, gold, malachite, and realgar. Accordingly, the text teaches how to plant these minerals in the four directions of a mountain at the solstices and equinoxes so that they generate the *zhi*.

At least in some contexts, the imagery originally attached to the *zhi* was progressively lost, resulting in more “secular” views. Incorporation of the *zhi* in some pharmacopoeias may have played a role in this process, as the *zhi* sometimes became associated with common mushrooms, resulting in an emphasis on their healing properties. A different trend is the aesthetic appeal exerted by the *zhi* for some writers. An example is found in the Taoist Canon with the *Zhicao pin* 芝草品 (Classified *Zhi* Plants; CT 1406; see [fig. 89](#)). Although a *Zhipin* 芝品 (Classified *Zhi*) is listed in \*Lu Xiuqing's catalogue of \*Lingbao scriptures (Ōfuchi Ninji 1974, 39; see [table 16](#)), this work, containing illustrations and descriptions of 127 *zhi* and probably dating from the early Song period, may be reckoned among the catalogues (*pu* 譜) of uncommon objects compiled by Song and later literati.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Company 2002, 27–29; Little 2000b, 340–41; Needham 1974, 121–23; Strickmann 1966

*zhi*

治

parish

Accounts in secular historical sources of the founding of Celestial Master Taoism (\*Tianshi dao) relate that a series of twenty-four administrative centers or *zhi* were established throughout the area of Sichuan and southern Shaanxi province that they controlled. Later sectarian sources record their establishment by \*Zhang Daoling in 143, one year after the revelation, but it is unlikely that the faith could have spread so widely in one year. As the name indicates, these centers combined governmental functions with their religious role, and during the period of de facto independence, they came to be both the administrative nexus for the surrounding district and a gathering place and place of worship for the faithful. For this reason, the term is often

translated “parish” or even “diocese.”

The original twenty-four parishes (see [table 28](#)) were divided into three ranked groups of eight. The superior group consisted of the Yangping 陽平 parish, the parish associated with the Celestial Master, Lutang 鹿堂 parish, Heming 鶴鳴 parish, Liyuan 瀋沅 parish, Gegui 葛瓚 parish, Gengchu 更除 parish, Qinzhong 秦中 parish, and Zhenduo 真多 parish. These are also referred to as “great parishes” and “orthodox parishes,” and first three of this group—Yangping, Lutang and Heming—had special significance, each representing one of the founding pneumas of the group. The leaders of these three parishes were the highest ranking priests in the movement. The second tier of parishes consisted of the Changli 昌利, Lishang 隸上, Yongquan 湧泉, Chougeng 稠梗, Beiping 北平, Benzhu 本竹, Mengqin 蒙秦, and Pinggai 平蓋 parishes. The lowest tier of parishes encompassed Yuntai 雲臺, Jinkou 濼口, Houcheng 後城, Gongmu 公慕, Pinggang 平剛, Zhubu 主簿, Yuju 玉局, and Beimang 北邨 parishes.

Table 28

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1	Yangping 陽平
2	Lutang shan 鹿堂山
3	Heming shan 鶴鳴山
4	Liyuan shan 瀋山
5	Gegui shan 葛瓚山
6	Gengchu 更除
7	Qinzhong 秦中
8	Zhenduo 真多
9	Changli 昌利
10	Lishang 隸上
11	Yongquan 湧泉
12	Chougeng 稠梗
13	Beiping 北平
14	Benzhu 本竹
15	Mengqin 蒙秦
16	Pinggai 平蓋
17	Yuntai shan 雲臺山
18	Jinkou 灑口
19	Houcheng 後城
20	Gongmu 公慕
21	Pinggang 平剛
22	Zhubu shan 主簿山
23	Yuju 玉局
24	Beimang 北邙

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The twenty-four parishes (*ershisi zhi* 二十四治) of early Tianshi dao.  
 Source: \**Wushang biyao* (CT 1138), 23.4a–9a (see Lagerwey 1981b, 103–4).

When plotted on a map, the parishes cover most of Sichuan province and parts of southern Shaanxi, but do not group into meaningful regional units. Eventually, when the Taoist community spread across North China in 215, then on to South China following the fall of the Western Jin, these parishes ceased to have meaning to the faithful. They were replaced by a system linking each parish to a constellation in the Chinese zodiac (see under \**xiu*), with membership determined by birth. The *Taizhen ke* 太真科 (Code of the Great Perfected) says that in 196 Zhang Lu added four additional parishes



(Jushan 具山, Zhongmao 鍾茂, Baishi 白石, and Ganghu 剛互 parishes), called “supplementary parishes” (*beizhi* 配治) or “separate parishes” (*biezhi* 別治), so that the twenty-eight parishes would correspond directly with the twenty-eight constellations. Wang Chunwu (1996) points out that these four parishes are all on the northern edge of Celestial Master territory and suggests that they were originally established following the expansion to Hanzhong 漢中. There is also a list of eight “roaming parishes” (*youzhi* 遊治), including Jiyang 吉陽, Pingdu 平都, Afeng 阿逢, Cimu 慈母, Huangjin 黃金, Taihua 太華, Qingcheng 青城, and Emei 峨嵋 parishes.

There is a description of a parish, perhaps the central parish of the Celestial Master, in a Tang collection of codes, in the *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (Excerpts from the Essential Liturgies and Observances; CT 463, j. 10), which cites the lost Celestial Master scripture *Taizhen ke*. It describes a compound 150 meters to a side, with a large central hall called the Hall for the Veneration of Emptiness (Chongxu tang 崇虛堂), topped by a terrace with a huge incense burner called the Terrace for the Veneration of Mystery (Chongxuan tai 崇玄臺). A more average parish is described in the *\*Xuandu lüwen* (Statutes of the Mysterious Metropolis) as being parallel in function to but somewhat larger than the oratory (*\*jingshi*) found in the home of all practicing Taoists, hence a single, freestanding building on the west side of the main dwelling, facing east. It should thus be furnished in the same spare fashion, containing only “an incense burner, a lamp, a petition table and a small knife.” It is uncertain when the parish disappeared in Taoist communities, or if it in some sense evolved into later Taoist temples and monasteries. *\*Lu Xiuqing* (406–77), in his abbreviated version of the Taoist code (see *\*Daomen kelüe*), complains that people in his day were often attending the wrong parish, but it seems to have still been a functioning institution.

Terry KLEEMAN

▣ Verellen 2003; Wang Chunwu 1996

※ Tianshi dao

*zhiqian*

## 紙錢

### paper money

In Chinese folk religion, paper money is burned and sent to ancestors, deities, or spirits of the dead. This custom can be traced back to the inclusion of real or imitation daily items in tombs. Real money was used during the Han and the Six Dynasties, but paper money made its appearance around the sixth century in southern China; its use proliferated during the Tang and the Five Dynasties and became common by the Song period. As shown by Tang and Song records, it was thought that paper money was demanded by officers of hell in the underworld after death.

In present-day Taiwan, the various types of paper money are generally divided into “gold” and “silver.” Gold paper money is gold foil and is sent to the deities. Within this category, *dingji jin* 頂極金 (also called *tiangong jin* 天公金 and *da taiji* 大太極) is sent to the Jade Sovereign (\*Yuhuang); *zhongtai ji* 中太極 to the Three Offices (\**sanguan*, of Heaven, Earth, and Water); *caizi shoujin* 財子壽金 to the deities of the Northern and Southern Dippers; *shoujin* 壽金, *fujin* 福金, and *zhongjin* 中金 to deities and Buddhas in general; and *yijin* 刈 to minor deities. Silver paper money is silver foil and is sent to denizens of the underworld, such as ancestors and spirits of the dead; *dayin* 大銀 is used for ancestral festivals and *xiaoyin* 小銀 for other spirit festivals. Another type of paper money is called “treasury money” (*kuqian* 庫錢), consisting of wads of yellow paper wrapped in white paper, for the use of the newly-ordained dead person in the underworld. It is employed in the ritual of Merit (\**gongde*) for the dead. Other kinds include “rebirth money” (*wangsheng qian* 往生錢), stamped with a lotus flower, and “natal-destiny money” (*benming qian* 本命錢), used to “refill the treasury” (see \**tianku*). In Hong Kong and Sichuan, paper money in the shape of modern bank bills, called *mingbi* 冥幣, is also used.

Paper money is indispensable as an offering during birth, marriage, or death rites, and also at annual events. It is used as a fee to cross bridges and pass barrier gates on the journey to the underworld, as a deposit to reimburse the loan that the dead person has received from the Celestial Treasury at birth, and also as funds to cover the daily needs of the dead person in the underworld, where one has to meet the same kinds of expenses as in this world.

Paper money does not appear to be used in Confucian rituals, such as national rites and Confucian temple festivals. It is also noteworthy that it is rarely used in Buddhist and Taoist formal rites.

MARUYAMA Hiroshi

▣ Hou Ching-lang 1975; Seidel 1978a; Su Suqing 1999

※ *tianku*; *gongde*; HELL

## Zhong-Lü

鍾呂

[Lineage of] Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin

The texts attributed to the semilegendary immortals \*Zhongli Quan and \*Lü Dongbin, and their putative disciple \*Shi Jianwu, represent one of the highest achievements in the history of \**neidan*. These texts, dating from the Song period, are commonly referred to as the Zhong-Lü corpus and the tradition to which they belong as the Zhong-Lü school. Although their exact date, origin, and authorship cannot be ascertained with any accuracy, they predate the mid-twelfth century since the \**Daoshu* (Pivot of the Dao) includes several of them.

Both Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin were renowned in the mid-eleventh century for their poems and calligraphy. The earliest work attributed to Zhongli is the *Zhixuan pian* 指玄篇 (Folios Pointing to the Mystery), a work in verse now lost but often quoted in *neidan* texts of the Song period. Another famous work of the mid-eleventh century, the \**Qinyuan chun* (Spring in the Garden by the Qin River), is ascribed to Lü Dongbin. It is also around this time that the names of the two immortals began to be linked to each other: a poem by Lü Dongbin for his master is included in a work of 1052 (*Huandan zhongxian lun* 還丹眾仙論, CT 233, 14b), and the poet Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1052–1102; IC 233–35) mentions their master-disciple relationship. By the end of the Northern Song in 1127, several prose texts attributed to Zhong and Lü were in circulation.

*The Zhong-Lü corpus.* The main sources of the Zhong-Lü school are the \**Lingbao bifa* (Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure), attributed to Zhongli Quan, and the \**Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (Anthology of Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Dao to Lü Dongbin), attributed to Lü Dongbin and transcribed by Shi Jianwu. Both works were popular among \*Quanzhen Taoists in northern China and were included in the \**Xuandu baozang*, the Taoist Canon of the Jin dynasty (\**Jinlian zhengzong ji*; 5a). They were, however, frowned upon by \*Nanzong adepts (\**Xiuzhen shishu*, 52.3b; *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀, CT 305, 6.12a; trans. Ang 1993). Another important work belonging to this group is the \**Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* (Records of the Gathered Immortals and Assembled Perfected of the Western Hills), which associates the Zhong-Lü tradition with the Western Hills (\*Xishan) of Nanchang (Jiangxi), the center of the cult of \*Xu Xun and the \*Shenxiao movements.

The *Daoshu* contains other Zhong-Lü texts, such as the *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Folios of the Hundred Questions; 5.7a–22a; trans. Homann 1976), the *Huayang pian* 華陽篇 (Folios of the Flourishing Yang; 10.1a–7b), the *Zhixuan pian* (Folios Pointing to the Mystery; 13.1a–4b), and the *Xiuzhen zhixuan pian* 修真指玄篇 (Folios Pointing to the Mystery for the Cultivation of Perfection; 19.9a–22a). The last two texts, which are different from the original *Zhixuan pian* in verse, were the object of several works illustrated with diagrams, notably the *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 修真太極混元圖 (Diagrams of the Chaotic Origin of the Great Ultimate for the Cultivation of Perfection; CT 149; trans. Baryosher-Chemouny 1996) and the *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu* 修真太極混元指玄圖 (Diagrams Pointing to the Mystery of the Chaotic Origin of the Great Ultimate for the Cultivation of Perfection; CT 150). The *Dadan zhizhi* 大丹直指 (Straightforward Directions on the Great Elixir; CT 244), attributed to the Quanzhen patriarch \*Qiu Chuji (1148–1227), was also inspired by them. Another popular work was the *Zhouhou sancheng pian* 肘後三成篇 (Folios of the Three Accomplishments to Keep at Hand; *Daoshu*, j. 25), which was printed and distributed to the people of Yueyang 嶽陽 (Hunan) during the Shunxi reign period (1174–89; see *Chunyang dijun miaotong ji*, 6.10b).

*Teachings and practices.* While the Zhong-Lü texts are quite disparate as to content and provenance, they share a common theoretical basis and are consistent in the use of certain technical terms. The genesis of the world in five stages—*taishi* 太始 (Great Commencement), *taiwu* 太無 (Great Non-

being), *taixu* 太虛 (Great Void), *taikong* 太空 (Great Emptiness), and *taizhi* 太質 (Great Matter)—the distance between heaven and earth (calculated as 84,000 *li*), the interaction of Yin and Yang, the sequence of the seasons, the annual and diurnal cycles of increase and decay, the trigrams and hexagrams of the *\*Yijing*, and so forth, are correlated with patterns in the human body. Malfunctioning of the five viscera (*\*wuzang*) is explained in terms drawn from medical texts, while psycho-physiological techniques are couched in alchemical language and imagery. The texts are also strongly imbued with Neo-Confucian speculations on *\*qi* (especially those of Cheng Yi 程頤, 1033–1107; see Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 2: 512–14). All accept the division of the practice into three main stages (*sancheng* 三成 or Three Accomplishments), but the *Lingbao bifa* indicates four methods for the lower stage, and the *Zhouhou sancheng pian* seven stages.

The Zhong-Lü methods include massage and gymnastics in the early stages of practice, as well as breathing exercises that vary according to the adept's level of advancement. Other techniques involve the opening of the Three Passes (*\*sanguan*), refining and returning the essence (*\*jing*), inner observation (*\*neiguan*), and the egress of the Spirit (*\*chushen*).

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Baldrian-Hussein 1984, 13–57; Boltz J. M. 1987a, 139–43

※ *neidan*; for other related entries see the Synoptic Table of Contents, sec. IV.3 (“Alchemy: Zhong-Lü”)

*Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*

鍾呂傳道集

Anthology of Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Dao to  
Lü Dongbin

The *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* is one of the main works in the *\*Zhong-Lü* corpus of *\*neidan* texts. It is conceived as providing the theoretical foundation to the *\*Lingbao bifa* (Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure), a practical

text that explains techniques to attain immortality. It is attributed to \*Zhongli Quan and \*Lü Dongbin, but was transmitted by \*Shi Jianwu (fl. 820–35), the author of the \**Xishan qunxian huizhen ji* (Records of the Gathered Immortals and Assembled Perfected of the Western Hills). \*Yu Yan (1258–1314) states that it was actually written by Shi Jianwu himself (*Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮 CT 1005, 8.3a).

The text is included in two collections found in the Taoist Canon. The earlier version is in the \**Daoshu* (Pivot of the Dao; ca. 1151; *j.* 39–41). This version is mentioned in the thirteenth-century *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Annotated Register of Books in the Zhizhai Studio; van der Loon 1984, 164). The other version is in the \**Xiuzhen shishu* (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection; late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, *j.* 14–16). The latter cites honorary titles bestowed on Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin in 1126, hence this edition seems to have appeared after this date.

Like the *Baiwen pian* 百問篇 (Folios of the Hundred Questions; trans. Homann 1976), another text belonging to the Zhong-Lü group, the *Chuandao ji* is cast in dialogue form, with Lü Dongbin asking questions on various technical terms and Zhongli Quan explaining them. The text is divided into eighteen essays (*lun* 論) dealing with the Zhong-Lü system of *neidan*. The first six essays are concerned with the cosmos, the middle six with the alchemical practice, and the final six with its purposes. These three divisions correspond to the Three Accomplishments (*sancheng* 三成) or Three Vehicles (*sansheng* 三乘). The last section states that the eighteen essays are related to the techniques described in the *Lingbao bifa*.

Besides the two editions in the Taoist Canon, the *Chuandao ji* is also found in the \**Daozang jiyao* (vol. 12), the *Daoshu quanji* 道書全集 (Complete Collection of Books on the Dao; 1591), and the \**Daozang jinghua lu*. The popularity of the text was so great during the Song and Yuan dynasties that murals depicting the transmission of the Dao were painted in temples. One of them is found in the hall dedicated to Lü Dongbin in the \*Yongle gong.

Farzeen BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 139–41; Sakauchi Shigeo 1985

※ Lü Dongbin; Zhongli Quan; *neidan*; Zhong-Lü



Fig. 90. Monks in front of the headquarters of the Zhongguo daojiao xiehui (Chinese Taoist Association). \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds), Beijing. Reproduced from Zhongguo daojiao xiehui 1983.

Zhongguo daojiao xiehui

中國道教協會

Chinese Taoist Association

This organization of Chinese Taoists was founded in April 1957, with its headquarters at the \*Baiyun guan (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing. The founding charter was drafted at an initial meeting in November 1956 in Beijing, and the first assembly was held the following year; it was attended by ninety-one representatives including Taoist scholars and priests from Taoist lineages, mountains, and temples located throughout China. Sixty-one members were elected as officers and Yue Chongdai 嶽崇岱 (1888–1958), the abbot of the Baiyun guan, was chosen as its president. The stated purposes of the Association were to unite Taoists from all over the country, promote patriotism and love of Taoism, and have Taoists contribute to the

construction of a socialist society. At the second assembly, held in 1961, \*Chen Yingning was elected president. It was decided at that time to expand the area of Taoist studies, and a research seminar was subsequently established. A group was formed to train Taoist priests and a journal, *Daoxiehui kan* 道協會刊 (Journal of the Taoist Association), was inaugurated.

The Association suspended its activities between 1967 and 1979 during the Cultural Revolution. At the third assembly, held in May 1980, Li Yuhang 黎遇航 was elected president. Religious activities were reinaugurated, and repairs to temples (including the Baiyun guan) were carried out throughout the country. In 1987 the Association's journal was renamed *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 (Chinese Taoism), and since then has been published officially and distributed both in China and overseas. A Taoist cultural center was also established, for both religious training of Taoist priests and academic research purposes. Regional branches of the Association have been organized at the district and city levels. The largest of these is the Shanghai Taoist Association, which publishes its own journal, *Shanghai daojiao* 上海道教 (Taoism in Shanghai). In 2004, the president of the Chinese Taoist Association was Min Zhiting 閔智亭.

*SAKADE Yoshinobu*

▣ Kandel 1980; Kurihara Akira 1987

※ TAOISM IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

*Zhonghe ji*

中和集

Anthology of Central Harmony

The *Zhonghe ji* (CT 249) consists of a set of \*Li Daochun's (fl. 1288–92) treatises, dialogues, songs, and poems collected by his disciple Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤 (fl. 1288–1306), with a preface by \*Du Daojian dated 1306. Some portions of the text (4.6b, 4.9a) are dated to 1292. Li associates the title of his



work with a passage of the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (Centrality and Commonality; trans. Legge 1893, 384–85): the Center lies in the state of mind not yet manifested, which is the hidden and unfathomable spirit, while Harmony is its manifested state, which is in accord with the activating force of the world (1.2a–b, 1.9a).

In *j.* 1 and part of *j.* 4, Li deals at length with the basic unity and dialectical relation of pairs of complementary notions such as movement and quiescence (*\*dong* and *jing*), substance and function (*\*ti* and *yong*), change and permanence, human and celestial mind (*\*xin*), inner nature and vital force (*\*xing* and *ming*), body and spirit, knowledge and action, contraction and expansion, and so forth. He stresses their fundamental unity and underscores the *coincidentia oppositorum* operated by a *tertium quid*. This third element is the central one, the Mysterious Pass (*\*xuanguan*), represented for instance by the intention (*\*yi*) in the pair body and spirit.

The second *juan* is largely devoted to *\*neidan*. It contains several diagrams and an exposition of the degrees of practice (three for the gradual teaching, followed by a final superior degree) and the three main stages of the alchemical work. The latter three stages are the Three Passes (*\*sanguan*) or Three Primes (*\*sanyuan*), which are related to essence, pneuma, and spirit (*\*jing, qi, shen*). Li rejects many old practices as erroneous (including the sexual techniques or *\*fangzhong shu*) or inferior (for example, *\*waidan*, diets, and visionary meditation).

The third *juan*, which is also partly found in *j.* 6 of the *Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu* 清庵瑩蟾子語錄 (Recorded Sayings of [Li] Qing'an, Master of the Shining Toad; CT 1060), is cast in the form of answers to his disciples. Here Li defines several alchemical terms and explains basic sentences used by *neidan* or Neo-Confucian authors, taken from the *Xici* 繫辭 (Appended Statements, a portion of the *\*Yijing*), the *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents), and the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects) of Confucius. He dwells at length on the importance of the precosmic particle of light that is the *materia prima* of *neidan* as well as its final goal (see *\*dianhua*).

Part of *j.* 4, and *j.* 5 and 6, contain songs and poems.

Li Daochun's syncretism is closely related to his inclination toward a subitist (*dun* 頓) method of teaching and learning. He repeatedly states that the only necessary thing is the Mysterious Pass, equated with the precosmic and transcendent particle of light and more important than the practices themselves. The highest degree of alchemy does not use the *Yijing* system as

do many *neidan* texts (4.2b). In Li's view, the Buddhist “full awakening” (*yuanjue* 圓覺) and the Confucian Great Ultimate (*\*taiji*) are synonyms of the Golden Elixir (*\*jindan*).

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 181–82; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 166–68; Robinet 1995a, 22–24, 45–46, 75–77, 147–64, and *passim*

※ Li Daochun; *neidan*

## Zhongli Quan

### 鍾離權

Zhongli Quan, also called Han Zhongli 漢鍾離, is one of the Eight Immortals (*\*baxian*). He is venerated in the *\*Quanzhen* school as the second patriarch, having received the teachings from the first, Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Imperial Lord of Eastern Florescence; see *\*Wang Xuanfu*). According to the *\*Jinlian zhengzong ji* (Records of the Correct Lineage of the Golden Lotus) compiled by Qin Zhi'an 秦志安 (1188–1244), he was a man of Xianyang 咸陽 (Shaanxi) who lived during the Han dynasty. His style was Yunfang 雲房 and his appellation was Zhengyang zi 正陽子 (Master of Correct Yang). At the end of the Han dynasty he received the title of Grand Master of Remonstrance (*jianyi dafu* 諫議大夫), but his opinions were not well received and he was demoted. Later he served Wudi (r. 265–90) of the Western Jin and engaged in conquest as a general. Having lost a battle he fled to the mountains, and, following the directions of an old man, arrived at the palace of Donghua dijun, from whom he received talismans, texts, methods for compounding elixirs, and other techniques. Having instructed Zhongli Quan in all of them, Donghua dijun departed.

The biography goes on to recount that during the Kaicheng reign period of the Tang (836–40), Zhongli Quan taught *\*Lü Dongbin* the fencing technique called *tiandun* 天遁 (“hiding in Heaven”) when he met him on Mount Lu (*\*Lushan*, Jiangxi). He then made his retreat at Mount Yangjiao (Yangjiao shan 羊角山) in Shanxi. He compiled the *Zhenxian chuandao ji* 真仙傳道集

(Anthology of the Authentic Immortals' Transmission of the Dao) and the \**Lingbao bifa* (Complete Methods of the Numinous Treasure), and transmitted them also to Lü Dongbin. Eventually he went again to Lushan, and gained immortality. At the end of the biography, Qin Zhi'an added in praise, "Five hundred years from the Han to the Tang: in all that time the only person whom Zhongli Quan liberated was Lü Dongbin. How difficult it is to bring people to liberation!" Included in the Taoist Canon is a work in the form of a dialogue between Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin entitled \**Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* (Anthology of Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Dao to Lü Dongbin), ascribed to \*Shi Jianwu (fl. 820–35). Both this work and the *Lingbao bifa* are concerned with \**neidan*.

The image of Zhongli Quan as an immortal became fixed during the Song dynasty and his popularity increased after that. For example, in the biography of Wang Laozhi 王老志 in the *Songshi* (History of the Song), a strange man called Zhongli xiansheng 鍾離先生 (Elder Zhongli) makes an appearance and gives an elixir to Wang. Moreover, the *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (Catalogue of Paintings of the Xuanhe Reign Period) records the existence of a picture of the "Real Man Zhongli Quan," and according to the *Xuanhe shupu* 宣和書譜 (Catalogue of Calligraphic Works of the Xuanhe Reign Period), there even existed an autograph copy of a verse in cursive script that Zhongli Quan presented to Wang Dingguo 王定國 in 1092. Perhaps as a result of this popularity, his name was added to those of the patriarchs of the Quanzhen school, and he also came to be counted among the Eight Immortals.

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▣ See the bibliography for the entry \**baxian*

※ *baxian*; *neidan*; Nanzong; Quanzhen; Zhong-Lü; HAGIOGRAPHY

*zhongmin*

種民

“seed-people”, chosen people, elected people

The notion of *zhongmin* or “seed-people” originated in the early \*Tianshi dao movement. The Celestial Masters adepts believed in the possibility of generating perfect human beings, the “seed-children” (*zhongzi* 種子) ritually conceived during the ceremonies of “merging pneumas” (\**heqi*). These sexual rites were performed by initiated adepts. Boys and girls, starting at seven years of age, were given religious instruction that enabled them to receive various registers (\*LU). At intervals of a few years, they received the Registers of One, Ten, and Seventy-five Generals. The bestowal of the latter register usually marked the transition to adult age. After the age of twenty, adepts could get married by “combining their registers” (*helu* 合籙). Through the union of their respective registers, forming the One Hundred and Fifty Generals Register, they were allowed to practice the ritual of *guodu* 過度 (Passage, or Crossing), that is, the sexual rites. In this way, they gained access to the diocesan ordination.

These rites, severely criticized by Buddhist polemicists of the sixth and seventh centuries, are known to us through liturgical manuals preserved in the Taoist Canon. Two complementary works, the \**Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* (Liturgy of Passage of the Yellow Writ of Highest Clarity; CT 1294) and the *Dongzhen huangshu* 洞真黃書 (Yellow Writ of the Cavern of Perfection; CT 1343), in particular, give a precise description of the unfolding of the *guodu* ceremonies. These scriptures, ascribed to the first Celestial Master, \*Zhang Daoling, actually date to no later than the fifth century. The first presents the whole sequence of the ritual of Passage performed in the sacred enclave, the “oratory” (*jing* 淨; see \**jingshi*), where the adept couple acts under the supervision of their parish Master. The rite consists of a symbolic, choreographic sexual performance, two or three hours long, entirely codified and punctuated with recitations of incantations and prayers. The aim of these exacting mating rituals was the creation of an “embryo of immortality”: adepts expected to obtain immortal bodies, and to beget a seed-child. The second text consists of a series of recipes, prescriptions, and interdictions dealing with private sexual techniques (\**fangzhong shu*).

The various Taoist schools have displayed ambiguous attitudes to these early Tianshi dao techniques, sometimes called the Way of Yellow and Red (*huangchi zhi dao* 黃赤之道; yellow represents the female energies, and red the male ones). Sexual rituals underwent a rather nuanced censure by \*Shangqing Taoists, who simply warned their adepts against the danger of

such practices (\**Zhengao* 2). During the fifth century, \*Kou Qianzhi, the court Taoist reformer who was himself a Celestial Master, also expressed his worries about the popularity and vulgarization of sexual techniques, and suggested a “reform of the Yellow and the Red” aimed at “reducing the 120 methods of the arts of the bedchamber to a single and pure orthodox method” (\**Laojun yinsong jiejing*, 18a–19b). However, the art of the seed-children is said to have been still performed as late as the tenth century (Yang Liansheng 1956).

The term “seed-people” was later disjoined from its sexual connotations and became a synonym of “good people” (*liangmin* 良民) or “perfect people” (*zhenmin* 真民). In this sense it appears throughout medieval Taoist scriptures, especially in the literature of apocalyptic eschatology. It generally designates virtuous people, the initiates who are promised salvation or immortality, and more specifically the chosen people who will survive the cataclysms at the end of the world. The notion of “seed” nevertheless continues to prevail: in the apocalyptic literature, the “seed-people” are obviously considered to be the basic stock who are somehow predestined to salvation and from which a new, unblemished humanity will grow. The “genetic” quality of the initiates is conferred both by their genealogical lineage and their *karma*. They have naturally inherited the virtues of their forbearers and ancestors, and, thanks to the merits gained in their own former lives, are born with “immortal bones” (*xiangu* 仙骨).

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▣ Mollier 1990, passim; Strickmann 1981, passim; Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1976b

※ APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY; MESSIANISM AND MILLENARIANISM

*zhongxi*

踵息

“breathing through the heels”

“Breathing through the heels” is first mentioned in \**Zhuangzi* 6, which states that “the Real Man (\**zhenren*) breathes through his heels whereas the ordinary man breathes through his throat” (see also trans. Watson 1968, 78). A study by Ishida Hidemi (1988) shows that *zhongxi* designated in antiquity one of four kinds of breathing: through the skin, through the nose and mouth, through the throat (to absorb the celestial breath), and through the heels (to absorb the earthly breath).

This original meaning evolved through the centuries. Wang Shuzhi's 王叔之 fifth-century commentary to the *Zhuangzi* mentions that “one should practice inner breathing as deeply as possible.” In this context, *zhongxi* denotes the movement of Original Breath (\**yuanqi*) within the body. The term also refers to the methods for regulating the breath (\**tiaoqi*) found in several Tang sources. From the Song period, under the influence of \**neidan*, *zhongxi* also refers to the circulation of the inner energies that descend to the heels and then rise from the *yongquan* 涌泉 point, located in the middle of the sole of the foot, to the top of the head.

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▣ Ishida Hidemi 1988

※ *yangsheng*

*zhoutian*

周天

Celestial Circuit

The term *zhoutian* denotes the continuously circular movement of the universe. In \**neidan* and also in \**qigong*, this term is related to a method of purification and transformation. Two main types of *zhoutian* are distinguished, namely, the Lesser Celestial Circuit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天) and the Greater Celestial Circuit (*da zhoutian* 大周天). The main notion underlying both is that the human being is a microcosm that embodies all natural laws inherent in the macrocosm. The universe is in continuous

motion, fundamentally consisting of the operation of the two complementary forces, Yin and Yang. Summer alternates with winter and day with night, but together the two forces constitute a unity, such as a year or a day. The motions of Yin and Yang taking place in definite time spans represent the order of the universe. Human beings can experience these movements within themselves. According to *neidan* texts, their ultimate aim should be restoring the universal order within to regain unity with the Dao.

*The Lesser Celestial Circuit.* The main purpose of the Lesser Celestial Circuit is to preserve the essence (\**jing*) and transform it into energy (\**qi*). This method, also known as “returning the essence to replenish the brain” (\**huanjing bunao*), is performed in the first stage of the *neidan* process, the second and third being the transformation of energy into spirit (\**shen*) and the transformation of spirit into emptiness (*xu* 虛).

The Control and Function Channels (\**dumai* and *renmai*) and the lower Cinnabar Field (\**dantian*) are the main energetic centers involved in this practice. The Control Channel is Yang, and the Function Channel is Yin. Each channel is divided into six sections, and a cyclical sign, a “double hour” (*shi* 時), and a hexagram are assigned to each section (see [table 13](#)). The hexagrams related to the Control Channel are Yang, whereas those related to the Function Channel are Yin. The time from midnight to noon is associated with the Control Channel, the time from noon to midnight with the Function Channel.

The essence is preserved and transformed into energy by making it ascend through the Control Channel along the back of the body to the top of the head and then descend through the Function Channel along the front of the body. As the essence flows through the twelve points of the two channels, it is increasingly refined. The transformed substance is collected in the lower Cinnabar Field and is then refined again. It is important to establish a closed linking of the two channels to allow the energy to flow without hindrances. Thus the unity of Yin and Yang is created within the body.

Active imagination (see \*[yi](#)) is an important aspect of this practice, which should also be performed according to a certain rhythm. This rhythm, consisting of the Martial Fire (*wuhuo* 武火) and the Civil Fire (*wenhuo* 文火), is called fire phasing (\**huohou*) and in this context is also related to breathing.

*The Greater Celestial Circuit.* The practice of the Greater Celestial Circuit is

meant to transform energy into spirit and is therefore related to the second stage of the inner alchemical work. The lower Cinnabar Field is likened to a furnace, while the middle Cinnabar Field is a crucible. The energy should circulate through the twelve channels (\**jingluo*). There is no division of the channels into sections in this practice: the whole body is involved. Energy should circulate without stopping, while heart and mind dwell in absolute quiescence.

The Celestial *maoyou* Circuit (*maoyou zhoutian* 卯酉周天) is complementary to the Lesser and Greater Celestial Circuits. As its name suggests—*mao* and *you* are the two cyclical signs related to the east and west—the motion here is horizontal, while the other two circuits are characterized by the vertical motion of ascent and descent.

*Neidan* texts of the Ming period equate the Celestial Circuit with the Wheel of the Law (*falun* 法輪), the Buddha-truth that crushes all opposition, and stress the importance of a transition from the phenomenal world to the noumenal world.

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▣ Darga 1999, 203–4 and 232–33; Despeux 1979, 57–63; Despeux 1994, 168–69; Wilhelm R. 1929, 135–37

※ *huohou*; *dumai* and *renmai*; *neidan*

*Zhouyi cantong qi*

周易參同契

Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the  
*Book of Changes*

According to the traditional account, the legendary Han immortal from Guiji 會稽 (Zhejiang), Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, wrote the *Zhouyi cantong qi* after reading the \**Longhu jing* (Scripture of the Dragon and Tiger). Later he transmitted it to Xu Congshi 徐從事, who appended a commentary, and to Chunyu Shutong 淳于叔通, who first circulated it in the world. While some



features of this account provide significant details—especially about the reputed Han date of the text, and about its formation having taken place in stages—the received *Cantong qi* actually is not the product of a single generation of authors, but the result of several centuries of textual accretions. At the end of this process, the text rose to the status of main scripture within both the *\*waidan* and *\*neidan* traditions. Its primary received version, on which about two thirds of the extant commentaries are based, consists of four parts:

1. The main text, in four- or five-character sentences (mostly in rhymes)
2. A section usually entitled “The Five Categories” (“Wu xianglei” 五相類) or “Filling Lacunae” (“Busai yituo” 補塞遺脫), deemed to address matters not accounted for in the main text
3. The “Song of the Tripod” (“Dingqi ge” 鼎器歌), a poem in three-character lines
4. A “Eulogium” (“Zanxu” 讚序), not found in all recensions, which some commentators regard as a synopsis of the *Cantong qi* and others as the postface to an early commentary

More than thirty recensions of the *Cantong qi*, each with a different commentary, are extant in at least 120 editions, not including reprints. This testifies to the prestige that the work enjoyed not only within the alchemical traditions, but also among Neo-Confucian thinkers and Qing scholars.

*Early history.* Chunyu Shutong's relation to divination, as well as some passages in the received text, suggest that the original Han version of the *Cantong qi* was closely related to the “weft” texts (*weishu* 緯書; see *\*taoism* and the apocrypha). According to some scholars, the received text faithfully reproduces the original version; according to others, the original version was lost after the Han, and the received text was entirely fabricated in the early Tang period. There are reasons, however, to assume that the text was expanded during the Six Dynasties, and that no major break in transmission took place at that time. Quotations or mentions of the *Cantong qi* in works by Jiang Yan 江淹 (444–505; IC 267–68), *\*Tao Hongjing* (456–536), and Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–91; IC 923–25), all of whom came from or lived in Jiangnan, show that the *Cantong qi* circulated in southeastern China after the end of the Han. It appears likely that the text was transmitted there by the

lineage of the Later Han cosmologist Yu Fan 虞翻 (164–233), who also came from Guiji and whose cosmological doctrines are reflected in the *Cantong qi* (Yu Fan is attributed with a lost commentary to the text, mentioned in *Zhouyi cantong qi*, CT 999, 3.11a).

Further evidence for the circulation of the *Cantong qi* in Jiangnan during the Six Dynasties, and for the existence of a textual layer dating from that time, is provided by several dozens of terms and expressions shared with the *\*Huangting jing* (Scripture of the Yellow Court) and the *\*Laozi zhongjing* (Central Scripture of Laozi), two texts whose meditation and visualization methods are nonetheless criticized in the *Cantong qi* together with physiological practices. A poem by Jiang Yan (trans. Waley 1930–32, 8) attests, on the other hand, that the *Cantong qi* was used in association with the compounding of elixirs by 500 CE. We know nothing about the lineages that created or transmitted the alchemical version of the scripture, but one of two extant Tang *waidan* commentaries on it, the anonymous *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* 周易參同契注 (CT 1004), appears to be related to the legacy of *\*Hugang zi*. Dating from ca. 700 CE, this commentary—the latter half of which is lost—is contemporary with another extant Tang exegesis, entitled *Zhouyi cantong qi* (CT 999) and attributed to the immortal *\*Yin Changsheng*. From around that time, mentions and quotations of the *Cantong qi* in other texts begin to multiply. In the mid-eighth century, moreover, *\*Liu Zhigu* wrote his *Riyue xuanshu lun* 日月玄樞論 (Essay on the Mysterious Pivot, the Sun and Moon), which is the first of a series of short essays on the *Cantong qi* as well as the earliest firmly datable *neidan* text.

*Commentaries.* The exegetical tradition expanded in later times. Besides the two mentioned above, the Taoist Canon includes the following six commentaries, all related to *neidan*:

1. *Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tong zhenyi* 周易參同契分章通真義 (Real Meaning of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, with a Division into Sections; CT 1002) by *\*Peng Xiao* (?–955), dated 947. The final part of the text is separately printed in the Taoist Canon as *Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu* 周易參同契鼎器歌明鏡圖 (The “Song of the Tripod” and the “Diagram of the Bright Mirror” of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1003).
2. *\*Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 周易參同契考異 (Critical Investigation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1001) by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200;

SB 282–90), written between the end of 1197 and the beginning of 1198.

3. *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契注 (Commentary to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1008) by Chu Yong 儲泳 (fl. ca. 1230), whose text is based on Zhu Xi's recension.
4. *Zhouyi cantong qi zhu* (Commentary to the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1000), with an anonymous commentary written after 1208.
5. *Zhouyi cantong qi jie* 周易參同契解 (Explication of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1007) by \*Chen Xianwei (fl. 1223–54), dated 1234.
6. *Zhouyi cantong qi fahui* 周易參同契發揮 (Clarification of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1005) by \*Yu Yan (1258–1314), dated 1284. The notes, mainly philological, attached to this commentary are separately printed in the Taoist Canon as the *Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* 周易參同契釋疑 (Exegesis of Doubtful Points in the *Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 1006).

Other major commentaries outside the Taoist Canon include those by \*Chen Zhixu (ca. 1330), \*Lu Xixing (1569), and Zhu Yuanyu 朱元育 (1669). In the early sixteenth century, moreover, a new version of the scripture appeared, entitled \**Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi* (Ancient Text of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*), and became prominent in some *neidan* milieu. \*Peng Haogu (fl. 1597–1600), \*Qiu Zhao'ao (1638–1713), and \*Liu Yiming (1734–1821) are among those who wrote commentaries to this version.

*Role in the history of alchemy.* Written in a poetical style and in a densely metaphoric and allusive language, the *Cantong qi* does not fully describe any *waidan* or *neidan* method, and only occasionally refers to actual practices related to *waidan* or *neidan*. Nevertheless, the *Cantong qi* has been the only scripture cherished within both traditions, and the influence it has exerted on their history from the Tang period onward is not matched by any other work.

The main focus of the text is the Dao and its relation to the cosmos, explicated by means of a wide array of alchemical, cosmological and other emblems. Among the main recurrent themes are the distribution of Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*) from the center (the Norther Dipper, \**beidou*, or Heart of Heaven, \**tianxin*); the view of time as caused by the continuous upward and downward movement of Original Pneuma; and the joining of the essences of

the Sun and Moon, or Yin and Yang, which occurs at the end of each time cycle and generates the next one. Both space and time are thus seen as essential vehicles for the circulation of the “essence” (\**jing*) originally issued by the Dao in the cosmos.

Borrowing from a passage in *Laozi* 38, the *Cantong qi* states that “superior virtue (*shangde* 上德) takes no action, and does not employ examining or seeking; inferior virtue (*xiade* 下德) takes action, and its operation is unceasing.” Some commentators explain these sentences as referring to two ways of realization that are reflected in this work. The first, also known as “entering from Non-being into Being” (*cong wu ru you* 從無入有), is based on the immediate realization of the non-distinction of Dao and existence, Non-being and Being. In the second, also known as “using Being to enter Non-being” (*yi you ru wu* 以有入無), one attains to the Dao through the alchemical practice. While the doctrines of the *Cantong qi* apply to both approaches, the text does not focus on either *waidan* or *neidan*. The task of presenting alchemical methods based on those doctrines is left to the commentaries and to a large number of associated texts.

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■ Bertschinger 1994 (trans. of *guwen* version); Chen Guofu 1983, 352–55; Fukui Kōjun 1974; Ho Peng Yoke 1972; Imai Usaburō 1960; Meng Naichang 1993b; Meng Naichang and Meng Qingxuan 1993; Needham 1976, 50–75; Pan Qiming 1990; Pregadio 1995; Pregadio 2002; Pregadio 2006a; Suzuki Yoshijirō 1974, 595–656; Suzuki Yoshijirō 1977 (trans.); Wang Ming 1984g; Wu and Davis 1932 (trans.); Xiao Hanming and Guo Dongsheng 2000; Zhou Shiyi 1988 (trans.)

※ *Cantong qi*; *Guwen Zhouyi cantong qi*; *jindan*; *neidan*; *waidan*

*Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi*

周易參同契考

Critical Investigation of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*

The best-known commentary to the \**Zhouyi cantong qi* outside the Taoist tradition is that of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200; SB 282–90), whose *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* is the first of several works, written through the Qing period, testifying to the attention that Neo-Confucians thinkers and scholars paid to this text. Quotations in Zhu Xi's *Yixue qimeng* 易學啟蒙 (Instructing the Young in the Studies on the *Changes*; 1186) suggest that his interest in the *Cantong qi* arose in the last decades of his life. His commentary, which was almost certainly completed between the end of 1197 and the beginning of 1198, offers an interpretation that is primarily cosmological, with detailed remarks on passages related to the system of the \**Yijing* and scarcely any interest in an alchemical reading of the text. However, the junctures at which Zhu Xi inserted his comments are more accurate than the divisions into *zhang* made by \*Peng Xiao.

Like Peng Xiao before him, Zhu Xi does not state which recension of the *Cantong qi* served as the basis of his work. Textual comparison suggests that he relied on Peng Xiao but often accepted readings of the recension ascribed to \*Yin Changsheng, which dates from around 700 CE (*Zhouyi cantong qi*; CT 999). Other sources likely to have been used by Zhu Xi include the lost commentary by Yuan Shu 袁樞 (1131–1205) to which he wrote a colophon in 1197, and two recensions that he refers to as the “Ji edition” (*Ji ben* 濟本) and the “Qiu edition” (*Qiu ben* 丘本) without further details. The *Kaoyi* was edited in the first half of the fourteenth century by Huang Ruijie 黃瑞節 (fl. 1335), who included it in his *Zhuzi chengshu* 朱子成書 (Complete Writings of Master Zhu). Huang added an undated preface and notes consisting of his own comments as well as quotations from other works by Zhu Xi. Apparently all editions of the *Kaoyi*, including the one in the Taoist Canon (CT 1001), contain Huang Ruijie's additions, and therefore ultimately derive from the *Zhuzi chengshu*.

As Zhu Xi states in a postface (3.8a), his recension was inspired by the disappointing textual state of the *Cantong qi*, resulting from alterations that had been introduced into it by earlier editors and commentators. In principle, this would make the *Kaoyi* the earliest extant exegesis based on a critical examination of different recensions of the text. In contrast with its title and with Zhu Xi's own statements, however, the commentary contains only a handful of critical notes. In other works, though, Zhu Xi points out variants and suggests emendations that are altogether ignored in the *Kaoyi*. This discrepancy suggests that an indefinite number of critical notes were

expunged either by Huang Ruijie or by someone before him. An indirect confirmation of this supposition is provided by \*Yu Yan, who, writing fifty years before Huang Ruijie, states that he has found it superfluous to duplicate variants already pointed out by Zhu Xi (*Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi* 周易參同契釋疑; CT 1006, preface, 3b). This remark would hardly have been necessary if the critical apparatus in the *Kaoyi* had been as exiguous as it is in the received version.

Based on quotations in later works, the *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* does not seem to have enjoyed any particular prestige within the Taoist tradition, but its recension served as the basis for the commentary by Chu Yong 儲泳 (early thirteenth century), entitled *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (CT 1008) and preserved only in the Taoist Canon. This \**neidan* work, which bears no preface or postface, is distinguished by short, straightforward annotations, and by a sentence placed at the end of almost every section to summarize its meaning. The text of the *Cantong qi* is clearly based on the *Kaoyi*. Chu Yong introduces some variants not found elsewhere, while most of the others are shared with the Yin Changsheng edition, which Chu may have consulted independently from Zhu Xi's work.

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📖 Azuma Jūji 1984; Wong Shiu Hon 1978a

※ *Zhouyi cantong qi*; TAOISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Zhu Quan

朱權

1378–1448; *hao*: Da Ming qishi 大明奇士 (Strange Gentleman of the Great Ming), Quxian 臞仙 (Gaunt Transcendent), Hanxu zi 涵虛子 (Master Who Encompasses Emptiness), Danqiu xiansheng 丹邱先生 (Elder of the Cinnabar Mound), Nanji xialing laoren 南極遐齡老人 (Long-lived Old Man of the Southern Pole)

Zhu Quan was the seventeenth son of the Hongwu Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang

朱元璋 (1328–98, r. 1368–98), born of his consort Lady Yang 楊氏. He was granted the title Prince of Ning 寧王 in 1391 and two years later was put in charge of the strategic garrison of Daning 大寧 (Liaoning). After his brother Zhu Di 朱棣 (1360–1424; DMB 355–65) succeeded in deposing their nephew, the Jianwen Emperor Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆 (r. 1399–1402), Zhu Quan was transferred to the remote post of Nanchang (Jiangxi), contrary to his preference for a coastal seat of authority. He found himself the target of slander and, to avoid further harassment, took refuge in a cabin where he could read and play his zither in peace. With fellow literati as his companions, Zhu produced several compilations ranging from treatises on agriculture, geography, and geomancy to literary criticism, history, drama, and a primer on the zither. A prolific playwright, he is known to have composed twelve *zaju* 雜劇 (variety plays), only two of which survive. Zhu established himself as an expert in this dramatic form with the authorship of the *Taihe zhengyin pu* 太和正音譜 (Formulary for Correct Tunes in Great Harmony). Among his latest works is an important encyclopedic anthology on Taoist lore entitled *\*Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce* (Jade Fascicles of Great Clarity on the Ultimate Way of the Celestial Sovereign).

Historical sources date Zhu's interest in Taoist studies to the last years of his life. A biography in the *Xiaoyao shan Wanshou gong zhi* 逍遙山萬壽宮志 (Monograph of the Palace of Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity at Mount Xiaoyao; Du Jiexiang 1983, 6: 331–33) alternatively claims that he abandoned official duties for a life of seclusion spanning more than thirty years. According to this account, Zhu viewed himself as an incarnation of a transcendent named Nanji chongxu zhenjun 南極沖虛真君 (Perfected Lord of the Unfathomable Emptiness of the Southern Pole). At some undisclosed time he is said to have told his staff at Nanchang that he found noble rank to be utterly hollow and had his mind set on taking up Xiandao 仙道, or the Way of Transcendence. He further informed them that he intended to go in search of a master whom an oracle revealed had emerged in Yuzhang 豫章 (Jiangxi). Advised not to take on a long journey because of the gravity of his responsibilities, Zhu nonetheless abruptly took leave of his palatial headquarters and headed southwest down the Gan 贛 River to Yuzhang. There he lived in austerity at a retreat he constructed in the Tianbao dong 天寶洞 (Cavern of the Celestial Treasure). An unidentified old man reportedly instructed Zhu in the sublime teachings of Jingming zhongxiao dao 淨明忠孝道 (Pure and Bright Way of Loyalty and Filiality; see *\*Jingming dao*).

Zhu repeatedly refused summons from his brother, the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403–24), in favor of pursuing a state of perfection. Among those whose company he allegedly enjoyed is the legendary \*Zhang Sanfeng. The story is told that Zhu witnessed Zhang's ascent and established a Wangxian lou 壘仙樓 (Pavilion for Viewing Transcendents) at the site. There he remained until the end, refusing contact with his peers the entire time. The heading “Jingming Zhu zhenren zhuan” 淨明朱真人傳 (Biography of the Perfected Zhu of the Pure and Bright [Way]) given the account of his life in the monograph on Mount Xiaoyao (Xiaoyao shan 逍遙山) indicates that late Jingming hagiographers deemed Zhu successful in his quest to join the ranks of the perfected.

*Judith M. BOLTZ*

▣ Idema 1986; Jonker 1976

※ *Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce*; Jingming dao; TAOISM AND CHINESE THEATRE

Zhu Ziying

朱自英

976–1029; *zi*: Yingzhi 隱芝; *hao*: Guanmiao xiansheng 觀妙先生  
(Elder Who Observes the Marvelous)

This Jurong 句容 (\*Maoshan, Jiangsu) native was one of the most renowned court Taoists of the early Northern Song, becoming the twenty-third patriarch in the \*Shangqing tradition and claiming both Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) and Renzong (r. 1022–63) as patrons.

After becoming a Taoist priest under Zhu Wenji 朱文吉, Zhu practiced intensive self-cultivation with Zhang Shaoying 張紹應. As an itinerant priest, Zhu worshipped the August Emperor of Chaotic Origin (Hunyuan huangdi 混元皇帝) at Haozhou 亳州 (Henan), paid respects to the first Celestial Master at Mount Qingcheng (\*Qingcheng shan, Sichuan), and received instructions in \**neidan* from Chen Tiejiao 陳鐵腳, all the while seeking old manuscripts in the \*Taiqing tradition to help him correct error-ridden and incomplete



Shangqing scriptures. Upon his return to Maoshan, he was given the Seal of the Nine Ancient Lords of the Immortal Metropolis (*Jiulao xiandu jun yin* 九老仙都君印), which bolstered his ritual credentials.

In 1004 Zhu was named the twenty-third patriarch in the Shangqing tradition and summoned to Zhenzong's court. In 1023 Renzong called on him to reside in the Palace of Brilliant Resonance (*Zhaoying gong* 昭應宮) and initiate his mother, Dowager Liu (*Liu taihou* 劉太后). The *Zhangxian Mingsu huanghou shou Shangqing bifa luji* 章獻明肅皇后受上清畢法籙記 (CT 777), dated to 1024, recorded the event, and prompted Renzong to give Zhu the title Elder Who Observes the Marvelous (*Guanmiao xiansheng*). Zhu's preface to the *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 (Authentic Scripture of the Great Cavern of the Highest Clarity; CT 6; see \*[Dadong zhenjing](#)) is also extant. Little is known of his remaining years at Maoshan.

Lowell SKAR

📖 Boltz J. M. 1987a, 205

※ Shangqing

### *Zhuang-Lin xu daoze*

莊林續道藏

Supplementary Taoist Canon of  
Zhuang[-Chen Dengyun] and Lin [Rumei]

The *Zhuang-Lin xu daoze* is a 25-volume anthology of photographically reproduced texts of Taoist ritual collected by Michael R. Saso (Taipei: Chengwen, 1975). The table of contents follows a 33-page English-language introduction by Saso, outlining the history and content of this diverse body of texts. After completing a Master's degree at Yale University in 1964, Saso made a pilgrimage to Taiwan where he became a disciple of Zhuang-Chen Dengyun 莊陳登雲 (1911–76) in the northern city of Xinzhu 新竹. Master Zhuang was heir to the so-called Black-head (*wutou* 烏頭; see \*[hongtou](#) and *wutou*) fraternity of the Zhengyi sitan 正一嗣壇 (Hereditary Altar of

Orthodox Unity) established in 1888 by Lin Rumei 林汝梅 (?–1894), following his ordination at the \*Zhengyi headquarters on Mount Longhu (\*Longhu shan, Jiangxi). Chen Jiesan 陳捷三 (1861–1901), many of whose manuscripts are published here, succeeded Lin as head of the fraternity. The title of the collection reflects the ultimate transmission of the fraternity's leadership from Lin to Zhuang.

A total of 104 titles are arranged under four headings. Fifty texts categorized as *Jinlu* 金籙 (Golden Register; see \**jinlu zhai*) are used for Offering rituals (\**jiao*). Nineteen texts categorized as *Huanglu* 黃籙 (Yellow Register; see \**huanglu zhai*) are applied in mourning services. Ten texts categorized as *Wenjian fuzhou mijue* 文檢符咒祕訣 (Secret Instructions on Writing Models, Talismans, and Spells) include exemplars of ritual communiqués and privately transmitted manuals of incantation, as well as a volume with *gongche* 工尺 musical notation. Twenty-five texts categorized as *Lüshan Shenxiao xiaofa* 閩山神霄小法 (Minor Rites of the Divine Empyrean at Mount Lü) are largely devised for various exorcistic rituals. The first three categories are considered the primary resources of the Black-head fraternity. All but the last six titles in the fourth category of texts also fall within their repertoire. Adherents to branches of the \*Shenxiao school, popularly known as Red-head (*hongtou* 紅頭) Taoists, are said to use only those texts in the fourth category.

Judith M. BOLTZ

▣ Saso 1978b; Saso 1979; Saso 1989

※ DAOZANG AND SUBSIDIARY COMPILATIONS

*Zhuangzi*

莊子

Book of Master Zhuang

The *Zhuangzi*, also known as *Nanhua zhenjing* 南華真經 or *Authentic Scripture of Southern Florescence*, goes back to Zhuang Zhou 莊周

(Zhuangzi), a Taoistic thinker of the fourth century BCE (?–290) who lived in the southern part of China and had various contacts but little official relation with the aristocracy of his time. As we have it today, the text consists of thirty-three chapters divided into three groups: Inner Chapters (*neipian* 內篇; chapters 1–7), Outer Chapters (*waipian* 外篇 8–22), and Miscellaneous Chapters (*zapiian* 雜篇; 23–33). While the final chapter is considered a sort of postface appended by later (probably Han-dynasty) editors, the Inner Chapters are those associated primarily with Zhuangzi himself. In addition, a good portion of the later chapters (16–27) can also be associated with his ideas and was probably compiled by his direct followers. Beyond that, the text contains materials of three other early Taoist schools, identified by A. C. Graham (1980) as follows: the primitivists (chapters 8–10, some of 11), the syncretists (11–15), and the hedonists or followers of Yang Zhu 楊朱 (28–31).

Most of the text was compiled after the death of Zhuang Zhou, and scholars today debate how much of it existed around 250 BCE, some saying all (Liu Xiaogan 1994), others saying hardly any (Graham 1980, Roth 1991b). Whichever the case, there is little doubt that the *Zhuangzi* under the Han was about one third longer than it is today, consisting of fifty-two chapters that were only edited down by \*Guo Xiang, the text's main commentator of the third century CE. In a postface lost in China but recovered from the Kōzan-ji 高山寺 monastery in Kyoto (Japan), he describes his editorial efforts, mentioning that he eliminated large portions of the text mainly dealing with popular superstitions, dream interpretations, shamanic practices, and the like (Knaul 1982).

*Taoist thought in the Zhuangzi.* The ideas of Master Zhuang himself can be described as a continuation of the thought of the *Daode jing* with certain major developments. In contrast to the *Daode jing*, Zhuangzi is not concerned with society but finds the individual mind of central importance. He thoroughly rejects involvement with government and reinterprets non-action (\**wuwei*) as a mental state to be realized by the individual instead of as a political doctrine. In this his view is similar to the later Chan Buddhist idea of no-mind (*wuxin* 無心) and anticipates the notion of oblivion (see \*[zuowang](#)). Moreover, Zhuangzi does not see history and moral development as key factors but insists that the Golden Age of the past is gone once and for all, the sages of old being only dust and bones. Instead of trying to recover what is gone, one should rather look forward, enjoy life as long as it lasts in “free and

easy wandering” (*xiaoyao* 逍遙; see *\*yuanyou*), by going along with the changes and transformations of the world in as much of a realization of spontaneity (*\*ziran*) as one can manage.

The primitivists, in contrast, continue the notions of the *Daode jing* directly. They want to abolish all government and official morality; return to small, independent, and isolated communities; do away with all distant trade, luxury goods, elaborate clothes, fancy music, and so forth; and embrace a reclusive idea of tranquil isolation. Next, the syncretists combine Laozi's ideas with the *\*Yijing* philosophy of change and with the doctrine of Yin and Yang and the *\*wuxing*. They propose a concept of organic, cyclical harmony of the universe, which is valid not only for the rhythmical changes of nature but can also be realized in social structures and interactions. They are the forerunners of *\*Huang-Lao*, the dominant Taoist school of the Han.

The hedonists, finally, believe “what is good for me is good for the universe.” For them, universal harmony is best attained when everybody is satisfying all of his or her wishes and desires, because all these wishes and desires are an organic part of nature and the Dao to begin with. Any form of denial, rejection, or suppression of emotional or physical wishes thus constitutes a breach of natural harmony and has to be avoided. The hedonists can be described as the forerunners of some immortals (*\*xianren*) of later ages.

Many commentaries to the *Zhuangzi* are contained in the Taoist Canon, the most important of which are the following:

1. Guo Xiang's interpretation and edition, *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu* 南華真經注疏 (Commentary and Subcommentary to the *Nanhua zhenjing*; CT 745), which formed the image of the text not only in Taoist circles but in China as a whole.
2. *\*Cheng Xuanying's* (fl. 631–50) reading (found in the above text together with Guo Xiang's commentary) under strong Buddhist influence and within the school of Twofold Mystery (*\*Chongxuan*).
3. Lin Xiyi's 林希逸 (fl. 1235) textual glosses on terms and expressions, *Nanhua zhenjing kouyi* 林希逸 (Glosses to the *Nanhua zhenjing*; CT 735).
4. The “chapter and verse” commentary by *\*Chen Jingyuan* (?–1094), *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* 南華真經章句音義

(Phonetic and Semantic Glosses to the Sections and Sentences of the *Nanhua zhenjing*; CT 736) and *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* 南華真經章句餘事 (Supplement to the Phonetic and Semantic Glosses to the Sections and Sentences of the *Nanhua zhenjing*; CT 737).

5. The integrated collection of numerous interpretations by Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541–1620) in his *Zhuangzi yi* 莊子翼 (Wings to the *Zhuangzi*; CT 1487).

In style, narrative content, and technical terminology, the *Zhuangzi* is not only a key document of early Taoism but also the first collection of Chinese prose fiction. Its many fables, parables, and dialogues form an important part of the Chinese literary repertory. In the middle ages, moreover, the text had a great impact not only on poets and writers, such as the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (see \*Xi Kang), but also on both the diction and visions of \*Shangqing Taoism.

Livia KOHN

▣ Allinson 1989; Fung Yu-lan 1952–53, 1: 221–45; Graham 1969–70; Graham 1980; Graham 1981 (part. trans.); Kohn 1992a, 52–58, 69–80; Liu Xiaogan 1994; Mair 1983a; Mair 1983b; Mair 1994 (trans.); Mair 2000; Pastor 1990 (part. trans.); Robinet 1983a; Robinet 1996b; Robinet 1997b, 30–35; Roth 1991b; Roth 1993; Watson 1968 (trans.); Watson 1987; Wilhelm H. 1983

※ TAOISM AND EARLY CHINESE THOUGHT

### *Zhubing yuanhou lun*

諸病源候論

Treatise on the Origin and Symptoms of Diseases

The *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, presented in 610 to Sui Yangdi (r. 604–17), was compiled on imperial decree by a committee of physicians and literati under the auspices of Chao Yuanfang 巢元方 (or, according to some sources, Wu

Jingxian 吳景賢). It is the first compilation on Chinese nosology and contains a detailed description of over 1,700 different syndromes (*hou* 候) in fifty *juan*. Even today, clinicians consider it to contain up-to-date information for medical practice, though it records in parts rather fabulous accounts of illness events. In Chinese medical history, it only gained significance during the Song period, where it belonged among the canons of secondary importance. It is however frequently cited in the *Shengji zonglu* 聖濟宗錄 (General Record of Sagely Benefaction; 1117), the Japanese *\*Ishinpō* (Methods from the Heart of Medicine; 984), and the Korean *Ŭibang yuch'wi* 醫方類聚 (Classified Collection of Medical Methods; 1477). Its Northern Song recension is now lost and the oldest extant ones date to the Yuan period.

The book is remarkable for its extensive reference to the art of Nourishing Inner Nature (*yangxing* 養性), which is the most frequently recommended therapeutic prescription. It contains over one hundred citations from a work now lost, the *Yangsheng lun* 養生論 (Essay on Nourishing Life), forty-one of which can be traced to the *\*Yangsheng yaoji* (Essentials of Nourishing Life), which may have been the main textbook on *\*daoyin* (gymnastics) during the Six Dynasties. About seventy of the cited techniques are already given in the *Daoyin jing* 導引經 (Scripture of *daoyin*; fourth century?). Further citations are from the *Daolin lun* 道林論 (An Essay by Daolin; i.e., Zhi Dun 支盾, 314–66) and the *\*Yangxing yanming lu* (On Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life). The book indicates as its sources, furthermore, the *Shennong bencao jing* 神農本草經 (Canonical Pharmacopoeia of the Divine Husbandman), the *Xiaopin fang* 小品方陳延之 (Lesser Medical Recipes) by Chen Yanzhi 陳延之 of the Jin, a work by Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景金匱要略 (ca. 150–220) with recipes now recorded in the *Jingui yaolie* 金匱要略 (Abridged Essentials from the Golden Casket), and Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–82), the author of the *Zhenjiu jiyi jing* 針灸甲乙經 (Systematic Scripture of Acupuncture and Moxibustion). Finally, it contains many more unacknowledged citations taken from the *\*Huangdi neijing*, the *Maijing* 脈經 (Scripture on the Pulse), and the *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders).

*Elisabeth HSU*

▣ Despeux 1989; Despeux and Obringer 1997, 61–104; Ma Jixing 1990, 142–44; Unschuld 1985, 176 and 296–302

※ *daoyin*

*zi*

子

*Zi* is the first of the twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支; see \**ganzhi*). Among the directions, it indicates due north, in contrast to *wu* 午 which stands for due south. As a division of time, within the day it indicates the “double hour” (*shi* 時) between 11 p.m. and 1 a.m., and within the yearly cycle it indicates the winter solstice, in contrast to *wu* which stands for the summer solstice. Thus *zi* is the point where the sun, representing the Yang principle, begins to rise. After the sun reaches its zenith in midsummer at *wu*, it begins its declining phase and gives rise to Yin. In the \**Yijing*, the winter solstice (*zi*) corresponds to the hexagram *fu* 復 ☱ (Return, no. 24) and the summer solstice (*wu*) corresponds to the hexagram *gou* 姤 ☰ (Encounter, no. 44).

In \**neidan*, the rise of Yang at the winter solstice is replicated in the microcosm of the human body, and *zi* represents the time when the elixir germinates. The use of *zi* to denote time, however, is not limited to the season of the winter solstice or the hours of the day: *neidan* also refers to the “time of the living *zi*” (*huozi shi* 活子時), which is the timeless moment when Yang arises and the elixir is generated.

MIURA Kunio

📖 Robinet 1995a, 107–11

※ *ganzhi*; COSMOLOGY

*ziran*

自然

“so of its own”; spontaneous, spontaneity

As an adjective, the term *ziran* means “spontaneous,” “natural,” “so of its

own,” “so of itself.” As a noun, it denotes spontaneity, naturalness, the things as they are. It is a synonym of *zizai* 自在 (self-existent) and *ziyou* 自有 (selfproduced), and is very close in meaning to *zide* 自得 (self-attaining) and *ziwei* 自為 (working by itself, doing spontaneously).

*Ziran* implies a free working; it is the positive side of the Dao, whose negative side is \**wu* (no-thing). On the one hand, *wu* is the indeterminate and unknowable Dao, which is lost if it is given a name or an attribute: it is the Origin of life as it cannot be grasped and has no beginning. On the other hand, *ziran* is the Dao as producing life, its \**de* (virtue), and is sometimes equated with the Original Pneuma (\**yuanqi*). In this sense, *ziran* is like the water of a spring that never ceases to flow anew, and is a synonym of Origin (*yuan* 元) and Chaos (\**hundun*). It is the permanence of the Dao and its *de*, the rule of Heaven and Earth that has no beginning and penetrates to the utmost of existence beyond the Void (*Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun* 宗玄先生玄網論; CT 1052, 1a–b). Hence *ziran*, as a quality ascribed to something, means “true” and “primal,” and denotes transcendence.

On the cosmological level, *ziran* defines the way the world goes on by itself without anyone “doing” it, and expresses the faith in a world well-ordered and self-regulated in a natural way. Epistemologically, it means that we do not know what is producing life or how life is achieved. *Ziran* is then the ultimate word, not in the sense of an explication but as an expression of human ignorance and respect of the secret of life. As *Daode jing* 25 says, “The Dao models itself on *ziran*,” which means that it “models itself on what is so of its own,” which is a tautology. *Ziran* can therefore also be an expression of agnosticism, as in \*Guo Xiang's commentary to the \**Zhuangzi*. Under Buddhist influence, *ziran* also took on the meaning of “non-substantial,” “fundamentally having no nature of its own,” as opposed to what has cause and effect. In this sense, it is a synonym of “real emptiness” (*zhenkong* 真空; see for instance \**Daojiao yishu*, 8.4a, and \**Zhonghe ji*, 3.14a).

In human beings, *ziran* means being free from dependence on some other thing or substance (*wudai* 無待, as the *Zhuangzi* says), being natural (*tian* 天, the contrary of “made by man” or *wei* 偽, which is the artificial in *Zhuangzi*'s terms), and being creative. It means that each being has its own spring of life within itself. So to be *ziran* is to be natural in the highest sense, to nourish within oneself one's own nature that is one's own profound and true sprout of life.



To respect *ziran* one should not interfere (*\*wuwei*), and gently let life act and speak through oneself rather than acting and speaking individually. In that sense, *ziran* is the principle of handling affairs that guides the saint (*\*shengren*) or the sage king who respects the workings of the Dao in the world and in human affairs. To act spontaneously is to have no intention of one's own, to let the natural force that is within everything work freely. This is not the same as giving free rein to one's own fantasy (as the term has been misunderstood by some *\*Xuanxue* thinkers), because this fantasy is a only superficial desire to satisfy one's immediate wishes, and not the profound naturalness without desires that is *ziran*.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Liu Xiaogan 1998; Murakami Yoshimi 1965; Muroya Kuniyuki 1988, 16–31; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 264–68; Wang Deyou 1995; Wang Zhongjiang 1995

※ *bianhua*; Dao; *zaohua*

Ziyang zhenren

紫陽真人

Real Man of Purple Yang

The Real Man of Purple Yang is Zhou Yishan 周義山, who bestowed the *\*Shangqing* revelations on *\*Yang Xi* with other spiritual beings. His biography, entitled *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* 紫陽真人內傳 (Inner Biography of the Real Man of Purple Yang), was allegedly dictated by Zhou himself to Hua Qiao 華僑, who had received a visit from both this immortal and Peijun 裴君 (Lord Pei). Two versions of the biography survive in the Taoist Canon, but both differ from the original one: the version in the *\*Yunji qiqian* (106.8a–15b) may be an abridgement of the original one, or vice versa, the independent version in the Taoist Canon (CT 303), dated 399, may be an enlargement.

According to the biography, Zhou was born in 80 BCE. As a young man he was very virtuous and liked to climb mountains and absorb the Sun's light. Then he became a disciple of *\*Su Lin*, who gave him alchemical and dietetic

recipes to expel the Three Corpses (*sanshi*; see \**sanshi* and *jiuchong*). After this, he spent several years searching for the method of the Three Ones (\**sanyi*), going to sacred mountains, and visiting their grottoes and immortals to receive teachings and texts. He finally discovered the method he was looking for within himself and devoted himself to its practice.

The *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* is closely related to Su Lin's hagiography, the \**Suling jing*, and the methods of the Three Ones and the *dongfang* 洞房 (the Cavern Chamber located in the brain). Like other Shangqing “esoteric” (*nei* 內) hagiographies, which are addressed to adepts, it has two main purposes: recounting the initiatory quest of the saint, and tracing his lineage. Accordingly, it contains a list of texts and methods received and practiced by Zhou, and establishes a hierarchy among various immortals and secret scriptures. The list of texts is similar to the one found in \*Wei Huacun's biography. The independent version (CT 303) contains poems dating from no later than the sixth century that apparently correspond to part of the *Basu yinyang ge* 八素 陰陽歌 (Song on Yin and Yang of the Eight Pure Ladies) of the Shangqing revelation. The details on Hua Qiao found in the preface are close to those given in the \**Zhengao* (20.13b–14a), and the appended commentary is reminiscent of Su Lin's biography. Some features, like the connection with the *Suling jing*, seem to indicate that the biography pertains to a group of texts slightly later than the original Shangqing revelation, which attempt to arrange Taoists texts in three hierarchical classes.

Isabelle ROBINET

▣ Chen Guofu 1963, 8–9; Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988, 30–33 (list of texts cited); Porkert 1979; Robinet 1981; Robinet 1984, 2: 385–88

※ Shangqing; HAGIOGRAPHY

Zuo Ci

左慈

zi: Yuanfang 元放

Several sources mention Zuo Ci as a \**fangshi* (master of methods) who lived

between the end of the Han and the beginning of the Six Dynasties. The details of his historical existence, however, are far from reliable, and he is an example of the process by which different early traditions ascribe their origins and teachings to a supposed beginner, turning him into a divine or semidivine being. The increment of these legendary traits runs parallel to the development of the traditions that devise them, and is often visible in the physical expansion of the relevant hagiographic accounts.

The main early accounts of Zuo Ci are in found the *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han, 82B.2747–48; trans. Ngo 1976, 138–39) and in the *\*Shenxian zhuan* (Biographies of Divine Immortals; trans. Company 2002, 279–86). According to both sources, Zuo Ci was born in Lujiang 廬江 (Anhui). The story in the *Hou Hanshu* tells of his feats of magic and his ability to appear in several places at once, undergo metamorphosis (in particular, into a sheep), and disappear altogether. The *Shenxian zhuan* adds to this the knowledge of the *liujia* system of divination (see *\*liujia* and *liuding*), the power of summoning the “movable cuisines” (*xingchu* 行廚; see *\*chu*), and the practice of alchemy. Other early references to Zuo Ci are in *\*Ge Hong's \*Baopu zi*, which associates Zuo Ci with abstention from cereals (*\*bigu*), enchantments by breath (*jinjia* 禁架; see Ngo 1976, 200–201), and the practice of guarding the One (*\*shouyi*).

Ge Hong, moreover, places Zuo Ci at the beginning of the *\*Taiqing* tradition of *\*waidan*, stating that at the end of the Han, Zuo had received the main scriptures of that tradition from a “divine person” (*\*shenren*) on Mount Tianzhu (Tianzhu shan 天柱山, Anhui; Ware 1966, 69–70). Zuo brought those scriptures to Jiangnan 江南 and transmitted them to Ge Hong's granduncle, *\*Ge Xuan*, who then gave them to Ge Hong's master, *\*Zheng Yin*. Several other sources mention or allude to this story, sometimes adding new elements. Those mentioned in *\*Tao Hongjing's \*Zhengao* (11.10a and 12.3b) reflect the development of the religious history of Jiangnan. According to Tao Hongjing, Zuo Ci had ingested the Elixir of the Nine Efflorescences (*jiuhua dan* 九華丹, a synonym of the Elixir of Great Clarity or *taiqing dan* 太清丹), had lived on Mount Mao (*\*Maoshan*, the early seat of the *\*Shangqing* school), and had received teachings from Li Zhongfu 李仲甫, a disciple of one of the main Shangqing saints, *\*Wang Yuan*.

Despite these credentials, Tao ranks Zuo Ci at a low level in the hierarchy of the immortals in both the *Zhengao* and the *\*Zhenling weiye tu* (Chart of the Ranks and Functions of the Real Numinous Beings; 19a). Similarly, the

\**Wushang biyao* (Supreme Secret Essentials; 84.13a), states that Zuo Ci now dwells in the Taiqing heaven, the lowest of the \**sanqing* or Three Clarities. Thus Zuo Ci typifies the integration of different elements and trends: the early local traditions of Jiangnan, the alchemical Taiqing tradition, and the absorption of those traditions into the new religious scene created by the founding of new Taoist lineages in the same area from the latter half of the fourth century.

*Fabrizio PREGADIO*

▣ Company 2002, 279–86; Chen Guofu 1963, 90–95; DeWoskin 1983, 83–86; Kohn 1993b, 296–99; Ngo 1976, 138–39 and passim; Robinet 1984, 1: 9–24 passim

※ *fangshi*; *waidan*; Taiqing; HAGIOGRAPHY

*zuobo*

坐鉢

“sitting around the bowl”

*Zuobo*, “sitting (in meditation) around the (clepsydra-)bowl,” is a collective meditation practice that originated in \*Quanzhen communities at the very end of the thirteenth century and was practiced in Taoist monasteries until the Qing dynasty. Although few texts are devoted to this exercise, its continued presence can be traced in gazetteers and epigraphic sources through the mention of *botang* 鉢堂, the meditation hall, and *bozhu* 鉢主, the Taoist master who conducts the retreats “around the bowl.”

A text in the *Daozang*, the *Quanzhen zuobo jiefa* 全真坐鉢捷法 (Short Method for the Bowl-Meditation of Quanzhen; CT 1229), describes the construction of the object, actually made of two bowls: a large one filled with water, and a smaller one with a hole in its center, which floats on the surface of the water. The pierced bowl slowly sinks, and the system is contrived so that it takes one *shi* 時 (double hour) to reach the bottom. Another description adds bells that ring when the smaller bowl is filled with water. This ingenious system, which actually had already been described in a Tang text, is hailed as

more reliable than the incense or the outflow clepsydra commonly used for time measurement in Buddhist and Taoist communities. The technical aspect, however, is but a small part of the story. Several texts on the *zuobo* meditation stress the symbolic importance of the bowl in *\*neidan* terms; the character *bo* itself is made of the “metal” and “wood” elements, and their meeting allows the water to spring upward. The bowl therefore provides for a precise appreciation of time—a crucial element in *neidan*—but also allows the adepts to see a representation of the processes taking place within their own bodies. In this regard, the *zuobo* appears very Taoist and rather different from the Buddhist *zuochan* 坐禪 (“sitting in meditation”; Jap.: *zazen*), with which it has obvious formal links.

The originality of the *zuobo* practice is as the first communal procedure for *neidan* meditation, which had been until then mainly conducted on an individual basis. At least during the golden age of Quanzhen communities in the fourteenth century, meditation around the bowl took place during the hundred-days retreats, the most important of which lasted from the first day of the tenth lunar month to the tenth day of the first lunar month. This specific period seems to have evolved from the retreat in the *\*huandu*, which was often conducted on the same dates. The most precise description of the procedure is found in the early Ming encyclopedia *\*Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce* (Jade Fascicles of Great Clarity on the Ultimate Way of the Celestial Sovereign), and the ritualized setting and sounds used to discipline the group of adepts are similar to those used in *zuochan*.

*Botang* were built in many larger monasteries, usually to accommodate the travelling monks who would typically spend the winter in a *zuobo* retreat, and then depart for other destinations. These occasions were an important element in the education of Taoist adepts (especially but not only those belonging to the Quanzhen order), and their role in fashioning a common identity is stressed in monastic codes such as the *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規 (Rules of Purity of Quanzhen; fourteenth century; CT 1235).

Vincent GOOSSAERT

▣ Boltz J. M. 1987a, 239; Goossaert 1997, 220–58

※ *huandu*; Quanzhen; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

*zuodao*

## 左道

### “left ways”

Also called *xiejiao* 邪教 (perverse teachings) and *yiduan* 異端 (heresy, heterodoxy), the so-called “left ways” include several types of magical practices that were regarded as dangerous by the central or provincial governments, or from the standpoint of orthodox teachings. A common criticism of the authorities against individuals and organizations that used such practices was that “the people are being led astray by the ‘left ways.’”

The term first appears in the *Liji* 禮記 (Records of Rites): “The death penalty will be exacted for those who throw rule into disorder by employing the ‘left ways’” (see trans. Legge 1885, 1: 237). Here, according to a commentary by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), *zuodao* refers specifically to *wugu* 巫蠱 (using magic to inflict injury) and *sujin* 俗禁 (lit., “secular enchantments”). In answer to why the character for “left” was used, Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574–648) subcommentary to Zheng's commentary says: “The ‘left ways’ refer to heretical teachings. The Way of the Earth (*didao* 地道) reverses the right and ranks it high. Therefore correct teachings are termed ‘right’ and incorrect teachings are termed ‘left.’”

Some early Taoist movements were regarded as *zuodao*. Zhang Jue 張角, who promoted the Way of Great Peace (Taiping dao 太平道) in the second century, was described as a practitioner of “sorcery” (*yaoshu* 妖術) and as a “wizard bandit” (*yaozei* 妖賊), like the leaders of other religious rebellions that broke out around his time. Once Taoism became accepted by the state and its teachings were more systematized, attacks on it as *zuodao* by the authorities ceased and attention shifted to doctrinal conflicts in which Taoists sought to assert the superiority of their tradition over Confucianism and Buddhism, in the fight for hegemony among the Three Teachings. In early modern times, the authorities often branded new religious movements and popular cults that were felt to be dangerous as *zuodao*. In the Ming and Qing legal codes, in particular, severe punishment was prescribed for “the arts of the left ways that corrupt the right ways,” such as summoning evil deities, writing talismans, and practicing planchette writing (*\*fuji*).

MIURA Kunio

*zuowang*

坐忘

“sitting in oblivion”

The term *zuowang* designates a state of deep trance or intense absorption, during which no trace of ego-identity is felt and only the underlying cosmic current of the Dao is perceived as real. The classical passage describing the state occurs in \**Zhuangzi* 6: “I smash up my limbs and body, drive out perception and intellect, cast off form, do away with understanding, and make myself identical with the Great Thoroughfare (*datong* 大通)” (trans. Watson 1968, 90). This passage presents a mental state of complete unknowing, of loss of personal identity and self, and a kind of total immersion in the Non-being of the universe.

The passage was interpreted in the late third century by the commentator \*Guo Xiang, who says:

In a state of sitting in oblivion, what could there be unforgotten? First one forgets all outer manifestations (*ji* 迹), then one also forgets that which causes the manifestations. On the inside, one is unaware that there is a self (*shen* 身), on the outside one never knows that there is heaven and earth. Thus one becomes utterly empty and can unite with the changes, leaving nothing unpervaded. (*Nanhua zhenjing zhushu* 南華真經注疏; CT 745, 8.39b)

This adds the philosophical distinction, first made by \*Xuanxue (Arcane Learning) thinkers, between the “traces” or “outer manifestations” (reality as it appears to the senses) and that which causes them (the underlying ground of Being). In addition, Guo Xiang interprets the attained state of oneness as one of going along with the changes, adding an ecstatic element of transformation to the basically enstatic notion of oblivion.

At the beginning of the Tang, the notion of oblivion was adopted by the \*Chongxuan (Twofold Mystery) thinkers. Here \*Cheng Xuanying, another commentator on the *Zhuangzi*, links it with Jizang's 吉臧 (549–623) theory of two truths and develops a Madhyamaka-like pattern of twofold forgetfulness (*jianwang* 兼忘). First one forgets the outer reality (Being), then one forgets its underlying ground (Non-being). Once beyond these two, one reaches a state of both Being and Non-being, which, once again obliterated, becomes

one of neither Being nor Non-being, a state of perception that neither accepts nor negates, and is sensorially aware yet utterly pure.

In the eighth century, finally, *zuowang* is the key expression in a work by \*Sima Chengzhen, the \**Zuowang lun* (Essay on Sitting in Oblivion), which not only takes up all previous interpretations of the term but adds to them a series of seven steps of attainment. These go from basic faith in the Dao and renunciation of the world to full attainment of mystical union. In this way, “sitting in oblivion” comes to mean both the ultimate purified state of no-mind and the process of meditative and mystical attainment as a whole.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Kohn 1987a; Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 309–11

※ *Zuowang lun*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

### *Zuowang lun*

#### 坐忘論

#### Essay on Sitting in Oblivion

The *Zuowang lun* is a work by the twelfth \*Shangqing patriarch, \*Sima Chengzhen (647–735). The text has survived in two editions, of which the one in the \**Yunji qiqian* (j. 94), also found in the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Complete Prose of the Tang, j. 924), appears to be later than the one found independently in the Taoist Canon (CT 1036). In addition, an inscription entitled *Zuowang lun* was engraved in 829 and erected in Jiyuan 濟源 on Mount Wangwu (\*Wangwu shan, Henan), where Sima spent the latter part of his life.

The inscription suggests that the text was put together by disciples of Sima on the basis of Sima's lectures to aspiring students. Written by the Taoists Liu Ningran 柳凝然 and Zhao Jingyuan 趙景元, it was displayed on the mountain, where it was still seen by Gu Xieguang 顧燮光 during the Ming period. Its contents, however, apparently go back to the earlier part of Sima's life, when he taught on Mount Tongbo (Tongbo shan 桐柏山, Zhejiang). His teachings seem to have been orally transmitted to his disciples, and a certain



Mr. Xu 徐, of whom nothing else is known, then brought the materials to Mount Wangwu. The text of the inscription contains many phrases and quotations also found in the *Zuowang lun* proper, and matches its basic outline of Taoist progress and essential practice. In addition, it bears a close relationship to the \**Cunshen lianqi ming* and the \**Dingguan jing*, which appear as appendixes to the *Zuowang lun* in the Taoist Canon.

The text in either of its versions outlines the practitioner's gradual progress toward the Dao in seven steps: 1. "Respect and Faith" ("Jingxin" 敬信); 2. "Interception of *karma*" ("Duanyuan" 斷緣); 3. "Restraining the Mind" ("Shouxin" 收心); 4. "Detachment from Affairs" ("Jianshi" 簡事); 5. "True Observation" ("Zhenguan" 真觀); 6. "Intense Concentration" ("Taiding" 泰定); 7. "Realizing the Dao" ("Dedao" 得道). Sima Chengzhen encourages aspiring Taoists first to develop a firm trust and strong faith in the Dao, never doubting that it is possible to leave the shackles of this world behind and become immortal. Next the training necessitates the physical departure from the ordinary world, giving up worldly involvements and affairs and thus avoiding the creation of new *karma* (*yuan* 緣) that would keep one away from the Dao. Third, the first steps of meditation are undertaken in a secluded mountain setting, in an effort of mental concentration, gathering one's thoughts, and achieving an emptiness and one-pointedness of mind. With the mind thus under full control, disciples can become detached from the world even in their thinking, no longer worrying about affairs and seeing their lives and destinies as part of a larger pattern of the Dao rather than the center of their particular universe.

The last three steps bring about the complete transformation of personality and eventually also body into those of a being of the Dao. First, through "true observation" one's life is viewed as a manifestation of the energy of the Dao; attachments to self, life, and body are loosened, and all critical evaluations of the world and its objects are eliminated. Next, in "intense concentration" the mind is completely submerged in the deep, dark streams of the Dao, absorbed in an engulfing trance that eliminates any remaining traces of ego-identity. Finally, the Dao is realized in an ecstatic going-beyond of all, and physical longevity and spiritual immortality are reached in the free and easy ascent to heaven and the pure realm of the Dao. The realization of the final state is a form of mystical union with the Dao, its ultimate culmination in the ascent to heaven representing a particularly Taoist vision of eternal life in paradise among the gods.

*Livia KOHN*

▣ Kamitsuka Yoshiko 1982; Kohn 1987a, 119–24 (trans.); Kohn 1993b, 235–41 (part. trans); Qing Xitai 1994, 2: 141–43; Wu Shouqu 1981 (crit. ed.)

※ Sima Chengzhen; *zuowang*; MEDITATION AND VISUALIZATION

# Appendix

## Reference Works for Taoist Studies

Fabrizio Pregadio

This appendix contains a brief bibliographic survey of the main reference works for Taoist studies. With few exceptions, it does not list studies on specific topics, which may be found in the bibliographies appended to the entries of this book. Asterisks mark items that have an independent entry in the book. For ease of reference, full bibliographic data are provided for all studies mentioned below, even when they are also cited in the general bibliography at the end of the volume.

### 1. General Bibliography

#### 1 A. GENERAL STUDIES OF TAOISM

The modern study of Taoism began after the mid-1920s, when a publisher in Shanghai reprinted the entire Ming-dynasty Taoist Canon (*\*Zhengtong daoze*; see below, sec. 2b). Until then, scholarly knowledge of Taoism outside China—and, to a large extent, within China as well—was virtually limited to the major texts on Taoist thought. In 1949, Chen Guofu published his survey of the Canon (reprinted with several appendixes in 1963), which may be considered as the first extensive scholarly study of Taoism in Chinese. At approximately the same time, the French scholar Henri Maspero worked on the Canon in Paris and produced several ground-breaking studies until his death in 1945 (republished in Maspero 1971). Maspero's legacy was

expanded by Max Kaltenmark and other scholars based in France during the 1960s and 1970s, including Kristofer Schipper, Anna Seidel, and Isabelle Robinet. In Japan, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, Fukui Kōjun, and Ōfuchi Ninji were among the scholars who produced major studies on Taoism during the 1950s and 1960s (for their works see below, sec. 2a).

Compared to other fields—in particular, Buddhist studies—the study of Taoism is therefore a relatively young area of research. The field has grown rapidly, however, and the scholarly understanding of Taoism has improved substantially in recent decades. Several general presentations of Taoism in Western languages that cover wide segments of the tradition include Kaltenmark 1969, Lagerwey 1991, Robinet 1997, and Schipper 1993b. Shorter outlines are found in Baldrian 1987; Barrett 2000; Kaltenmark 1970; Lagerwey 1987a, 1987b, and 1987c; Schipper 1968, 1993a, and 2000; Seidel 1974 and 1997; and Strickmann 1974.

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#### 1B. INTRODUCTIONS TO THE FIELD AND SURVEYS OF STUDIES

The main survey of Taoist studies is Seidel 1989–90. This masterly overview presents and critically evaluates the major works on Taoism published in Western languages between 1950 and 1990. It also includes some pre-1950 publications not yet outdated, some unpublished dissertations, important background studies, and major works in Chinese and Japanese. The discussion is divided into sections on the sources of Taoism, the history of Taoism, the "Taoist universe" (immortals, sacred geography, supernatural bureaucracy, human body and longevity practices, alchemy, ritual, and iconography), Taoism in Chinese culture, Taoism and Buddhism, and Taoism outside China. The bibliography includes more than 500 titles.

Other Western-language surveys of Taoist studies include Barrett 1981, Barrett 1987, Kohn 2000, Schipper 1995, and Verellen 1995 (the latter is part of a multi-author state-of-the-field survey of Chinese religions published in *Journal of Asian Studies* 54.1 and 54.2). For overviews of Taoist studies in China see Hendrischke 1984, Jan Yünhua 1984, Matsumoto Kōichi 1986, and Ding Huang 2000. The main contributions of Japanese scholarship are

discussed in Barrett 1981 and Barrett 1987. Japanese studies are also surveyed in Sakai Tadao and Noguchi Tetsurō 1979, Fukui Fumimasa 1986, Sakade Yoshinobu 1989, and Fukui Fumimasa 1995.

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The bibliography of Western-language studies of Chinese religion edited by Laurence G. Thompson includes several sections on Taoism. The four volumes published to date respectively cover the years through 1980, 1981 to 1990, 1991 to 1995, and 1996 to 2000.

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- Yang Guangwen 楊光文. 1985. “Quanguo bufen baokan Daojiao lunwen mulu suoyin (1905–1983)” 全國部分報刊道教論文目錄所引 ]1905–



1983) [A bibliography of studies on Taoism in Chinese periodicals, 1905–1983]. *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu lunji* 宗教學研究論集, 132–44.

Updates on recent studies are available from several sources. The journal *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 publishes an annual bibliography of books and articles in Japanese, Chinese, and Western languages mainly focused on Taoism. For publications in Western languages see especially the annual *Revue bibliographique de sinologie*, published by the École des Hautes Sciences Sociales, and the annual *Bibliography of Asian Studies*, published by the Association for Asian Studies. For Chinese studies, one of several available sources is the annual bibliography published in the journal *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究.

## 2. Taoist Canon

### 2A. HISTORY

The present Taoist Canon—the *\*Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏, or *Taoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign Period*—was printed in 1445, with a supplement known as *\*Wanli xu daoze* 萬曆續道藏 (Supplementary Taoist Canon of the Wanli Reign Period) added in 1607. It is the last in a series of compilations of Taoist texts known to have existed from the fifth century, when *\*Lu Xiujing* 陸修靜 (406–77) wrote his now lost *\*Sandong jingshu mulu* 三洞經書目錄 (Index of Scriptures and Writings of the Three Caverns). The main compilations prior to the *Zhengtong daoze* are:

- (a) *\*Sandong qionggang* 三洞瓊綱 (Exquisite Compendium of the Three Caverns), or *Kaiyuan daoze* 開元道藏 (Taoist Canon of the Kaiyuan Reign Period; 713/741)
- (b) *\*Da Song Tiangong baoze* 大宋天宮寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Celestial Palace of the Great Song Dynasty; 1016)
- (c) *\*Zhenghe Wanshou daoze* 正和萬壽道藏 (Taoist Canon of the Ten-Thousand-Fold Longevity of the Zhenghe Reign Period; 1111/1117)
- (d) *\*Da Jin Xuandu baoze* 大金玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis of the Great Jin Dynasty; 1192)
- (e) *\*Xuandu baoze* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mysterious Metropolis; 1244)

With the exception of fragments of the *Xuandu baozang*, none of the compilations listed above has survived.

General studies on the history of the Canon, its organization, and the formation of the main Taoist corpora through the Tang period are found in Chen Guofu 1963, 105–231, Fukui Kōjun 1958, 133–213, Ōfuchi Ninji 1964, 215–547, and Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955, 1–180. Shorter accounts in Western languages are found in Liu Ts'un-yen 1973, Needham 1976, 113–17, and Boltz 1987, 4–7.

Boltz, Judith M. 1987. *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California. Reprinted with corrigenda, 1995.

Chen Guofu 陳國符. 1963. *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考 [Studies on the origins and development of the Taoist Canon]. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Fukui Kōjun 福井康順. 1958. *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究 [Introductory studies on Taoism]. Tokyo: Shoseki bunbutsu ryūtsūkai.

Liu Ts'un-yan. 1973. "The Compilation and Historical Value of the Tao-tsang." In Donald D. Leslie, Colin Mackerras, and Wang Gungwu, eds., *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*, 104–19. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Needham, Joseph. 1976. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Vol. V: *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*. Part 3: *Spagyric Discovery and Invention: Historical Survey, from Cinnabar Elixirs to Synthetic Insulin*. With the collaboration of Ho Ping-Yü and Lu Gwei-Djen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾. 1964. *Dōkyōshi no kenkyū* 道教史の研究 [Studies on the history of Taoism]. Okayama: Okayama daigaku kyōsaikai shosekibu.

Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊. 1955. *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* 道教經典史論 [Historical studies on Taoist scriptures]. Tokyo: Dōkyō kankōkai.

In addition to those mentioned above, other studies are especially concerned with individual periods or compilations. On the origins of the *Daozang* see Ōfuchi Ninji 1979. The Six Dynasties Canon is partially reconstructed in Lagerwey 1981b, 222–73, based on the texts quoted in the \**Wushang biyao* 無上祕要 (Supreme Secret Essentials; CT 1138). On the Song dynasty Canons see Schipper 1981–82. For the history of the Taoist

Canon from the Song period onward the most detailed study in a Western language is found in van der Loon 1984, 29–63; this work is also useful for tracing the history of individual Taoist texts mentioned in catalogues of the Standard Histories and of private libraries, and in other Taoist texts. On the \**Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds; CT 1032), an encyclopedia compiled in ca. 1028 for inclusion in the *Da Song Tiangong baozang*, see (in addition to the reference works mentioned in sec. 6 below) Schipper 1981, 1: i–xvii, and Lagerwey 1981a. An imperial edict concerned with the publication of the thirteenth-century *Xuandu baozang* has been translated and studied in Cleaves 1960. On the compilation of the *Zhengtong daozaang* see especially Schipper 1983 and Boltz 1986.

The present-day *Daozaang* also includes a \**Daozaang quejing mulu* 道藏闕經目錄 (Index of Scriptures Missing from the Taoist Canon; CT 1430), which lists canonical texts found in earlier versions of the *Daozaang* but not included in the present Canon either because they were lost or because they were unavailable to its editors. For an index to this catalogue, see sec. 4b below.

Boltz, Judith M. 1986. “Tao-tsang.” In William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 763–66. Second revised edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Cleaves, Francis Woodman. 1960. “The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1240.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 23: 62–75.

Lagerwey, John. 1981a. “Le *Yun-ji qi-qian*: Structure et sources.” In Schipper 1981, xix–lxxi.

———. 1981b. *Wu-shang pi-yao: Somme taoïste du VIe siècle*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Ōfuchi Ninji. 1979. “The Formation of the Taoist Canon.” In Holmes Welch and Anna K. Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, 253–67. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Schipper, Kristofer M. 1981. *Projet Tao-tsang: Index du Yunji qiqian*. 2 vols. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

———. 1981–82. “Les canons taoïstes des Song.” *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve Section*, 90: 115–19.

———. 1983. “The Compilation of the Taoist Canon of the Ming Dynasty (With Special Reference to the ‘Tao-men shih-kuei’ 道門十規 by Chang Yü-ch'u 張宇初 [1361–1410]).” Unpublished ms.

van der Loon, Piet. 1984. *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A*

*Critical Study and Index*. London: Ithaca Press.

2B. MODERN REPRINTS

The exemplar of the *Zhengtong daoze* originally kept at the \*Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (Abbey of the White Clouds) in Beijing serves as the basis for all the modern reprints listed below.

- (1) Shangwu yinshuguan reprint (Shanghai, 1923–26); 1120 fascicles (*ce* 冊)  
Each folio contains 20 columns of text, compared to the 25 columns of the original; five folios correspond therefore to four folios in the original edition, an arrangement that has resulted in the cutting of many illustrations. This reprint, which is often referred to as the “Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 reprint,” was published in only 350 copies.
- (2) Yiwen chubanshe reprint (Taipei, 1963); 120 fascicles  
Reprint of reprint no. (1).
- (3) Xinwenfeng chubanshe reprint (Taipei, 1977); 1+60 volumes  
Each page reproduces, on two horizontal registers, *recto* and *verso* of two folios of reprint no. (1). In addition to various prefaces, the introductory volume includes:
  - (a) an index of the texts reproduced in each volume;
  - (b) the *Baiyun guan chongxiu Daoze ji* 白雲館重修道藏記 (Note on the Restoration of the Taoist Canon of the Abbey of the White Clouds), on integrations made in 1845 to the copy kept at the Baiyun guan;
  - (c) a short text entitled “Daojiao zongyuan” 道教宗源 (Origins of Taoism), which is part of the *Da Ming daoze jing mulu* 大明道藏經目錄 (Index of the Scriptures in the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming; CT 1431);
  - (d) the \**Daoze mulu xiangzhu* 道藏目錄詳注 (Detailed Commentary on the Index of the Taoist Canon) by Bai Yunji 白雲霽 (see sec. 4a below), reproduced from a copy of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition kept at the Tuigeng Tang 退耕堂 (the private library of Xu Shichang 徐世昌, president of the Republic of China between 1918

and 1922).

Because of the relatively large size of the reproduction and the presence of the Chinese-style pagination, this is the best reprint of the Taoist Canon among those bound in Western-style volumes.

(4) Yiwen chubanshe reprint (Taipei, 1977); 1+60 volumes  
Reprint in volumes smaller than those of reprint no. (3).

(5) Chūbun shuppansha reprint (Kyoto, 1986); 30 volumes  
Vol. 1 includes an index of the texts reproduced in each volume, and a concordance to the titles of texts with references to the volumes and page numbers in this reprint. Except for these references, the concordance is the same as the one published by Kristofer Schipper in 1975 (see below, sec. 4b).

(6) Wenwu chubanshe reprint (Beijing, 1988); 36 volumes  
Each page reproduces, on three horizontal registers, *recto* and *verso* of three folios of reprint no. (1). This reprint, as well as reprint no. (5) above, omits the Chinese-style pagination of individual texts, and provides only a Western-style pagination for the entire collection.

For a list of missing and misplaced folios in the Taipei reprints of the Canon, and of corrected or newly introduced defects in the Beijing reprint, see Boltz 1994.

Boltz, Judith M. 1994. "Notes on the *Daozang tiyao*." *China Review International* 1.2: 1–33.

The *Zhonghua daoze* 中華道藏 or *Taoist Canon of China*, published by Huaxia chubanshe in 2003, is the first new complete edition of the Taoist Canon since the *Zhengtong daoze*. In the *Zhonghua daoze*, texts are punctuated and printed in mobile type, and are arranged into broad categories such as lineages (e.g., \*Shangqing, \*Lingbao, \*Taiqing, \*Quanzhen), genres (e.g., literary collections, ritual compendia, hagiography, descriptions of practices, encyclopedias), and commentaries on major texts (e.g., *Daode jing* and \**Zhuangzi*).

### 3. Surveys of Texts

#### 3a. SURVEYS OF THE ENTIRE CANON

The classical study on the scriptural corpora found in the present Taoist Canon is Chen Guofu 1963 (first edition published in 1949). The chapter entitled “Origin and Transmission of the Three Caverns and the Four Supplements” (pp. 1–104) traces the formation of these sections of the Canon through the Tang period. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955 offers another broad overview that supplements the one provided by Chen Guofu. In Boltz 1987a, texts dating from the Song, Yuan and Ming periods are introduced in chapters concerned not with scriptural corpora, but with literary genres (revelation, ritual, hagiography, topography, epigraphy, historiography, literary anthologies, dialogic treatises, exegesis, and encyclopedic compilations).

A shorter survey of texts found in the Canon was published in two parts by Stephen R. Bokenkamp and Judith M. Boltz, respectively, in 1986 as one of the introductory essays in William H. Nienhauser's *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*. See also another survey of Taoist texts by Boltz (1987b) in Mircea Eliade's *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Two surveys in Japanese were published by Ozaki Masaharu in 1983 and 1986.

Bokenkamp, Stephen R. 1986. “Taoist Literature. Part 1: Through the T'ang Dynasty.” In William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 138–52. Second revised edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Boltz, Judith M. 1986. “Taoist Literature. Part 2: Five Dynasties to the Ming.” In William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, 152–74. Second revised edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1987a. *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California. Reprinted with corrigenda, 1995.

———. 1987b. “Taoism: Taoist Literature.” In Mircea Eliade, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 14: 317–29. New York: Macmillan.

Chen Guofu 陳國符. 1963. *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考 [Studies on the origins and development of the Taoist Canon]. 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Ozaki Masaharu 尾崎正治. 1983. “*Dōkyō kyōten*” 道教經典 [Taoist texts].

In Fukui Kōjun 福井文雅 et al., eds., *Dōkyō* 道教 [Taoism], 1: 73–120. Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha.

———. 1986. “Dōzō no seiritsu to sono shūhen” 道藏の成立とその周辺 [The formation of the Taoist Canon and its circumstances]. In Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月観暎, ed., *Dōkyō kenkyū no susume: Sono genjō to mondaiten o kangaeru* 道教研究のすすめ—その現状と問題点を考える [An invitation to Taoist studies: Reflections on its state and issues], 79–109. Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha.

Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊. 1955. *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* 道教經典史論 [Historical studies on Taoist scriptures]. Tokyo: Dōkyō kankōkai.

### 3B. SURVEYS OF INDIVIDUAL CORPORA

The only extensive systematic study of a major Taoist textual corpus in a Western language is found in Robinet 1984; vol. 2 of this work analyzes several dozen texts belonging or closely related to the Shangqing corpus. Shorter Western-language surveys of major Taoist textual corpora include Ōfuchi Ninji 1974 and Bokenkamp 1993 on Lingbao, and Strickmann 1981, 58–81, on Shangqing. Brief presentations of the main sources belonging or related to individual traditions are also found in *Daoism Handbook*, edited by Livia Kohn in 2000.

Bokenkamp, Stephen R. 1983. “Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures.” In Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of Rolf A. Stein*, 2: 434–86. Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises.

Kohn, Livia, ed. 2000. *Daoism Handbook*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Ōfuchi, Ninji. 1974. “On *Ku Ling-pao-ching* 古靈寶經.” *Acta Asiatica* 27: 33–56.

Robinet, Isabelle. 1984. *La révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoïsme*. 2 vols. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Strickmann, Michel. 1981. *Le Taoïsme du Mao Chan: Chronique d'une révélation*. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises.

## 4. Catalogues

### 4A. PRE-MODERN CATALOGUES

The Taoist Canon contains an index to its own texts entitled *Da Ming*

*daoang jing mulu* 大明道藏經目錄 (Index of Scriptures in the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming; CT 1431). Two annotated indexes of the texts in the Canon were compiled in the Qing period by Bai Yunji 白雲霽 and Li Jie 李杰, respectively. Their contents are similar, and both are entitled \**Daoang mulu xiangzhu* 道藏目錄詳注 (Detailed Commentary on the Index of the Taoist Canon). On these catalogues see Ozaki Masaharu 1987.

Ozaki Masaharu 尾崎正治. 1987. “*Dōzō mokuroku shōchū kanken*” 「道藏目錄詳注」 管見 [A review of the *Daoang mulu xiangzhu*]. In Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月観暎, ed., *Dōkyō kenkyū no susume: Sono genjō to mondaiten o kangaeru* 道教研究のすすめ—その現状と問題点を考える [An invitation to Taoist studies: Reflections on its state and issues], 529–53. Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha.

The Chinese bibliography on the Taoist Canon found an epigone in P. Léon Wieger's *Taoïsme: Bibliographie générale* (1911). Although this was the first catalogue compiled by a Western scholar, it may also be considered the last traditional catalogue of the Canon. According to his introduction, Wieger compiled his work on the basis of two sets of the *Daoang* that he personally examined, namely those kept at the Baiyun guan in Beijing and at the Imperial Library in Tokyo, and with the help of five Chinese catalogues, including *Li Jie's Daoang mulu xiangzhu*. Wieger's catalogue lists 1464 titles. It also includes a classification of the texts into fifty sections, an alphabetical title index, an author index, and (a useful addition) the relevant portions of several pre-modern bibliographies found in the Standard Histories or in catalogues of private libraries. The notes on each entry are usually very short and often generic (if not inexact or even “fantaisistes,” as Kristofer Schipper calls them in his own catalogue, to be mentioned in sec. 4b below). On some occasions, moreover, Wieger does not hesitate to evaluate a text as “insignifiant” or as a “traité inepte.”

This is not the only reason that the *Bibliographie générale* is nowadays inadequate as a tool to orient oneself in the Taoist Canon. Its major shortcomings are highlighted by Weng Dujian, the author of one of the two best catalogues of the Canon (see sec. 4b). Weng remarks that since Wieger's work was published before the first modern reprint of the Canon (1923–26), it does not provide references to the number of fascicles in that reprint, but only to the Qianzi wen 千字文 characters with which the Ming editors labeled each fascicle. Weng also points out that Wieger's title index does not contain frequently-used abbreviated or alternative forms, that his author index



omits many names, and that his catalogue neglects to mention some titles. As Weng notes, the missing titles are the same as those also omitted in Li Jie's *Daozang mulu xiangzhu*. Finally, again due to its substantial dependency on Li Jie's catalogue, Wieger's catalogue contains some erroneous transcriptions and annotations.

Wieger, Leon. 1911. *Taoïsme*. Vol. I: *Bibliographie générale: I. Le canon (Patrologie), II. Les index officiels et privés*. Hien-hien (Ho-kien-fou): [Imprimerie de la Mission catholique].

#### 4B. MODERN CATALOGUES

The first modern reference work on the Taoist Canon is *Daozang zimu yinde* 道藏子目引得 (*Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature*), published by Weng Dujian in 1935 in the Harvard-Yenching Index Series.

This work is divided into four parts:

- (a) an analytic catalogue of the Canon
- (b) a title index
- (c) an author index
- (d) an index to biographies found in 77 texts

The introductory section includes, among other materials, a transcription of the “Daojiao zongyuan” 道教宗源 (Lineal Origins of the Taoist Teaching) and the “Daozang mulu fanli” 道藏目錄凡例 (Index of the Taoist Canon: General Guidelines), both of which are part of the *Da Ming daoze jing mulu* 大明道藏經目錄 (Index of the Scriptures in the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming; CT 1431), as well as a revised version of Wieger's classification of the texts.

According to Weng's preface, his catalogue is based on the *Daozang jing mulu*. It includes 1476 titles, twelve of which are not listed in Wieger's catalogue. For each text, the catalogue provides references to both the *Qianzi wen* character and the number of fascicle(s) in the 1923–26 reprint. An appendix lists 114 texts that are not included in the *Daozang* but are found in the *\*Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (Essentials of the Taoist Canon), a collection of Taoist texts compiled in the Qing period (see sec. 5a below; this appendix is not entirely reliable). The title index, which includes many alternative or

abbreviated forms, lists all works found in the *Daozang* and the *Daozang jiyao*, together with the titles of the lost works cited in the \**Daozang quejing mulu* 道藏闕經目錄 (Index of Scriptures Missing from the Taoist Canon; CT 1430; see above, sec. 2a). In addition, the index of biographies makes Weng's catalogue especially useful.

Weng Dujian 翁獨健. 1935. *Daozang zimu yinde* 道藏子目引得 (*Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature*). Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, no. 25. Beijing [Beijing]: Yenching University Library. Reprint, Taipei: Chengwen Publishing Company, 1966.

Although Weng Dujian's catalogue remains a key reference work, many recent works—including the present *Encyclopedia of Taoism*—refer to the *Daozang* texts according to the numbering in Kristofer Schipper's *Concordance du Tao-tsang: Titres des ouvrages* (1975). The catalogue found at the beginning of this work lists 1487 texts, i.e. eleven more than those found in Weng Dujian's catalogue (more precisely, fourteen texts that Weng deems to be parts of other works are listed by Schipper as independent works, while three texts that Weng lists as independent works are deemed by Schipper to be parts of other works). The catalogue is followed by a concordance to the individual characters that form the titles of the 1487 texts.

Schipper's catalogue is also entirely reproduced in the Yiwen chubanshe reprint of the Canon published in 1977, and the concordance alone in the Chūbun shuppansha reprint published in 1986. It has also been republished as Shi Zhouren and Chen Yaoting 1996, together with an index to the titles in the above-mentioned *Daozang quejing mulu*.

Schipper, Kristofer M. 1975. *Concordance du Tao-tsang: Titres des ouvrages*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Shi Zhouren 施舟人 [Kristofer Schipper] and Chen Yaoting 陳耀庭, eds. 1996. *Daozang suoyin* 道藏索引 [Index to the Taoist Canon]. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe.

A comparison of the numbering of texts in the catalogues by Weng Dujian and Schipper, with details on titles added or omitted in each of them, is found in Boltz 1987a, 247–50 (listed in sec. 3a above). Some issues in both catalogues are discussed in Fukui Fumimasa 1988. Fukui also suggests in an earlier study (1985) that neither catalogue actually lists all works contained in

the Canon. The present confusion arising due to the use of two different numbering systems was first criticized more than a quarter century ago by Strickmann (1977, 15–17).

Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅. 1985. “Saikin (1) no Dōkyō kankei ōbun bunken (1)” 最近の道教関係欧文文献 (1) [Recent publications on Taoism in Western languages; part 1]. *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 1: 118–25.

———. 1988. “Dōzō shiryō no hyōji-hō ni tsuite. Haabaado Dōzō bunrui intoku to Shipeeru Dōzō sō mokuroku to no mondaiten” 道藏資料の表示法について—ハーバード道藏分類引得とシペール道藏総目録との問題点 [The numbering of texts of the Taoist Canon: Problems in the Harvard-Yenching index and in K. Schipper's catalogue]. *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 71: 70–81.

Strickmann, Michel. 1977. “Bibliographic Notes on Chinese Religious Studies.” *Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions* 3: 11–17.

Another major catalogue of the Canon is *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要, edited by Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng in 1991 with a revised edition published in 1999. This catalogue, the result of a project based at the Research Institute on World Religions, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Shijie zongjiao yanjiusuo), lists 1473 titles, i.e., three less than those in Weng's catalogue and fourteen less than those in Schipper's catalogue. In addition to abstracts—of a somewhat unequal value—of each text, this volume contains several appendixes, the most useful of which are one containing short biographical notes on about 500 authors, and one containing a classification of the texts into nine main categories and several sub-categories. On this catalogue see Boltz 1994. Some entries preliminarily published by the Shijie zongjiao yanjiusuo Daojiao yanjiushi in 1984 are still worthy of being consulted, as they are more detailed compared to the corresponding entries in the final publication.

Boltz, Judith M. 1994. “Notes on the Daozang tiyao.” *China Review International* 1.2: 1–33.

Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬, eds. 1991. *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 [A conspectus of the Taoist Canon]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.

Shijie zongjiao yanjiusuo Daojiao yanjiushi 世界宗教研究所道教研究室

[Research Group on Taoism of the Research Institute on World Religions], ed. 1984. “*Daozang tiyao xuankan*” 道藏提要選刊 [Selections from *Daozang tiyao*]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1984.2: 1–29; 1984.3: 84–101.

Two relatively recent catalogues (Zhu Yueli 1996; Zhong Zhaopeng 1999) list the *Daozang* texts according to “modern” classification systems. While these revised arrangements offer valuable alternatives to the traditional classification system, they sometimes produce questionable results, such as the listing of ritual texts under “Literature” (“Wenxue” 文學) or the listing of texts on meditation under “Other Healing Methods” (“Qita liaofa” 其它療法).

Zhong Zhaopeng 鍾肇鵬. 1999. *Xinbian Daozang mulu* 新编道藏目录 [A newly compiled index to the Taoist Canon]. 2 vols. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe.

Zhu Yueli 朱越利. 1996. *Daozang fenlei jieti* 道经分类解题 [Classified descriptive notes on the Taoist Canon]. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe.

Two other catalogues of the Canon, of lesser importance compared to those mentioned above, are found in Kyōto joshi daigaku toshokan 1965 and in Chen 1989.

Chen, William Y. 1989. *A Guide to Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang*. Taipei: Chinese Materials Center.

Kyōto joshi daigaku toshokan 京都女子大學圖書館 [Library of the Kyoto University for Women], ed. 1965. *Min Seitō bon Dōzō shomei jikaku sakuin* 明正統本道藏書名字畫索引 [A stroke-number index to texts found in the *Zhengtong daoasang* of the Ming period]. Kyoto: Kyōto joshi daigaku.

For the sake of completeness, it should be added that the *Daozang* texts are also listed in *Zhongguo congshu zonglu* 中國叢書總錄 (Union catalogue of Chinese collectanea), edited by the Shanghai tushuguan (1959–62; 1: 791–808), and in *Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo kanseki mokuroku* 京都大学人文科学研究所漢籍目錄 (Catalogue of Chinese texts at the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University), edited by the Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo (1964–65; 1: 446–70). The first of these is defined as “the best analytical list” of the Taoist Canon by van der Loon (1984, 65).

#### 4C. ANNOTATED CATALOGUES

As mentioned above, the catalogue edited by Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng (1991) contains abstracts of the individual texts in the *Daozang*. A better overview of the entire collection is now possible with the publication of *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (dated 2004, published June 2005), the fruit of a project promoted by the European Science Foundation and directed by Kristofer Schipper at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris during the years 1979 to 1984. The catalogue, edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, contains entries for each text, arranged by tradition and chronologically, with details on date, authorship, transmission, relation to other sources, and contents of each text.

Schipper, Kristofer M., and Franciscus Verellen, eds. 2004. *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. 3 vols. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

#### 5. Other Collections of Taoist Texts

In addition to the \**Zhengtong daozaang*, a large number of Taoist sources are found in several other collections. This section lists the main reference works on the most important collections; for more details on the works cited here, see the relevant entries in the present book.

##### 5A. 'DAOZANG JIYAO'

The \**Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (Essentials of the Taoist Canon), first published in the Qing period and expanded in the early twentieth century, contains, according to one count, 287 texts. An index has been published by W. Y. Chen (1987); it contains 309 titles, due to the compiler's choice of considering several texts as independent works rather than as parts of other texts. Weng Dujian's index to the *Daozang* mentioned in sec. 4a above contains a not entirely dependable list of *Daozang jiyao* texts that are not also found in the *Daozang*.

Chen, William Y. 1978. *A Guide to Tao-tsang chi yao*. Stony Brook, N. Y.: Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions.

##### 5b. 'DAOZANG XUBIAN'

The \**Daozang xubian* 道藏續編 (Sequel to the Taoist Canon) is a collection of twentythree \**neidan* 內丹 texts, none of which is found in the *Daozang*. On this collection, published by \*Min Yide 閔一得 (1758–1836, eleventh patriarch of the \*Longmen 龍門 tradition) and reprinted in 900 copies in 1989 (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe), see Despeux 1990, 163–72, and Esposito 1988.

Despeux, Catherine. 1990. *Immortelles de la Chine ancienne: Taoïsme et alchimie féminine*. Puiseaux: Pardès.

Esposito, Monica. 1988. “Présentation d'une partie des texts du ‘Daozang xubian.’” *Mémoire de D.E.A., Université de Paris VII*.

#### 5C. ‘DAOZANG JINGHUA LU,’ ‘DAOZANG JINGHUA,’ AND ‘DAOJIA WENXIAN’

Taoist works not included in the *Zhengtong daoze* are also found among the 100 texts of the \**Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精化錄 (Record of the Essential Splendors of the Taoist Canon), compiled by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952) and published by the Yixue shuju (Shanghai, 1922; repr. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Gushi chubanshe, 1989), and among the more than 600 texts of the *Daozang jinghua* 道藏精化 (Essential Splendors of the Taoist Canon), compiled by Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石 (1908–86) and published by the Ziyou chubanshe in Taipei at various dates. (The index to the *Daozang jinghua* found in Chen 1984 does not always match the contents of the individual volumes, some of which have been republished with different works compared to those included in the first edition). Nine more texts are collected in *Daojia wenxian* 道教文獻 (Taoist Texts), published by Du Jiexiang 杜潔祥 (Taipei: Danqing tushu, 1983; 20 vols.).

Chen, William Y. 1984. *A Guide to the Tao tsang ching hua*. N.p.: Chinese Materials Center.

#### 5d. ‘ZANGWAI DAOSHU’

The main recently published collection of Taoist texts is the \**Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 (Taoist Texts Outside the Canon). This collection, published by the Ba-Shu Shushe in 1992 with a sequel published in 1995, includes several hundred texts, some of which are not easily available elsewhere. On the works found in the *Zangwai daoshu* see Tian Chengyang 1995.

Tian Chengyang 田誠陽. 1995. “Zangwai daoshu shumu lüexi” 「藏外道書」書目略析 [A brief analysis of the contents of the Zangwai daoshu]. Parts 1 and 2. *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 1995.1: 37–42; 1995.2: 42–45.

#### 5E. RITUAL MANUSCRIPTS

Fieldwork done in Taiwan and the People's Republic of China has enabled several scholars to collect manuscripts especially concerned with Taoist ritual. The mss. collected by Schipper are housed at the Collège de France; on this collection see Shi Bo'er 1966. Two sets of mss. collected by Michael Saso are published in Saso 1975 and in Saso 1978; on the former set see Saso 1979 and Ōfuchi Ninji 1976. The mss. collected by Ōfuchi Ninji are published in Ōfuchi Ninji 1983. The mss. collected by Kenneth Dean in the People's Republic of China are catalogued in Dean 1988.

Dean, Kenneth. 1988. “Manuscripts from Fujian.” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4: 217–26.

Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾. 1976. “Sasō-shi hen Sō-Rin zoku dōzō no shuppan ni yosete” サソー氏編「莊林續道藏」の出版によせて [The *Zhuang-Lin xu daozeang* compiled by Michael Saso]. *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 47: 65–70.

———. 1983. *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei: Bukkyō, dōkyō, minkan shinkō* 中國人の宗教儀禮—佛教・道教・民間信仰 [Liturgies of the Chinese people: Buddhism, Taoism, and popular cults]. Tokyo: Fukutake shoten.

Saso, Michael R., ed. 1975. *Zhuang-Lin xu daozeang* 莊林續道藏 [The Zhuang-Lin Supplement to the Taoist Canon]. 25 vols. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe.

———. 1978. *Dōkyō hiketsu shūsei* 道教祕訣集成 [A collection of Taoist esoterica]. Tokyo: Ryūkei shosha.

———. 1979. “A Guide to the *Chuang Lin Hsü Tao-tsang*.” *Journal of the China Society* 16–17: 9–28.

Shi Bo'er 施博爾 [Kristofer Schipper]. 1966. “Taiwan zhi daozeang wenxian” 臺灣之道教文獻 [Taoist texts in Taiwan]. *Taiwan wenxian* 臺灣文獻 17.3: 173–92.

#### 5F. EPIGRAPHY

A large collection of epigraphic sources was posthumously published in Chen Yuan 1988.

Chen Yuan 陈垣. 1988. *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 [A collection of Taoist epigraphy]. Edited by Chen Zhichao 陈智超 and Zeng Qingying 曾庆瑛. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

## 6. Concordances and Indexes

Among the main results of the Tao-tsang Project was the compilation of indexes to several hundred texts in the Canon, distributed in a limited number of copies to contributors and libraries in microfiche format. The indexes contain names of persons, authors, subjects of biographies, emperors, deities, places, temples, religious and administrative titles, dates, lineages, and iconographic representations. The full collection includes about thirty-five microfiches, most of which contain the equivalent of 270 pages of fifteen lines each, corresponding to more than 100,000 references altogether. On these indexes see Schipper 1983.

Schipper, Kristofer M. 1983. “Une banque de données informatisée sur l'histoire du taoïsme.” *Études chinoises* 1: 48–54.

In addition to the indexes and concordances of individual texts listed below, Ōfuchi Ninji and Ishii Masako 1988 contains indexes to texts quoted in forty-five works (mainly Taoist but also including some Buddhist works, as well as encyclopedias and Dunhuang manuscripts), together with tables of contents of each indexed work. The indexes of texts quoted in fifteen Taoist works, found in Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955, 341–481, are also useful.

Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾 and Ishii Masako 石井昌子, eds. 1988. *Rikuchō Tō Sō no kobunken shōin Dōzō tenseki mokuroku, sakuin* 六朝唐宋の古文献所引道藏典籍 目錄・索引 [A catalogue with index to Taoist texts cited in ancient sources of the Six Dynasties, Tang, and Song]. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai.

Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊. 1955. *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* 道教經典史論 [Historical studies on Taoist scriptures]. Tokyo: Dōkyō kankōkai.

6A. ‘*DAODE JING*,’ XIANG’ER COMMENTARY, ‘HESHANG GONG’ COMMENTARY, AND WANG BI’S COMMENTARY

A concordance to the *Daode jing* is included in the ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series (Lau 1996). It is based on the \*Wang Bi 王弼 (226–49)



text of the *Daode jing* and the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition of both the text and the commentary in the \**Laozi Heshang gong zhangju* 老子河上公章句. A concordance to Wang Bi's commentary is separately available in Kitahara Mineki 1987. A concordance to the \**Xiang'er* 想爾 commentary (ca. 200 CE) was published by Mugitani Kunio in 1985. Another concordance to the *Daode jing* is mentioned below in section 6b, and more are listed in D. L. McMullen, *Concordances and Indexes to Chinese Texts* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1975).

Kitahara Mineki 北原峰樹. 1987. *Rōshi Ō Hitsu chū sakuin* 「老子王弼注」索引 [Concordance to Wang Bi's commentary to the *Laozi*]. Kitakyushu: Chūgoku shoten.

Lau, D. C., ed. 1996. *Laozi zhuzi suoyin* 老子逐字索引 (*A Concordance to the Laozi*). The ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series; Philosophical Works, 24. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan.

Mugitani Kunio 麦谷邦夫. 1985. *Rōshi Sōji chū sakuin* 「老子想爾注」索引 [Concordance to the *Xiang'er* commentary to the *Laozi*]. Kyoto: Hōyū shoten.

#### 6B. 'ZHUANGZI' AND GUO XIANG'S COMMENTARY

The text of the \**Zhuangzi* 莊子 established by Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844–97), *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (first published in 1895), is the basis for the concordance published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute in 1947. (A 1986 reprint of this book also includes a concordance to the *Daode jing*.) The Song text of the *Zhuangzi* found in the *Xu guyi congshu* 續故逸叢書 is the basis for the concordance published in the ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance (Lau 2000). There is a concordance to \*Guo Xiang's 郭象 (?–312) commentary in Kitahara Mineki 1989.

Harvard-Yenching Institute, ed. 1947. *Zhuangzi yinde* 莊子引得. *A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement 20. Beijing: Harvard-Yenching Institute. Reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Reprint, Taipei: Zongqing guo tushu, 1986, in the series *Zhuzi yinde* 諸子引得 [Concordances of philosophical texts], with a concordance to the *Laozi* 老子.

Kitahara Mineki 北原峰樹. 1989. *Sōshi Kaku Shō chū sakuin* 「莊子郭象注」索引 [Concordance to Guo Xiang's commentary to the *Zhuangzi*].

Kita-Kyushu: Chūgoku shoten.

Lau, D. C., ed. 2000. *Zhuangzi zhuzi suoyin* 莊子逐字索引 (*A Concordance to the Zhuangzi*). The ICS Ancient Chinese Text Concordance Series; Philosophical Works, 43. Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan.

6C. 'LIEZI' AND ZHANG ZHAN'S COMMENTARY

For the \*Liezi 列子 there is a concordance in Yamaguchi Yoshio 1960. A concordance to Zhang Zhan's 張湛 early-fourth-century commentary was published in 1988 by Kitahara Mineki.

Kitahara Mineki 北原峰樹. 1988. *Resshi Chō Tan chū sakuin* 「列子張湛注」索引 [Concordance to Zhang Zhan's commentary to the *Liezi*]. Kita-Kyushu: Chūgoku shoten.

Yamaguchi Yoshio 山口義男. 1960. *Resshi sakuin* 「列子」索引 [Concordance to *Liezi*]. Nishinomiya: Mukogawa joshi daigaku Chūgoku bungaku kenkyūshitsu.

6D. 'BAOPU ZI NEIPIAN' AND 'BAOPU ZI WAIPIAN'

For \*Ge Hong's 葛洪 (283–343) *Baopu zi neipian* 抱朴子內篇 and *Baopu zi waipian* 抱朴子外篇 (see under \*Baopu zi) there are two concordances edited by Schipper in 1965 and 1970, respectively. Both are based on the text established by Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818; preface dated 1813) and give references to the editions in the *Zhuzi jicheng* 諸子集成, with a table of conversion to the editions in the *Sibu congkan*.

Schipper, Kristofer M., ed. 1965. *Baopu zi neipian tongjian* 抱朴子內篇通檢. *Concordance du Baopu zi neipian*. Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises.

———. 1970. *Baopu zi waipian tongjian* 抱朴子外篇通檢. *Concordance du Baopu zi waipian*. Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises.

6E. 'HUANGTING JING' AND LIANGQIU ZI'S COMMENTARY

The concordance to the \*Huangting jing 黃庭經 edited by Schipper (1975) is based on the versions of the *Neijing* 內經 and the *Waijing* 外經 with Liangqiu zi's 梁丘子 (fl. 722) commentaries, both of which are found in the \**Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (CT 263).

Schipper, Kristofer M., ed. 1975. *Concordance du Houang-t'ing king: Nei-king et Wai-king*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

6F. 'DONGYUAN SHENZHOU JING'

The concordance to the \**Dongyuan shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神呪經 published by Yamada Toshiaki and Yusa Noboru (1984) is based on the text included in the Taoist Canon (CT 335).

Yamada Toshiaki 山田利明 and Yusa Noboru 遊佐昇. 1984. *Tajō dōen shinju-kyō goi sakuin* 「太上洞淵神呪經」語彙索引 [Index to terms in the *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*]. Tokyo: Shōun-dō shoten.

6G. 'ZHENGAO'

A concordance to \*Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 (454–536) \**Zhengao* 真誥 was published by Mugitani Kunio in 1991. The concordance is based on the edition in the Taoist Canon (CT 1016). An index published by Ishii Masako in 1987 is concerned with names of persons, names of places, titles of texts, and selected terms found in the text. This publication, in turn, replaced an index published by Ishii Masako in the three parts (names of persons; names of places and titles of texts; terms) in 1971–72.

Ishii Masako 石井昌子. 1971–72. “*Shinkō jinmei sakuin*” 「真誥」人名索引 [Index to names of persons in the *Zhengao*]; “*Shinkō shomei, chimei sakuin*” 「真誥」書名・地名索引 [Index to titles of texts and names of places in the *Zhengao*]; “*Shinkō goi sakuin*” 「真誥」語彙索引 [Index to terms in the *Zhengao*]. *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* 東洋學術研究 10.3 (1971): 141–72; 11.1 (1972): 157–74; 11.3 (1972): 143–71.

———. 1987. “*Shinkō sakuin*” 「真誥索引」 [Index to the *Zhengao*]. Tokyo: Sōka daigaku Ippan kyōikubu. (Supplement to vol. 11 of *Ippan Kyōikubu Ronshū* 一般教育部論集.)

Mugitani Kunio 麥谷邦夫. 1991. *Shinkō sakuin* 「真誥」索引 [Concordance to the *Zhengao*]. Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo.

6H. 'ZHOU SHI MINGTONG JI'

A concordance to another work by Tao Hongjing, the *Zhou shi mingtong ji* 周

氏冥通記, was published by Mugitani Kunio in 2003. The concordance is based on the edition in the Taoist Canon (CT 302).

Mugitani Kunio 麥谷邦夫. 2003. *Shūshi meitsūki sakuin* 「周氏冥通記」索引 [Concordance to the *Zhoushi mingtong ji*]. Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo Fuzoku kanji jōhō sentaa.

6I. 'ZHOUYI CANTONG QI' AND 'HUANGDI YINFU JING'

A work by Kitahara Mineki and Sugita Shigeo (1987) includes concordances of both the \**Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 and the \**Huangdi yinfu jing* 黃帝陰符經. The concordance to the *Zhouyi cantong qi* is based on Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) \**Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 周易參同契考異 (CT 1001). The concordance to the *Huangdi yinfu jing* is based on the text found in the Taoist Canon with Xiao Zhenzai's 蕭真宰 commentary (CT 118).

Kitahara Mineki 北原峰樹 and Sugita Shigeo 杉田茂夫. 1987. *Shūeki sandōkei sakuin, Kōtei yinbu kyō sakuin* 「周易參道契」索引・「黃帝陰符經」索引 [Concordances to the *Zhouyi cantong qi* and the *Huangdi yinfu jing*]. Kita-Kyushu: Chūgoku shoten.

6J. 'DAOSHU'

A concordance to Zeng Zao's 曾慥 (?–1155) \**Daoshu* 道樞 (CT 1017) was published by Miyazawa Masayori, Mugitani Kunio, and Jin Zhengyao in 2002.

Miyazawa Masayori 宮澤正順, Mugitani Kunio 麥谷邦夫, and Jin Zhengyao 金正耀. 2002. *Dōsu ichiji sakuin* 「道樞」一字索引 [Concordance to the *Daoshu*]. Kyoto: Shōkadō.

6K. 'SHIYAO ERYA'

An index to the synonyms and secret names of substances mentioned in the \**Shiyao erya* 石藥爾雅, a work compiled by Mei Biao 梅彪 (fl. 806) and found in the Taoist Canon (CT 901), is available in Wong 1989. The index also includes names found in several other \**waidan* 外丹 texts.

Wong Shiu Hon 黃兆漢. 1989. *Daozang danyao yiming suoyin* 道藏丹藥異名索引. *Chinese Alchemical Terms: Guide Book to the Daozang*

*Pseudonyms*. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju.

6L. 'DAOJIAO YISHU'

The index to the \**Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞 published by Nakajima Ryūzō (1980) is based on the only extant edition of this encyclopedia, compiled by Meng Anpai 孟安排 (fl. 699) and found in the Taoist Canon (CT 1129).

Nakajima Ryūzō 中島隆藏, ed. 1980. *Dōkyō gisū sakuin kō* 「道教義樞」索引稿 [A draft index to the *Daojiao yishu*]. Kyoto: private publication.

6M. 'YUNJI QIQIAN'

The index to the \**Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 edited by Schipper (1981) as part of the Taotsang Project is based on the edition in the Taoist Canon (CT 1032) of this encyclopedia, compiled by Zhang Junfang 張君房 et al. in ca. 1028. A comparison of the individual chapters and sections in the three extant editions (*Daozang*; Qingzhen guan 清真館, reproduced in the *Sibu congkan*; and *Daozang jiyao*) is found in Nakajima Ryūzō 1987. The three editions are also the object of a separate study by Nakajima Ryūzō (1986).

Nakajima Ryūzō 中島隆藏. 1986. “*Unkyū shichisen no shohon ni tsuite*” 「雲笈七籤」の諸本について [On the editions of the *Yunji qiqian*]. *Shūkan tōyōgaku* 週間 東洋学 56: 66–76.

———. 1987. “*Sanbon taishō Unkyū shichisen mokuroku*” 三本対照「雲笈七籤」目録 [Comparative tables of contents of three editions of the *Yunji qiqian*]. *Chūgoku kodai yōsei shisō no sōgōteki kenkyū: Kenkyū seika hōkokusho no yon* 中国古 代養生思想の総合的研究—研究成果報告書の四. Kyoto: n.p.

Schipper, Kristofer M. 1981. *Projet Tao-tsang: Index du Yunji qiqian*. 2 vols. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

## 7. Encyclopedias and Dictionaries

Encyclopedic works on Taoism published in English include Pas 1998 and Kohn 2000. In Chinese, among several other similar works, see especially Li Yuanguo 1991, Qing Xitai 1994, *Zhongguo daojiao xiehui* and Suzhou daojiao xiehui 1994, and Hu Fuchen 1995. The main encyclopedic works in

Japanese are Fukui Kōjun et al. 1983, Noguchi Tetsurō et al. 1994, and Sakade Yoshinobu 1994.

Fukui Kōjun 福井康順 et al., eds. 1983. *Dōkyō* 道教 [Taoism]. 3 vols. Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha.

Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, ed. 1995. *Zhonghua daojiao da cidian* 中华道教大辞典 [Great dictionary of Chinese Taoism]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.

Kohn, Livia, ed. 2000. *Daoism Handbook*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Li Yuanguo 李远国, ed. 1991. *Zhongguo daojiao qigong yangsheng daquan* 中國道教氣功養生大全 [Compendium of Chinese Taoism, qigong, and Nourishing Life]. Chengdu: Sichuan cishu chubanshe.

Noguchi Tetsurō 野口鐵郎 et al., eds. 1994. *Dōkyō jiten* 道教事典 [Encyclopedia of Taoism]. Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha.

Pas, Julian, in cooperation with Man Kam Leung. 1998. *Historical Dictionary of Taoism*. Lanham, Md., and London: The Scarecrow Press.

Qing Xitai 卿希泰, ed. 1994. *Zhongguo daojiao* 中国道教 [Chinese Taoism]. 4 vols. Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin.

Sakade Yoshinobu 坂出祥伸, ed. 1994. *Dōkyō no daijiten* 道教の大事典 [Great encyclopedia of Taoism]. Tokyo: Shin jinbutsu ōrai sha.

*Zhongguo daojiao xiehui* 中国道教协会 [Chinese Taoist Association] and *Suzhou daojiao xiehui* 苏州道教协会 [Suzhou Taoist Association], eds. 1994. *Daojiao dacidian* 道教大辭典 [Great dictionary of Taoism]. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe.

Most of the works listed above contain short entries on various subjects related to Taoism, but some (in particular, Kohn 2000, Qing Xitai 1994, and Sakade Yoshinobu 1994) contain longer articles.

Entries relevant to Taoism are also found in general encyclopedias and dictionaries of religion and thought. Those containing reliable articles include the *Encyclopedia of Religion* edited by Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987) and the *Encyclopédie philosophique universelle* edited by André Jacob (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1989–).

# BIBLIOGRAPHIES

## SOURCES IN THE *DAOZANG* (TAOIST CANON)

This bibliography lists titles of Daozang texts cited in the entries of the present book. It provides:

- (a) Full titles of texts cited in abbreviated form.
- (b) References to three catalogues of the Daozang:
  - (1) *Concordance du Tao-tsang: Titres des ouvrages* (Schipper 1975b, abbreviated as CT)
  - (2) the Harvard-Yenching Daozang zimu yinde 道藏子目引得 (Weng Dujian 1935, abbreviated as HY)
  - (3) *Daozang tiyao* 道藏提要 (Ren Jiyu and Zhong Zhaopeng 1991, abbreviated as TY)
- (c) References to Daozang texts that are also entirely or partially included in the *\*Yunji qiqian* (abbreviated as YJQQ); these references are based on Lagerwey 1981a, which should be consulted for further details.
- (d) References to texts also published in the *\*Daozang jiyao* (abbreviated as DZJY; numbers of volumes and pages are those of the Xinwenfeng reprint, Taipei 1977).

Asterisks (\*) indicate texts with independent entries in the present book. Translations of almost all titles are found in the entries.

CT	Hy	TY	
1	1	1	<i>Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing</i> 靈寶無量度人上品妙經. DZJY 1–3: 411–946. See <a href="#">*Duren jing</a> .
5	5	5	<i>Wenchang dadong xianjing</i> 文昌大洞仙經. Full title: <i>Taishang wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing</i> 太上無極總真文昌大洞仙經. See <a href="#">*Dadong zhenjing</a> .



- 6 6 6 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經. Part. in YJQQ 30 and 42. See \*[Dadong zhenjing](#).
- 7 7 7 *Dadong yujing* 大洞玉經. DZJY 3: 1127–74, with a section entitled “Dadong xianjing guanxiang yaojue” 大洞仙經觀想要訣 (3: 1130–38) not found in the *Daozang* text. See \*[Dadong zhenjing](#).
- 9 9 9 \**Haikong zhizang jing* 海空智藏經. Full title: *Taishang yisheng Haikong zhizang jing* 太上一乘海空智藏經. Part. in YJQQ 39, 93, and 95.
- 10 10 10 *Yuhuang benxing jijing* 玉皇本行集經. Full title: *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經.
- 11 11 11 *Yuhuang benxing jijing* 玉皇本行集經. Full title: *Gaoshang Yuhuang benxing jijing* 高上玉皇本行集經. DZJY 7: 2587–2632.
- 13 13 13 *Xinyin miaojing* 心印妙經. Full title: *Gaoshang Yuhuang xinyin miaojing* 高上玉皇心印妙經. See \*[Xinyin jing](#).
- 14 14 14 *Yuhuang taixi jing* 高上玉皇胎息經 胎息經. Full title: *Gaoshang Yuhuang taixi jing* 高上玉皇胎息經. See \*[Taixi jing](#).
- 15 15 15 *Leiting yujing* 雷霆玉經. Full title: *Wushang jiuxiao Yuqing dafan ziwei Xuandu leiting yujing* 無上九霄玉清大梵紫微玄都雷霆玉經.
- 16 16 16 *Yushu baojing* 玉樞寶經. Full title: *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng Puhua tianzun yushu baojing* 九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經. See \*[Yushu jing](#).
- 17 17 17 *Chaotian xielei zhenjing* 朝天謝雷真經. Full title: *Taishang shuo chaotian xielei zhenjing* 太上說朝天謝雷真經.
- 19 19 19 *Xiaozai huming miaojing* 消災護命妙經. Full title: *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing* 太上昇玄消災護命妙經.
- 22 22 22 \**Wupian zhenwen* 五篇真文. Full title: *Yuanshi wulao chishu yu [recte: wu] pian zhenwen tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書(玉)[五]篇真文天書經.
- 45 45 45 *Beidou bensheng zhenjing* 北斗本生真經. Full title: *Yuqing wushang Lingbao ziran beidou bensheng zhenjing* 玉清無上靈寶自然北斗本生真經.
- 55 55 55 *Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jing* 太霄琅書瓊文帝章經. Full title: *Gaoshang taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jing* 高上太霄琅書瓊文帝章經. See \*[Taixiao langshu](#).
- 56 56 56 *Yupei jindang shangjing* 玉佩金璫上經. Full title: *Taishang yupei jindang taiji jinshu shangjing* 太上玉佩金璫太極金書上經. Part. in YJQQ 51 and 54.
- 57 57 57 *Zhenyuan tongxian daojing* 真元通仙道經. Full title: *Shangfang tianzun shuo zhenyuan tongxian daojing* 上方天尊說真元通仙道經.
- 59 59 59 *Jueyi jing* 決疑經. Full title: *Yuanshi dongzhen jueyi jing* 元始洞真決疑經. See \*[Benji jing](#).
- 69 69 69 *Anzao jing* 安灶經. Full title: *Taishang dongzhen anzao jing* 太上洞真安灶經.
- 74 74 74 *Jiuyou bazui xinyin miaojing* 九幽拔罪心印妙經. Full title: *Taishang*

- shuo jiuyou bazui xinyin miaojing* 太上說九幽拔罪心印妙經. See [\\*Xinyin jing](#).
- 78 78 78 *Taishang sandong shenzhou* 太上三洞神咒.
- 87 87 87 *Duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 度人上品妙經四注. Full title: *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing sizhu* 元始無量度人上品妙經 四注. See [\\*Duren jing](#).
- 88 88 88 *Duren shangpin miaojing zhu* 度人上品妙經注. Full title: *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhu* 元始無量度人上品妙經注.
- 89 89 89 *Duren shangpin miaojing tongyi* 度人上品妙經通義. Full title: *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing tongyi* 元始無量度人上品妙經通義.
- 90 90 90 *Duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* 度人上品妙經內義. Full title: *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* 元始無量度人上品妙經 內義.
- 91 91 91 *Duren shangpin miaojing zhu* 度人上品妙經注. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhu* 太上洞玄靈寶無量度人上品妙經注. DZJY 3: 947–998.
- 92 92 92 *Duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 度人上品妙經注解. Full title: *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing zhujie* 元始無量度人上品妙經注解.
- 95 95 95 *Duren jingjue yinyi* 度人經訣音義. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao wuliang duren jingjue yinyi* 洞玄靈寶無量度人經訣音義.
- 97 97 97 *Zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 諸天內音自然玉字. Full title: *Taishang Lingbao zhutian neiyin ziran yuzi* 太上靈寶諸天內音自然玉字.
- 99 99 99 *Yushu baojing jizhu* 玉樞寶經集注. Full title: *Jiutian yingyuan leisheng Puhua tianzun yushu baojing jizhu* 九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶經集注. See [\\*Yushu jing](#).
- 100 100 100 *Xiaozai huming miaojing zhu* 消災護命妙經注. Full title: *Taishang shengxuan shuo xiaozai huming miaojing zhu* 太上升玄說消災護命妙經注. DZJY 4: 1294–98.
- 101 101 101 *Xiaozai huming miaojing zhu* 消災護命妙經注. Full title: *Taishang shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing zhu* 太上升玄消災護命妙經注.
- 103 103 103 *Wenchang dadong xianjing* 文昌大洞仙經. Full title: *Yuqing wuji zongzhen Wenchang dadong xianjing* 玉清無極總真文昌大洞仙經. See [\\*Dadong zhenjing](#).
- 104 104 104 *Shangqing dadong zhenjing yujue yinyi* 上清大洞真經玉訣音義.
- 105 105 105 *Datong jingzhu* 大通經注. Full title: *Taishang datong jingzhu* 太上大通經注. DZJY 5: 2136–37.
- 107 107 107 *Donggu zhenjing zhu* 洞古真經注. Full title: *Wushang chiwen donggu zhenjing zhu* 無上赤文洞古真經注.
- 108 108 108 *Yinfu jing jizhu* 陰符經集注. Full title: *Huangdi yinfu jing jizhu* 黃帝陰符經集注.
- 109 109 109 *Yinfu jing jiangyi* 陰符經講義. Full title: *Huangdi yinfu jing jiangyi* 黃帝陰符經講義.
- 110 110 110 *Yinfu jing shu* 陰符經疏. Full title: *Huangdi yinfu jing shu* 黃帝陰符

經疏.

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| 111 | 111 | 111 | <i>Yinfu jing jijie</i> 陰符經集解. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing jijie</i> 黃帝陰符經集解. DZJY 8: 3148–59.                     |
| 112 | 112 | 112 | <i>Yinfu jing zhu</i> 陰符經注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i> 黃帝陰符經注. YJQQ 15.                                   |
| 113 | 113 | 113 | <i>Yinfu jing jie</i> 陰符經解. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing jie</i> 黃帝陰符經解.  |
| 114 | 114 | 114 | <i>Yinfu jing zhujie</i> 陰符經注解. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhujie</i> 黃帝陰符經注解.                                    |
| 115 | 115 | 115 | <i>Yinfu jing zhu</i> 陰符經注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i> 黃帝陰符經注.  |
| 116 | 116 | 116 | <i>Yinfu jing zhu</i> 陰符經注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i> 黃帝陰符經注. DZJY 8: 3175–77.                           |
| 117 | 117 | 117 | <i>Yinfu jing zhu</i> 陰符經注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i> 黃帝陰符經注.  |
| 118 | 118 | 118 | <i>Yinfu jing jieyi</i> 陰符經解義. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing jieyi</i> 黃帝陰符經解義.                                      |
| 119 | 119 | 119 | <i>Yinfu jing sanhuang yujue</i> 陰符經三皇玉訣.  |
| 120 | 120 | 120 | <i>Yinfu jing xinfa</i> 陰符經心法. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing xinfa</i> 黃帝陰符經心法.                                      |
| 121 | 121 | 121 | <i>Yinfu jing zhu</i> 陰符經注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i> 黃帝陰符經注.  |
| 122 | 122 | 122 | <i>Yinfu jing zhu</i> 陰符經注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i> 黃帝陰符經注.  |
| 123 | 123 | 123 | <i>Yinfu jing zhu</i> 陰符經注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i> 黃帝陰符經注.  |
| 124 | 124 | 124 | <i>Yinfu jing zhujie</i> 陰符經注解. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhujie</i> 黃帝陰符經注解.                                    |
| 125 | 125 | 125 | <i>Yinfu jing zhu</i> 陰符經注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing zhu</i> 黃帝陰符經注.  |
| 126 | 126 | 126 | <i>Yinfu jing jiasong jiezhu</i> 陰符經夾頌解注. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing jiasong jiezhu</i> 黃帝陰符經夾頌解注.                |
| 127 | 127 | 127 | <i>Yinfu jing jijie</i> 陰符經集解. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing jijie</i> 黃帝陰符經集解.                                      |
| 129 | 129 | 129 | <i>Taixiao langshu qiongwen dizhang jue</i> 太霄琅書瓊文帝章訣. See * <a href="#">Taixiao langshu</a> .                           |
| 130 | 130 | 130 | <i>Taixi jing zhu</i> 胎息經注. YJQQ 60. DZJY 7: 2848–49. See * <a href="#">Taixi jing</a> .                                 |
| 131 | 131 | 131 | <i>Taixi biyao gejie</i> 胎息祕要歌訣.   |
| 133 | 133 | 133 | <i>Dongfang neijing zhu</i> 洞房內經注. Full title: <i>Taishang dongfang neijing zhu</i> 太上洞房內經注.                             |
| 135 | 135 | 135 | <i>Cui gong ruyao jing zhujie</i> 崔公入藥鏡注解. See * <a href="#">Ruyao jing</a> .  |
| 136 | 136 | 136 | <i>Qinyuan chun danci zhujie</i> 沁園春丹詞注解. Full title: <i>Lü Chunyang zhenren qinyuan chun danci zhujie</i> 呂純陽真人沁園春丹詞注解. |

- See \*[Qinyuan chun](#).
- 140 140 140 *Shangqing wozhong jue* 上清握中訣.
- 141 141 141 *Wuzhen pian zhushu* 悟真篇注疏. Full title: *Ziyang zhenren wuzhen pian zhushu* 紫陽真人悟真篇注疏. See \*[Wuzhen pian](#).
- 142 142 142 *Wuzhen pian sanzhu* 悟真篇三注. Full title: *Ziyang zhenren wuzhen pian sanzhu* 紫陽真人悟真篇三注. DZJY 14: 6045–99. See \*[Wuzhen pian](#).
- 143 143 143 *Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sansheng biyao* 悟真直指詳說三乘祕要. Full title: *Ziyang zhenren wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sansheng biyao* 紫陽真人悟真直指詳說三乘祕要. DZJY 14: 6108–12. See \*[Wuzhen pian](#).
- 144 144 144 *Wuzhen pian shiyi* 悟真篇拾遺. Full title: *Ziyang zhenren wuzhen pian shiyi* 紫陽真人悟真篇拾遺. DZJY 14: 6100–6108. See \*[Wuzhen pian](#).
- 145 145 145 *Wuzhen pian zhushi* 悟真篇注釋. See \*[Wuzhen pian](#).
- 146 146 146 *Wuzhen pian jiangyi* 悟真篇講義. Full title: *Ziyang zhenren wuzhen pian jiangyi* 紫陽真人悟真篇講義. See \*[Wuzhen pian](#).
- 147 147 147 *Duren shangpin miaojing futu* 度人上品妙經符圖. Full title: *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing futu* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經符圖.
- 148 148 148 *Wuliang duren shangpin miaojing pangtong tu* 無量度人上品妙經旁通圖.
- 149 149 149 *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan tu* 修真太極混元圖.
- 150 150 150 *Xiuzhen taiji hunyuan zhixuan tu* 修真太極混元指玄圖.
- 152 152 152 *Xiuzhen liyan chaotu* 修真歷驗鈔圖. YJQQ 72.
- 156 156 156 *Jiugong zifang tu* 九宮紫房圖. Full title: *Shangqing dongzhen jiugong zifang tu* 上清洞真九宮紫房圖.
- 166 166 165 *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 元始上真眾仙記.
- 167 167 166 \**Zhenling weiye tu* 真靈位業圖. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao zhenling weiye tu* 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖. DZJY 19: 8293–7.
- 171 171 170 \**Qingwei xianpu* 清微仙譜.
- 173 173 172 \**Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記. DZJY 25: 10937–59.
- 174 174 173 *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳. DZJY 25: 10960–80.
- 175 175 174 \**Qizhen nianpu* 七真年譜. DZJY 25: 10981–88.
- 176 176 175 *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* 玄風慶會錄.
- 177 177 176 *Zhihui shangpin dajie* 智慧上品大誡. Full title: *Taishang dongzhen zhihui shangpin dajie* 太上洞真智慧上品大誡. DZJY 23: 10271–76.
- 178 178 177 *Sandong zhongjie wen* 三洞眾戒文. DZJY 23: 10277–83.
- 179 179 178 *Taiwei lingshu ziwen xianji zhenji shangjing* 太微靈書紫文仙忌真記上經. DZJY 23: 10283–84. See \*[Lingshu ziwen](#).
- 180 180 179 *Xuhuang tianzun chuzhen shijie wen* 虛皇天尊初真十戒文. DZJY 23: 10285–87.

184	184	183	* <i>Siji mingke jing</i> 四極明科經. Full title: <i>Taizhen Yudi siji mingke jing</i> 太真玉帝四極明科經.
185	185	184	<i>Chisong zi zhong jiejing</i> 赤松子中誠經.
186	186	185	<i>Taiwei xianjun gongguo ge</i> 太微仙君功過格.
188	188	187	* <i>Xuandu lüwen</i> 玄都律文. 189 189 188 <i>Chaotian xiezui dachan</i> 朝天謝罪大懺. Full title: <i>Taishang Lingbao chaotian xiezui dachan</i> 太上靈寶朝天謝罪大懺. DZJY 22: 9873–9916. 193 193 192 <i>Yuhuang youzui xifu baochan</i> 玉皇宥罪錫福寶懺. DZJY 7: 2850–58.
194	194	193	<i>Yuhuang manyuan baochan</i> 玉皇滿願寶懺. Full title: <i>Gaoshang Yuhuang manyuan baochan</i> 高上玉皇滿願寶懺.
195	195	194	<i>Jiutian yingyuan leisheng Puhua tianzun yushu baochan</i> 九天應元雷聲普化天尊玉樞寶懺.
196	196	195	<i>Leiting yushu youzui fachan</i> 雷霆玉樞宥罪法懺.
197	197	196	<i>Yuhuang shiqi ciguang dengyi</i> 玉皇十七慈光燈儀. DZJY 7: 2859–66.
208	208	207	<i>Dongchu siming dengyi</i> 東廚司命燈儀.
215	215	214	<i>Difu shiwang badu yi</i> 地府十王拔度儀.
218	218	217	<i>Qingwei xuanshu zougao yi</i> 清微玄樞奏告儀.
219	219	218	* <i>Lingbao wuliang duren shangjing dafa</i> 靈寶無量度人上經大法.
220	220	219	<i>Wushang xuanyuan santian Yutang dafa</i> 無上玄元三天玉堂大法.
221	221	220	<i>Wushang santian Yutang zhengzong gaoben neijing yushu</i> 無上三天玉堂正宗高奔內景玉書.
222	222	221	<i>Qingwei shenlie bifa</i> 清微神烈祕法.
223	223	222	<i>Qingwei yuanjiang dafa</i> 清微元降大法.
224	224	223	<i>Qingwei zhafa</i> 清微齋法.
225	225	224	<i>Jiuyao xinyin miaojing</i> 九要心印妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang jiuyao xinyin miaojing</i> 太上九要心印妙經. See * <a href="#">Xinyin jing</a> .
233	233	232	<i>Huandan zhongxian lun</i> 還丹眾仙論.
238	238	237	<i>Yuanyang zi jinye ji</i> 元陽子金液集.
239	239	238	<i>Huandan jinye gezhu</i> 還丹金液歌注.
243	243	242	* <i>Guizhong zhinan</i> 規中指南. Full title: <i>Chen Xubai guizhong zhinan</i> 陳虛白規中指南. DZJY 16: 7109–16.
244	244	243	<i>Dadan zhizhi</i> 大丹直指.
245	245	244	<i>Yuqi zi danjing zhiyao</i> 玉谿子丹經指要.
246	246	245	* <i>Xishan qunxian huizhen ji</i> 西山群仙會真記. DZJY 25: 11015–35.
247	247	246	<i>Huizhen ji</i> 會真集.
248	248	247	<i>Qizhen ji</i> 啟真集.
249	249	248	* <i>Zhonghe ji</i> 中和集. DZJY 17: 7287–7335.
250	250	249	<i>Santian yisui</i> 三天易髓.
251	251	250	<i>Quanzhen jixuan biyao</i> 全真集玄祕要.
254	254	253	<i>Jinhua yujing</i> 金華玉經. Full title: <i>Dadong jinhua yujing</i> 大洞金華玉經.

255	255	254	<i>Taiwei lingshu ziwen langgan huadan shenzhen shangjing</i> 太微靈書 紫文琅玕華丹神真上經. See * <a href="#">Lingshu ziwen</a> .
263	263	262	* <i>Xiuzhen shishu</i> 修真十書. Part. DZJY 16: 7087–7108 (slightly abbreviated version of j. 9–13) and 12: 5113–42 (j. 14–16).
265	265	264	<i>Huandan gejie</i> 還丹歌訣.
267	267	266	* <i>Shangsheng xiuzhen sanyao</i> 上乘修真三要.
273	273	272	<i>Mingdao pian</i> 明道篇.
276	276	275	<i>Xiyi zhimi lun</i> 析疑指迷論. DZJY 14: 6188–94 (includes a postface dated 1917).
277	277	276	<i>Xiuzhen jingyi zalun</i> 修真精義雜論. Part. in YJQQ 57.
278	278	277	<i>Qingwei danjue</i> 清微丹訣.
283	283	282	<i>Huangdi longshou jing</i> 黃帝龍首經.
285	285	284	<i>Huangdi shou sanzi Xuannü jing</i> 黃帝授三子玄女經.
290	290	289	<i>Guang Huangdi benxing ji</i> 廣黃帝本行記.
292	292	291	* <i>Han Wudi neizhuan</i> 漢武帝內傳. Part. in YJQQ 79.
294	294	293	<i>Liexian zhuan</i> 列仙傳. Part. in YJQQ 85 and 108.
295	295	294	<i>Xu xianzhuan</i> 續仙傳. Part. in YJQQ 113 下.
296	296	295	* <i>Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian</i> 歷世真仙體道通鑑.
297	297	296	<i>Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian</i> 歷世真仙體道通鑑續編
298	298	297	<i>Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian houji</i> 歷世真仙體道通鑑後集.
302	302	301	<i>Zhoushi mingtong ji</i> 周氏冥通記.
303	303	302	<i>Ziyang zhenren neizhuan</i> 紫陽真人內傳.
304	304	303	* <i>Maoshan zhi</i> 茅山志.
305	305	304	<i>Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji</i> 純陽帝君神化妙通紀.
306	306	305	<i>Taihua Xiyi zhi</i> 太華希夷志.
307	307	306	<i>Xiyue Huashan zhi</i> 西嶽華山誌.
308	308	307	<i>Ningyang Dong zhenren yuxian ji</i> 凝陽董真人遇仙記.
311	311	310	<i>Yinfu jing song</i> 陰符經頌. Full title: <i>Huangdi yinfu jing song</i> 黃帝陰 符經頌. DZJY 8: 3181–84.
317	317	316	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun miaojing</i> 洪恩靈濟真君妙經. Full title: <i>Lingbao tianzun shuo Hong'en lingji zhenjun miaojing</i> 靈寶天尊說 洪 恩靈濟真君妙經.
318	318	317	<i>Ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing</i> 自然九天生神章經. Full title: <i>Dongxuan Lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing</i> 洞玄靈寶自 然九天生神章經. YJQQ 16. See * <a href="#">Shengshen jing</a> .
325	325	324	<i>Zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing</i> 智慧定志通微經. Full title: <i>Taishang dongxuan Lingbao zhihui dingzhi tongwei jing</i> 太上洞玄靈寶智 慧 定志通微經.
326	326	325	<i>Guanmiao jing</i> 觀妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang dongxuan Lingbao guanmiao jing</i> 太上洞玄靈寶觀妙經.
329	329	328	<i>Kaiyan bimi zang jing</i> 開演祕密藏經. Full title: <i>Taishang dongxuan Lingbao kaiyan bimi zang jing</i> 太上洞玄靈寶開演祕密藏經. DZJY 4: 1632–37.

- 335 335 334 \**Dongyuan shenzhou jing* 洞淵神咒經. Full title: *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing* 太上洞淵神咒經.
- 336 336 335 \**Yebao yinyuan jing* 業報因緣經. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經. Part. DZJY 4: 1653–58 (j. 4 of the *Daozang* text).
- 339 339 338 *Chujia yinyuan jing* 出家因緣經. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao chujia yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶出家因緣經. DZJY 4: 1658–65.
- 346 346 345 *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* 真一勸誡法輪妙經. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶真一勸誡法輪妙經.
- 352 352 351 *Chishu yujue miaojing* 赤書玉訣妙經. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao chishu yujue miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經.
- 358 358 357 *Shenzhou yanshou miaojing* 神咒延壽妙經. Full title: *Taishang shenzhou yanshou miaojing* 太上神咒延壽妙經. DZJY 4: 1595.
- 364 364 363 *Buxie Zaowang jing* 補謝灶王經. Full title: *Taishang Lingbao buxie Zaowang jing* 太上靈寶補謝灶王經.
- 369 369 368 *Miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* 滅度五鍊生尸妙經. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao miedu wulian shengshi miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶滅度五鍊生尸妙經.
- 388 388 387 \**Lingbao wufu xu* 靈寶五符序. Full title: *Taishang Lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序.
- 393 393 392 *Lingbao dagang chao* 靈寶大綱鈔. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao dagang chao* 太上洞玄靈寶大綱鈔.
- 396 396 395 *Ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing jieyi* 自然九天生神章經解義. Full title: *dongxuan Lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing jieyi* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經解義. DZJY 4: 1451–89. See \*[Shengshen jing](#).
- 397 397 396 *Ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jingjie* 自然九天生神玉章經解. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen yuzhang jingjie* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神玉章經解. DZJY 4: 1491–1533. See \*[Shengshen jing](#).
- 398 398 397 *Ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing zhu* 自然九天生神章經注. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhangjing zhu* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經注. DZJY 4: 1535–62. See \*[Shengshen jing](#).
- 400 400 399 \**Dingguan jing* 定觀經. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao dingguan jingzhu* 洞玄靈寶定觀經注. YJQQ 17. DZJY 4: 1629–32.
- 401 401 400 *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經注.
- 403 403 402 *Huangting neiwai yujing jingjie* 黃庭內外玉景經解.
- 405 405 404 *Dongfang shangjing* 洞房上經. Full title: *Shangqing zijing junhuang chuzi ling daojun dongfang shangjing* 上清紫精君皇初紫靈道君洞房上經. Part. in YJQQ 25, 31, and 52.
- 407 407 406 *Lingbao dalian neizhi xingchi jiyao* 靈寶大鍊內旨行持機要.
- 410 410 409 *Lingbao zhongjian wen* 靈寶眾簡文. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao zhongjian wen* 太上洞玄靈寶眾簡文.

- 411 411 410 *Lingbao wudi jiaoji zhaozhen yujue* 靈寶五帝醮祭招真玉訣. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao wudi jiaoji zhaozhen yujue* 太上洞玄靈寶五帝醮祭招真玉訣.
- 421 421 420 \**Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣. Part. in YJQQ 45 and 48. 424 424 423 *Mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 明堂元真經訣. Full title: *Shangqing mingtang yuanzhen jingjue* 上清明堂元真經訣.
- 426 426 425 *Basu zhenjing* 八素真經. Full title: *Shangqing taishang basu zhenjing* 上清太上八素真經. Part. in YJQQ 25. See \*[Basu jing](#).
- 428 428 427 *Feixing jiuchen yujing* 飛行九晨玉經. Full title: *Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing* 太上飛行九晨玉經. YJQQ 20.
- 429 429 428 *Shangqing changsheng baojian tu* 上清長生寶鑑圖.
- 431 431 430 *Hanxiang jianjian tu* 含象劍鑑圖. Full title: *Shangqing hanxiang jianjian tu* 上清含象劍鑑圖.
- 432 432 431 *Huangting neijing wuzang liufu buxie tu* 黃庭內景五臟六腑補瀉圖.
- 434 434 433 *Xuanlan renniao shan jingtu* 玄覽人鳥山經圖.
- 436 436 435 *Zhenyuan miaojing pin* 真元妙經品. Full title: *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing pin* 上方大洞真元妙經品.
- 437 437 436 *Zhenyuan miaojing tu* 真元妙經圖. Full title: *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan miaojing tu* 上方大洞真元妙經圖.
- 438 438 437 *Zhenyuan yinyang zhijiang tushu houjie* 真元陰陽陟降圖書後解. Full title: *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan yinyang zhijiang tushu houjie* 上方大洞真元陰陽陟降圖書後解.
- 439 439 438 *Zhenyuan tushu jishuo zhongpian* 真元圖書繼說終篇. Full title: *Shangfang dadong zhenyuan tushu jishuo zhongpian* 上方大洞真元圖書繼說終篇.
- 440 440 439 *Xu Taishi zhenjun tuzhuan* 許太史真君圖傳.
- 441 441 440 *Wuyue guben zhenxing tu* 五嶽古本真形圖. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao wuyue guben zhenxing tu* 洞玄靈寶五嶽古本真形圖.
- 442 442 441 \**Housheng daojun lieji* 後聖道君列紀. Full title: *Shangqing Housheng daojun lieji* 上清後聖道君列紀. See \*[Lingshu ziwen](#).
- 445 445 444 *Sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* 三師名諱形狀居觀方所文. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao sanshi minghui xingzhuang juguan fangsuo wen* 洞玄靈寶三師名諱形狀居觀方所文.
- 447 447 446 *Xu zhenjun xianzhuan* 許真君仙傳.
- 448 448 447 *Xishan Xu zhenjun bashiwu hua lu* 西山許真君八十五化錄.
- 449 449 448 *Xiaodao Wu Xu er zhenjun zhuan* 孝道吳許二真君傳.
- 450 450 449 *Taiji Ge Xiangong zhuan* 太極葛仙公傳. DZJY 10: 4435–45.
- 452 452 451 \**Nanyue jiu zhenren zhuan* 南嶽九真人傳.
- 453 453 452 *Nanyue xiaolu* 南嶽小錄.
- 455 455 454 *Santu wuku quanjie jing* 三途五苦勸戒經. Full title: *Taishang Xuanyi zhenren shuo santu wuku quanjie jing* 太上玄一真人說三途五苦勸戒經.
- 456 456 455 *Lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde qingzhong jing* 靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經. Full title: *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao sanyuan pinjie gongde*



			<i>qingzhong jing</i> 太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經.
461	461	460	<i>Shangqing gusui lingwen guilü</i> 上清骨髓靈文鬼律.
463	463	462	<i>Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao</i> 要修科儀戒律鈔. DZJY 23: 10355–74 (includes only the first four <i>juan</i> of the 16- <i>juan</i> text in the <i>Daozang</i> ).
464	464	463	* <i>Zhaijie lu</i> 齋戒錄. YJQQ 37.
465	465		<i>Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu mulu</i> 靈寶領教濟度金書目錄. [ <i>Daozang tiyao</i> considers this text to be part of the next one (CT 466, TY 464).]
466	466	464	* <i>Lingbao lingjiao jidu jinshu</i> 靈寶領教濟度金書.
468	468	466	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun ziran xingdao yi</i> 洪恩靈濟真君自然行道儀.
469	469	467	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun jifu suqi yi</i> 洪恩靈濟真君集福宿啟儀.
470	470	468	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun jifu zaochao yi</i> 洪恩靈濟真君集福早朝儀.
471	471	469	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun jifu wuchao yi</i> 洪恩靈濟真君集福午朝儀.
472	472	470	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun jifu wanchao yi</i> 洪恩靈濟真君集福晚朝儀.
473	473	471	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun qixie shejiao ke</i> 洪恩靈濟真君祈謝設醮科.
474	474	472	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun liyuan wen</i> 洪恩靈濟真君禮願文.
475	475	473	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun qizheng xingdeng yi</i> 洪恩靈濟真君七政星 燈儀.
476	476	474	<i>Hong'en lingji zhenjun shishi</i> 洪恩靈濟真君事實.
483	483	479	<i>Jinlu zhai qitan yi</i> 金錄齋啟壇儀.
488	488	484	<i>Jinlu zhai chanfang yi</i> 金錄齋懺方儀.
499	499	495	<i>Yulu zidu suqi yi</i> 玉錄資度宿啟儀.
500	500	496	<i>Yulu zidu jietan yi</i> 玉錄資度解壇儀.
501	501	497	<i>Yulu zidu shejiao yi</i> 玉錄資度設醮儀.
502	502	498	<i>Yulu zidu zao wu wan chao yi</i> 玉錄資度早午晚朝儀.
503	503	499	<i>Yulu shengshen zidu zhuanjing yi</i> 玉錄生神資度轉經儀.
504	504	500	<i>Yulu shengshen zidu kaishou yi</i> 玉錄生神資度開收儀.
505	505	501	<i>Yulu sanri jiuchao yi</i> 玉錄三日九朝儀.
506	506	502	<i>Yulu jiyou panhu yi</i> 玉錄濟幽判斛儀
507	507	503	<i>Huanglu zhaiyi</i> 黃錄齋儀. Full title: <i>Taishang huanglu zhaiyi</i> 太上黃錄齋儀.
508	508	504	* <i>Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi</i> 無上黃錄大齋立成儀. Part. DZJY 23: 10401–39 (includes only the section entitled “Fuming men” 符命門, corresponding to j. 41–43 in the <i>Daozang</i> text).
514	514	510	<i>Huanglu jiuyou jiao wu'ai yezhai cidi yi</i> 黃錄九幽醮無礙夜齋次第儀.
519	519	515	<i>Yukui mingzhen zhai chanfang yi</i> 玉匱明真齋懺方儀. Full title: <i>Taishang Lingbao yukui mingzhen zhai chanfang yi</i> 太上靈寶玉匱明真齋懺方儀.
520	520	516	<i>Yukui mingzhen dazhai chanfang yi</i> 玉匱明真大齋懺方儀. Full title: <i>Taishang Lingbao yukui mingzhen dazhai chanfang yi</i> 太上靈寶玉匱明真大齋懺方儀.

521	521	517	<i>Yukui mingzhen dazhai yangong yi</i> 玉匱明真大齋言功儀. Full title: <i>Taishang Lingbao yukui mingzhen dazhai yan gong yi</i> 太上靈寶玉匱明真大齋言功儀.
524	524	520	<i>Lingbao zhai shuo guangzhu jiefa dengzhu yuanyi</i> 靈寶齋說光燭戒罰燈祝願儀. Full title: <i>Dongxuan Lingbao zhai shuo guangzhu jiefa dengzhu yuanyi</i> 洞玄靈寶齋說光燭戒罰燈祝願儀.
525	525	521	<i>Dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai chan xieyi</i> 洞淵三昧神咒齋懺謝儀. Full title: <i>Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai chan xieyi</i> 太上洞淵三昧神咒齋懺謝儀.
526	526	522	<i>Dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai qingdan xingdao yi</i> 洞淵三昧神咒齋清旦行道儀. Full title: <i>Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai qingdan xingdao yi</i> 太上洞淵三昧神咒齋清旦行道儀.
527	527	523	<i>Dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai shifang chanyi</i> 洞淵三昧神咒齋十方懺儀. Full title: <i>Taishang dongyuan sanmei shenzhou zhai shifang chanyi</i> 太上洞淵三昧神咒齋十方懺儀.
528	528	524	<i>Lingbao shoudu yi</i> 靈寶授度儀. Full title: <i>Taishang dongxuan Lingbao shoudu yi</i> 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀.
532	532	528	<i>Lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue</i> 靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣. Full title: <i>Taiji zhenren fu Lingbao zhajie weiyi zhujing yaojue</i> 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣.
541	541	537	<i>Dongyue dasheng baochan</i> 東嶽大生寶懺.
543	543	539	<i>Jiuyou chan</i> 九幽懺. Full title: <i>Taishang cibei daochang xiaozai jiuyou chan</i> 太上慈悲道場消災九幽懺.
546	546		<i>Lingbao yujian mulu</i> 靈寶玉鑑目錄. [ <i>Daozang tiyao</i> considers this text to be part of the next one (CT 547, TY 542).]
547	547	542	* <i>Lingbao yujian</i> 靈寶玉鑑.
562	562	558	<i>Lingbao jingming xinxiu jiulao shenyin fumo bifa</i> 靈寶淨明新修九老神印伏魔祕法.
566	566	561	<i>Shangqing tianxin zhengfa</i> 上清天心正法.
568	568	563	<i>Lingbao guikong jue</i> 靈寶歸空訣.
574	574	569	<i>Xuanzhu xinjing zhu</i> 玄珠心鏡注. DZJY 15: 6829. See * <a href="#">Xuanzhu xinjing</a> .
575	575	570	<i>Xuanzhu xinjing zhu</i> 玄珠心鏡注. DZJY 15: 6829. See * <a href="#">Xuanzhu xinjing</a> .
576	576	571	<i>Baoyi hansan bijue</i> 抱一函三祕訣.
577	577	572	<i>Cunshen guqi lun</i> 存神固氣論.
578	578	573	<i>Shesheng zuanlu</i> 攝生纂錄.
584	584	579	<i>Shangqing liujia qidao bifa</i> 上清六甲祈禱祕法.
589	589	584	<i>Taishang chiwen dongshen sanlu</i> 太上赤文洞神三籙.
590	590	585	* <i>Daojiao lingyan ji</i> 道教靈驗記.
591	591	586	<i>Luyi ji</i> 錄異記.
592	592	587	<i>Shenxian ganyu zhuan</i> 神仙感遇傳. Part. in YJQQ 112.
593	593	588	* <i>Lidai chongdao ji</i> 歷代崇道記.

594	594	589	<i>Tixuan zhenren xianyi lu</i> 體玄真人顯異錄.
595	595	590	<i>Jiang Huai yiren lu</i> 江淮異人錄.
596	596	591	* <i>Xianyuan bianzhu</i> 仙苑編珠.
597	597	592	<i>Daoji lingxian ji</i> 道跡靈仙記.
598	598	593	* <i>Shizhou ji</i> 十洲記. YJQQ 26.
599	599	594	<i>Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji</i> 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記. DZJY 25: 10989–94.
601	601	596	<i>Jinhua Chisong shanzhi</i> 金華赤松山志.
603	603	598	<i>Tiantai shanzhi</i> 天臺山志.
606	606	601	<i>Nanyue zongsheng ji</i> 南嶽總勝集. DZJY 25: 10995–11004.
607	607	602	<i>Yuyin fashi</i> 玉音法事.
612	612	607	<i>Shangqing shi dichen Tongbo zhenren zhentu zan</i> 上清侍帝晨桐柏 真人真圖讚.
615	615	610	* <i>Chisong zi zhangli</i> 赤松子章曆.
616	616	611	<i>Guangcheng ji</i> 廣成集.
620	620	615	<i>Qingjing miaojing</i> 清靜妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing miaojing</i> 太上老君說常清靜妙經. See * <a href="#">Qingjing jing</a> .
621	621	616	<i>Doumu dasheng yuanjun benming yansheng xinjing</i> 斗姆大聖元君 本命延生心經. Full title: <i>Taishang xuanling Doumu dasheng yuanjun benming yansheng xinjing</i> 太上玄靈斗姆大聖元君 本命延生心經.
622	622	617	<i>Beidou benming yansheng zhenjing</i> 北斗本命延生真經. Full title: <i>Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing</i> 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經. DZJY 7: 2913–16. See * <a href="#">Wudou jing</a> .
623	623	618	<i>Beidou benming changsheng miaojing</i> 北斗本命長生妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang xuanling beidou benming changsheng miaojing</i> 太上玄靈北斗本命長生妙經. See * <a href="#">Wudou jing</a> .
624	624	619	<i>Nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing</i> 南斗六司延壽度人妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing</i> 太上說南斗六司延壽度人妙經. DZJY 7: 2917–18. See * <a href="#">Wudou jing</a> .
625	625	620	<i>Dongdou zhusuan huming miaojing</i> 東斗主筭護命妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang shuo dongdou zhusuan huming miaojing</i> 太上說東斗主筭護命妙經. DZJY 7: 2919. See * <a href="#">Wudou jing</a> .
626	626	621	<i>Xidou jiming hushen miaojing</i> 西斗記名護身妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang shuo xidou jiming hushen miaojing</i> 太上說西斗記名護身妙經. DZJY 7: 2920–21. See * <a href="#">Wudou jing</a> .
627	627	622	<i>Zhongdou dakui baoming miaojing</i> 中斗大魁保命妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang shuo zhongdou dakui baoming miaojing</i> 太上說中斗大魁保命妙經. DZJY 7: 2921–22. See * <a href="#">Wudou jing</a> .
633	633	628	<i>Tiantong yinfan xianjing</i> 天童隱梵仙經. Full title: <i>Taishang Taiqing Huanglao dijun Yunlei tiantong yinfan xianjing</i> 太上泰清皇老帝 君運雷天童隱梵仙經.
639	639	634	<i>Huangtian Shangqing Jinque dijun lingshu ziwen shangjing</i> 皇天上清金闕帝君靈書紫文上經. Part. in YJQQ 54. See * <a href="#">Lingshu ziwen</a> .
641	641	636	<i>Neiguan jing</i> 內觀經. Full title: <i>Taishang Laojun neiguan jing</i> 太上老

- 君內觀經. YJQQ 17. DZJY 5: 2141–43.
- 647 647 642 *Zhuanlun wudao suming yinyuan jing* 轉輪五道宿命因緣經. Full title: *Taishang shuo zhuanlun wudao suming yinyuan jing* 太上說轉輪五道宿命因緣經. DZJY 5: 2145–47.
- 649 649 644 *Taishang Laojun shuo Tianfei jiuku lingyan jing* 太上老君說天妃救苦靈驗經.
- 651 651 646 *Sanyuan miaoben fushou zhenjing* 三元妙本福壽真經. Full title: *Taishang dongshen sanyuan miaoben fushou zhenjing* 太上洞神三元妙本福壽真經.
- 663 662 658 *Bao fumu en zhongjing* 報父母恩重經. Full title: *Xuantian shangdi shuo bao fumu en zhongjing* 玄天上帝說報父母恩重經.
- 665 665 660 *Daode jing guben pian* 道德經古本篇.
- 666 666 661 *\*Xisheng jing* 西昇經.
- 667 667 662 *Wenshi zhenjing* 文始真經. Full title: *Wushang miaodao Wenshi zhenjing* 無上妙道文始真經.
- 668 668 663 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing* 冲虛至德真經. See [\\*Liezi](#).
- 669 669 664 *Dongling zhenjing* 洞靈真經.
- 671 671 666 *Ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shangjing* 自然真一五稱符上經. Full title: *Taishang wuji dadao ziran zhenyi wucheng fu shangjing* 太上無極大道自然真一五稱符上經. DZJY 5: 2152–62.
- 677 677 672 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhu daode zhenjing* 唐玄宗御注道德真經.
- 678 678 673 *Tang Xuanzong yuzhi daode zhenjing shu* 唐玄宗御製道德真經疏.
- 682 682 677 *Daode zhenjing zhu* 道德真經注. See [\\*Laozi Heshang gong zhangju](#).
- 693 693 688 *Daode zhenjing zhigui* 道德真經指歸.
- 698 698 693 *Daode zhenjing zhangju xunsong* 道德真經章句訓頌. DZJY 5: 1827–44.
- 699 699 694 *Daode huiyuan* 道德會元.
- 702 702 697 *Daode xuanjing yuanzhi* 道德玄經原旨.
- 703 703 698 *Xuanjing yuanzhi fahui* 玄經原旨發揮.
- 705 705 700 *Daode zhenjing jijie* 道德真經集解.
- 707 707 702 *Daode zhenjing jizhu* 道德真經集注. DZJY 5: 1845–1999.
- 708 708 703 *Daode zhenjing jijie shiwen* 道德真經集注釋文. DZJY 5: 2000–2008.
- 709 709 704 *Daode zhenjing jijie zashuo* 道德真經集注雜說. DZJY 5: 2008–28.
- 710 710 705 *Daode zhenjing zhushu* 道德真經注疏.
- 711 711 706 *Daode zhenjing xuande zuanshu* 道德真經玄德纂疏.
- 714 714 709 *Daode zhenjing zangshi zuanwei pian* 道德真經藏室纂微篇.
- 722 722 717 *Daode zhenjing zhu* 道德真經注.
- 725 725 719 *Daode zhenjing guangsheng yi* 道德真經廣聖義.
- 726 726 720 *Xisheng jing jizhu* 西昇經集注.
- 728 728 722 *Wenshi zhenjing yanwai zhi* 文始真經言外旨. DZJY 10: 4189–4239.
- 729 729 723 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing Juanzhai kouyi* 冲虛至德真經齋齋口義. See [\\*Liezi](#).

- 730 730 724 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing jie* 冲虚至德真經解. DZJY 10: 4241–4344. See \*[Liezi](#).
- 731 731 725 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing yijie* 冲虚至德真經義解. See \*[Liezi](#).
- 732 732 726 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing sijie* 冲虚至德真經四解. See \*[Liezi](#).
- 733 733 727 *Chongxu zhide zhenjing shiwen* 冲虚至德真經釋文. Full title: *Liezi chongxu zhide zhenjing shiwen* 列子冲虚至德真經釋文. See \*[Liezi](#).
- 735 735 729 *Nanhua zhenjing kouyi* 南華真經口義.
- 736 736 730 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yinyi* 南華真經章句音義.
- 737 737 731 *Nanhua zhenjing zhangju yushi* 南華真經章句餘事.
- 745 745 739 *Nanhua zhenjing zhushu* 南華真經注疏. DZJY 9: 3515–3989.
- 746 746 740 *Tongxuan zhenjing* 通玄真經. DZJY 10: 4345–4408.
- 748 748 742 *Tongxuan zhenjing zuanyi* 通玄真經續義.
- 749 749 743 *Tongxuan zhenjing* 通玄真經.
- 755 754 749 *Qingjing jingzhu* 清靜經注. Full title: *Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing jingzhu* 太上老君說常清靜經注. DZJY 5: 2117–20. See \*[Qingjing jing](#).
- 756 755 750 *Qingjing jingzhu* 清靜經注. Full title: *Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing jingzhu* 太上老君說常清靜經注. See \*[Qingjing jing](#).
- 757 756 751–52 *Qingjing jingzhu* 清靜經注. Full title: *Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing jingzhu* 太上老君說常清靜經注. See \*[Qingjing jing](#).
- 758 757 753 *Qingjing jingzhu* 清靜經注. Full title: *Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing jingzhu* 太上老君說常清靜經注. See \*[Qingjing jing](#).
- 759 758 754 *Qingjing jingzhu* 清靜經注. Full title: *Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing jingzhu* 太上老君說常清靜經注. See \*[Qingjing jing](#).
- 760 759 755 *Qingjing miaoqing zuantu jiezhu* 清靜妙經纂圖解注. Full title: *Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing miaoqing zuantu jiezhu* 太上老君說常清靜妙經纂圖解注. See \*[Qingjing jing](#).
- 763 762 758 *Wuchu jing zhu* 五廚經注. Full title: *Laozi shuo wuchu jingzhu* 老子說五廚經注. YJQQ 61. DZJY 5: 2138–41. See \*[Wuchu jing](#).
- 770 769 764 \**Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀. DZJY 6: 2407–2523.
- 771 770 765 *Laojun nianpu yaolie* 老君年譜要略. Full title: *Taishang Laojun nianpu yaolie* 太上老君年譜要略. DZJY 6: 2401–5.
- 773 772 767 *Laozi shilie* 老子史略. Full title: *Taishang Hunyuan Laozi shilie* 太上混元老子史略.
- 774 773 768 \**Youlong zhuan* 猶龍傳. DZJY 6: 2335–74.
- 777 776 771 *Zhangxian Mingsu huanghou shou Shangqing bifa luji* 章獻明肅皇后受上清畢法錄記.
- 779 778 773 *Tang Ye zhenren zhuan* 唐葉真人傳.
- 780 779 774 *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* 地祇上將溫太保傳.
- 781 780 775 \**Xuanpin lu* 玄品錄.
- 782 781 776 *Dadi dongtian ji* 大滌洞天記.
- 783 782 777 \**Yongcheng jixian lu* 壩城集仙錄. Part. in YJQQ 114–16.

784	783	778	<i>Taishang Laojun jiejing</i> 太上老君戒經. Part. in YJQQ 39. DZJY 23: 10259–70.
785	784	779	* <i>Laojun yinsong jiejing</i> 老君音誦誡經.
786	785	780	<i>Taishang Laojun jinglü</i> 太上老君經律. Part. in YJQQ 39.
787	786	781	<i>Taishang jingjie</i> 太上經戒. YJQQ 38.
788	787	782	<i>Sandong fafu kejie wen</i> 三洞法服科戒文.
789	788	783	<i>Zhengyi fawen Tianshi jiaojie kejing</i> 正一法文天師教戒科經.
790	789	784	* <i>Nüqing guilü</i> 女青鬼律.
791	790	785	* <i>Zhengyi weiyi jing</i> 正一威儀經.
792	791	786	<i>Xuanmen shishi weiyi</i> 玄門十事威儀.
796	795	790	<i>Sanwu zhengyi mengwei yuelu jiaoyi</i> 三五正一盟威閱錄醮儀. Full title: <i>Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei yuelu jiaoyi</i> 太上三五正一盟威閱錄醮儀.
800	799	794	<i>Zhengyi chitan yi</i> 正一敕壇儀.
803	802	797	<i>Taishang dongshen sanhuang yi</i> 太上洞神三皇儀.
804	803	798	<i>Dongshen sanhuang qishi'er jun zhaifang chanyi</i> 洞神三皇七十二君齋方懺儀.
805	804	799	<i>Taiyuan hetu sanyuan yangxie yi</i> 太元河圖三元仰謝儀. Full title: <i>Taishang dongshen taiyuan hetu sanyuan yangxie yi</i> 太上洞神太元河圖三元仰謝儀.
808	807	802	<i>Sandong chuanshou Daode jing zixu lu baibiao yi</i> 三洞傳授道德經紫虛錄拜表儀. Full title: <i>Taishang sandong chuanshou daode jing zixu lu baibiao yi</i> 太上三洞傳授道德經紫虛錄拜表儀.
814	813	808	<i>Zhenwu lingying hushi xiaozai miezui baochan</i> 真武靈應護世消災滅罪寶懺.
815	814	809	<i>Beiji Zhenwu puci dushi fachan</i> 北極真武普慈度世法懺.
818	817	812	<i>Daoyin yangsheng jing</i> 導引養生經. Full title: <i>Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing</i> 太清導引養生經. Part. in YJQQ 34.
819	818	813	<i>Yangsheng taixi qijing</i> 養生胎息氣經. Full title: <i>Taishang yangsheng taixi qijing</i> 太上養生胎息氣經.
820	819	814	<i>Tiaoqi jing</i> 調氣經. Full title: <i>Taiqing tiaoqi jing</i> 太清調氣經.
821	820	815	<i>Taishang Laojun yangsheng jue</i> 太上老君養生訣.
822	821	816	<i>Fuqi koujue</i> 服氣口訣. Full title: <i>Taiqing fuqi koujue</i> 太清服氣口訣.
824	823	818	<i>Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing</i> 嵩山太無先生氣經.
825	824	819	<i>Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing</i> 延陵先生集新舊服氣經. Part. in YJQQ 58, 59, and 61.
826	825	820	<i>Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue</i> 諸真聖胎神用訣.
827	826	821	<i>Taixi baoyi ge</i> 胎息抱一歌.
828	827	822	<i>Huanzhen xiansheng fu nei yuanqi jue</i> 幻真先生服內元氣訣. YJQQ 60.
829	828	823	<i>Taixi jingwei lun</i> 胎息精微論.
830	829	824	* <i>Fuqi jingyi lun</i> 服氣精義論. YJQQ 57.
831	830	825	<i>Qifa yao miaozi jue</i> 氣法要妙至訣.

834	833	828	* <i>Cunshen lianqi ming</i> 存神鍊氣銘. Part. in YJQQ 33.
835	834	829	<i>Baosheng ming</i> 保生銘.
837	836	831	<i>Zhenzhong ji</i> 枕中記.
838	837	832	<i>Yangxing yanming lu</i> 養性延命錄. YJQQ 32.
841	840	835	<i>Sheyang lun</i> 攝養論. Full title: <i>Sun zhenren sheyang lun</i> 孫真人攝養論.
853	852	847	<i>Yangsheng bianyi jue</i> 養生辯疑訣.
856	855	850	<i>Sanhuang neiwen yibi</i> 三皇內文遺祕.
864	863	858	<i>Yuanyang zi wujia lun</i> 元陽子五假論.
871	870	865	<i>Chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing</i> 除三尸九蟲保生經. Full title: <i>Taishang chu sanshi jiuchong baosheng jing</i> 太上除三尸九蟲保生經.
875	874	869	<i>Taishang Laojun da cunsi tuzhu jue</i> 太上老君大存思圖注訣. Part. in YJQQ 43.
880	879	874	<i>Taiqing jinye shendan jing</i> 太清金液神丹經.
881	880	875	* <i>Taiqing shibi ji</i> 太清石壁記.
883	882	877	<i>Taiqing jing tianshi koujue</i> 太清經天師口訣. See * <a href="#">Taiqing jing</a> .
885	884	879	<i>Huangdi jiuding shendan jingjue</i> 黃帝九鼎神丹經訣. See * <a href="#">Jiudan jing</a> .
889	888	883	<i>Jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue</i> 九轉還丹經要訣. Full title: <i>Taiji zhenren jiuzhuan huandan jing yaojue</i> 太極真人九轉還丹經要訣.
890	889	884	<i>Xiufu lingsha miaojue</i> 修伏靈砂妙訣. Full title: <i>Dadong lian zhenbao jing xiufu lingsha miaojue</i> 大洞鍊真寶經修伏靈砂妙訣. YJQQ 69.
891	890	885	<i>Jiuhuan jindan miaojue</i> 九還金丹妙訣. Full title: <i>Dadong lian zhenbao jing jiuhuan jindan miaojue</i> 大洞鍊真寶經九還金丹妙訣. YJQQ 68.
896	895	890	<i>Dashen dansha zhenyao jue</i> 大神丹砂真要訣. Full title: <i>Yudong dashen dansha zhenyao jue</i> 玉洞大神丹砂真要訣.
900	899	894	* <i>Danfang xuzhi</i> 丹房須知.
901	900	895	* <i>Shiyao erya</i> 石藥爾雅.
902	901	896	<i>Zhichuan zhenren jiaozheng shu</i> 稚川真人校證術.
904	903	898	<i>Jinbi wu xianglei cantong qi</i> 金碧五相類參同契.
907	906	901	<i>Jinshi bu wujiu shu jue</i> 金石簿五九數訣.
914	913	908	* <i>Chongbi danjing</i> 冲碧丹經. Full title: <i>Jinhua chongbi danjing bizhi</i> 金華冲碧丹經祕旨.
917	916	911	<i>Baopu zi shenxian jinzhuo jing</i> 抱朴子神仙金鈞經.
919	918	913	<i>Qianhong jiageng zhibao jicheng</i> 鉛汞甲庚至寶集成.
921	920	915	<i>Zhigui ji</i> 指歸集.
924	923	918	<i>Zhenyuan miaodao yaolie</i> 真元妙道要略.
925	924	919	* <i>Danfang jianyuan</i> 丹方鑑源.
930	929	924	* <i>Sanshiliu shuifa</i> 三十六水法.
933	932	927	<i>Zhong zhicao fa</i> 種芝草法.
934	933	928	<i>Taibai jing</i> 太白經.

935	934	929	<i>Danlun jue zhixin jian</i> 丹論訣旨心鑑. YJQQ 66.
948	947	942	<i>Shenxian yangsheng bishu</i> 神仙養生祕術.
950	949	944	<i>Shangdong xindan jingjue</i> 上洞心丹經訣.
952	951	946	<i>Jiuzhuan liuzhu shenxian jiudan jing</i> 九轉流珠神仙九丹經.
954	953	948	<i>Taishang Hunyuan zhenlu</i> 太上混元真錄.
955	954	949	<i>Zhongnan shan zuting xianzhen neizhuan</i> 終南山祖庭仙真內傳. DZJY 24: 10501–28.
956	955	950	* <i>Zhenxian beiji</i> 真仙碑記. Full title: <i>Zhongnan shan Shuojing tai lidai zhenxian beiji</i> 終南山說經臺歷代真仙碑記.
957	956	951	<i>Gu Louguan ziyun yanqing ji</i> 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集.
962	960	956	<i>Wudang fudi zongzhen ji</i> 武當福地總真集.
969	967	963	<i>Tiantan Wangwu shan shengji ji</i> 天壇王屋山聖跡記.
972	970	966	<i>Gongguan beizhi</i> 宮觀碑誌.
973	971	967	* <i>Ganshui xianyuan lu</i> 甘水仙源錄. DZJY 24: 10573–10674.
974	972	968	<i>Qingjing jing songzhu</i> 清靜經頌注. Full title: <i>Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing jing songzhu</i> 太上老君說常清靜經頌注. See * <a href="#">Qingjing jing</a> .
979	977	973	<i>Mingzhen powang zhangsong</i> 明真破妄章頌. DZJY 16: 7148–51.
981	979	975	<i>Da Ming yuzhi xuanjiao yuezhang</i> 大明御製玄教樂章.
996	994	990	<i>Guwen longhu jing zhushu</i> 古文龍虎經注疏. YJQQ 73. DZJY 8: 3064–92. See * <a href="#">Longhu jing</a> .
997	995	991	<i>Guwen longhu shangjing zhu</i> 古文龍虎上經注. See * <a href="#">Longhu jing</a> .
999	996	993	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi</i> 周易參同契. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1000	997	994	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi zhu</i> 周易參同契注. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1001	998	995	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi</i> 周易參同契 (i.e., <i>Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi</i> 周易參同契考異). See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1002	999	996	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi fenzhang tong zhenyi</i> 周易參同契分章通真義. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1003	1000		<i>Zhouyi cantong qi dingqi ge mingjing tu</i> 周易參同契鼎器歌明鏡圖. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> . [ <i>Daozang tiyao</i> considers this text to be part of the previous one (CT 1002, TY 996).]
1004	1001	997	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi zhu</i> 周易參同契注. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1005	1002	998	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi fahui</i> 周易參同契發揮. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1006	1003	999	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi shiyi</i> 周易參同契釋疑. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1007	1004	1000	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi jie</i> 周易參同契解. DZJY 11: 4583–4612. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1008	1005	1001	<i>Zhouyi cantong qi</i> 周易參同契. See * <a href="#">Zhouyi cantong qi</a> .
1009	1006	1002	<i>Yiwai biezhuan</i> 易外別傳.
1010	1003		<i>Xuanpin zhi men fu</i> 玄牝之門賦. [The Harvard-Yenching catalogue considers this text to be part of the previous one (CT 1009, HY 1006).]
1011	1007	1004	<i>Yishi tongbian</i> 易筮通變.



1012	1008	1005	<i>Kongshan xiansheng yitu tongbian</i> 空山先生易圖通變.
1013			<i>Hetu</i> 河圖. [The Harvard-Yenching catalogue and <i>Daozang tiyao</i> consider this text to be part of CT 1012 (HY 1008, TY 1005).]
1014			<i>Yitu tongbian</i> 易圖通變. [The Harvard-Yenching catalogue and <i>Daozang tiyao</i> consider this text to be part of CT 1012 (HY 1008, TY 1005).]
1015	1009	1006	* <i>Jinsuo liuzhu yin</i> 金鎖流珠引.
1016	1010	1007	* <i>Zhengao</i> 真誥. Part. in YJQQ 45, 84, 86, and 96–98. DZJY 18: 7907–8042.
1017	1011	1008	* <i>Daoshu</i> 道樞. DZJY 18–19: 8043–8292.
1024	1018	1015	<i>Huangdi bashiyi nanjing zuantu jujie</i> 黃帝八十一難經纂圖句解.
1025	1019	1016	<i>Guigu zi</i> 鬼谷子.
1026	1020	1017	* <i>Tianyin zi</i> 天隱子. DZJY 12: 5291–92.
1028	1022	1019	* <i>Wuneng zi</i> 無能子.
1032	1026	1023	* <i>Yunji qiqian</i> 雲笈七籤. DZJY 19–20: 8403–8970.
1033	1027	1024	<i>Zhiyan zong</i> 至言總. Part. in YJQQ 35, 40, and 41.
1035	1029	1026	<i>Daoti lun</i> 道體論.
1036	1030	1027	* <i>Zuowang lun</i> 坐忘論. YJQQ 94.
1040	1034	1031	<i>Huangji jingshi</i> 皇極經世.
1042	1036	1033	<i>Yichuan jirang ji</i> 伊川擊壤集.
1044	1038	1035	* <i>Huashu</i> 化書.
1048	1042	1039	* <i>Xuanzhu lu</i> 玄珠錄.
1050	1044	1041	<i>Huayang Tao Yinju ji</i> 華陽陶隱居集.
1051	1045	1042	<i>Zongxuan xiansheng wenji</i> 宗玄先生文集.
1052	1046	1043	<i>Zongxuan xiansheng xuangang lun</i> 宗玄先生玄綱論. 1053 <i>Wu zunshi zhuan</i> 吳尊師傳. [The Harvard-Yenching catalogue and <i>Daozang tiyao</i> consider this text to be part of the previous one (CT 1052, HY 1046, TY 1043).]
1054	1047	1044	<i>Nantong dajun neidan jiuzhang jing</i> 南統大君內丹九章經.
1055	1048	1045	<i>Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji</i> 純陽真人渾成集.
1056	1049	1046	<i>Jin zhenren yulu</i> 晉真人語錄. DZJY 17: 7337–42.
1057	1050	1047	<i>Danyang zhenren yulu</i> 丹陽真人語錄. DZJY 15: 6820–26.
1058	1051	1048	<i>Wuwei Qingjing Changsheng zhenren zhizhen yulu</i> 無為清靜長生真人至真語錄. DZJY 15: 6656–68.
1059	1052	1049	<i>Panshan Qiyun Wang zhenren yulu</i> 盤山棲雲王真人語錄. DZJY 17: 7360–76.
1060	1053	1050	<i>Qing'an Yingchan zi yulu</i> 清庵瑩蟾子語錄.
1061	1054	1051	<i>Taixuan ji</i> 太玄集. Full title: <i>Shangqing taixuan ji</i> 上清太玄集.
1064	1056	1053	<i>Dongyuan ji</i> 洞淵集.
1065	1057	1054	<i>Xuanjiao da gong'an</i> 玄教大公案.
1067	1059	1056	* <i>Jindan dayao</i> 金丹大要. Full title: <i>Shangyang zi jindan dayao</i> 上陽子金丹大要. DZJY 16: 6975–7086 (includes CT 1067–70).

- 1068 1060 1057 *Jindan dayao tu* 金丹大要圖. Full title: *Shangyang zi jindan dayao tu* 上陽子金丹大要圖. DZJY 16: 6975–7086 (includes CT 1067–70). YJQQ 18–19. See \*[Jindan dayao](#).
- 1069 1061 1058 *Jindan dayao liexian zhi* 金丹大要列仙誌. Full title: *Shangyang zi jindan dayao liexian zhi* 上陽子金丹大要列仙誌. DZJY 16: 6975–7086 (includes CT 1067–70). See \*[Jindan dayao](#).
- 1070 1062 1059 *Jindan dayao xianpai* 金丹大要仙派. Full title: *Shangyang zi jindan dayao xianpai* 上陽子金丹大要仙派. DZJY 16: 6975–7086 (includes CT 1067–70). See \*[Jindan dayao](#).
- 1071 1063 1060 *Yuanyang zi fayu* 原陽子法語.
- 1074 1066 1063 *Huanzhen ji* 還真集.
- 1076 1068 1065 *Suiji yinghua lu* 隨機應化錄.
- 1077 1069 1066 *Xiulian xuzhi* 修鍊須知.
- 1081 1073 1070 \**Jindan sibai zi* 金丹四百字.
- 1083 1075 1072 *Longhu yuanzhi* 龍虎元旨.
- 1084 1076 1073 *Longhu huandan jue* 龍虎還丹訣.
- 1088 1080 1077 *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇. DZJY 14: 6168–75.
- 1090 1082 1079 *Cuixu pian* 翠虛篇. DZJY 14: 6175–88 (title: *Nihuan ji* 泥洹集).
- 1091 1083 1080 *Huanyuan pian* 還源篇. DZJY 14: 6165–67.
- 1096 1088 1085 *Chen xiansheng neidan jue* 陳先生內丹訣.
- 1100 1092 1089 \**Minghe yuyin* 鳴鶴餘音. DZJY 19: 8309–72. 1101 10931090– 92  
\**Taiping jing* 太平經.
- 1102 1094 1093 *Taiping jing shengjun bizhi* 太平經聖君祕旨.
- 1110 1102 1101 \**Jingming zhongxiao quanshu* 淨明忠孝全書.
- 1111 1103 1102 *Taixuan zhenyi benji miaojing* 太玄真一本際妙經. See \*[Benji jing](#).
- 1123 1115 1114 *Yiqie daoqing yinyi miaomen youqi* 一切道經音義妙門由起. See \*[Yiqie daoqing yinyi](#).
- 1124 1116 1115 \**Xuanmen dayi* 玄門大義. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao xuanmen dayi* 洞玄靈寶玄門大義.
- 1125 1117 1116 \**Fengdao kejie* 奉道科戒. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始.
- 1127 1119 1118 \**Daomen kelüe* 道門科略. Full title: *Lu xiansheng daomen kelüe* 陸先生道門科略.
- 1128 1120 1119 *Daomen jingfa xiangcheng cixu* 道門經法相承次序.
- 1129 1121 1120 \**Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞.
- 1130 1122 1121 \**Daodian lun* 道典論.
- 1132 1124 1123 \**Shangqing dao leishi xiang* 上清道類事相.
- 1133 1125 1124 *Kaihua zhenjing* 開化真經. Full title: *Shangfang Lingbao wuji zhidao kaihua zhenjing* 上方靈寶無極至道開化真經.
- 1134 1126 1125 *Juntian yanfan zhenjing* 鈞天演範真經. Full title: *Shangfang juntian yanfan zhenjing* 上方鈞天演範真經.
- 1138 1130 1129 \**Wushang biyao* 無上祕要. Part. in YJQQ 8, 9, 74, 84–86, 91, 101, 102.

- 1139 1131 1130 \**Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊. Part. in YJQQ 28, 40.
- 1140 1132 1131 *Yunshan ji* 雲山集. DZJY 16: 7173–7242.
- 1141 1133 1132 *Xianle ji* 仙樂集. DZJY 15: 6625–55.
- 1142 1134 1133 *Jianwu ji* 漸悟集. DZJY 15: 6773–6804.
- 1146 1138 1137 *Baoguang ji* 葆光集. DZJY 16: 6911–49.
- 1149 1141 1140 *Jinyu ji* 金玉集. Full title: *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 洞玄金玉集. DZJY 15: 6695–6772.
- 1150 1142 1141 *Shenguang can* 神光燦. Full title: *Danyang shenguang can* 丹陽神光燦. DZJY 15: 6804–20.
- 1152 1144 1143 *Yunguang ji* 雲光集. DZJY 16: 6859–6909.
- 1153 1145 1144 \**Chongyang quanzhen ji* 重陽全真集. DZJY 15: 6393–6485.
- 1154 1146 1145 *Jiaohua ji* 教化集. Full title: *Chongyang jiaohua ji* 重陽教化集. DZJY 15: 6487–6514.
- 1155 1147 1146 *Fenli shihua ji* 分梨十化集. Full title: *Chongyang fenli shihua ji* 重陽分梨十化集. DZJY 15: 6514–24.
- 1156 1148 1147 *Jinguan yusuo jue* 金關玉鎖訣. Full title: *Chongyang zhenren jinguan yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣.
- 1158 1149 1149 *Chongyang zhenren shou Danyang ershi si jue* 重陽真人授丹陽二十四訣.
- 1159 1151 1150 *Panxi ji* 磻溪集. DZJY 15: 6582–6624.
- 1160 1152 1151 *Shuiyun ji* 水雲集. DZJY 15: 6669–93.
- 1161 1153 1152 *Taigu ji* 太古集. DZJY 16: 6835–57.
- 1165 1157 1155 *Xianchuan waike bifang* 仙傳外科祕方.
- 1166 1158 1156 *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠.
- 1167 1159 1157 \**Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇.
- 1168 1160 1158 *Laojun zhongjing* 老君中經. Full title: *Taishang Laojun zhongjing* 太上老君中經. See \*[Laozi zhongjing](#).
- 1169 1161 1159 *Qingjing xinjing* 清靜心經. Full title: *Taishang Laojun qingjing xinjing* 太上老君清靜心經. YJQQ 17. See \*[Qingjing jing](#).
- 1184 1176 1174 *Huainan honglie jie* 淮南鴻烈解. See \*[Huainan zi](#).
- 1185 1177 1175 *Baopu zi neipian* 抱朴子內篇. Part. in YJQQ 67. DZJY 11: 4813–96. See \*[Baopu zi](#).
- 1187 1179 1177 *Baopu zi waipian* 抱朴子外篇. DZJY 11: 4897–4905. See \*[Baopu zi](#).
- 1191 1182 1181 \**Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法. Full title: *Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren lingbao bifa* 祕傳正陽真人靈寶畢法. DZJY 12: 5097–5112.
- 1195 1186 1185 *Laojun bianhua wuji jing* 老君變化無極經.
- 1200 1191 1190 *Liuzhai shizhi shengji jing* 六齋十直聖紀經. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao taishang liuzhai shizhi shengji jing* 洞玄靈寶太上六齋十直聖紀經.
- 1203 1194 1193 *Santian zhengfa jing* 三天正法經. Full title: *Taishang santian zhengfa jing* 太上三天正法經.
- 1204 1195 1194 *Zhengyi fawen jing* 正一法文經. Full title: *Taishang zhengyi fawen jing* 太上正一法文經.

1205	1196	1195	* <i>Santian neijie jing</i> 三天內解經.
1206	1197	1196	<i>Mingjian yaojing</i> 明鑑要經. Full title: <i>Shangqing mingjian yaojing</i> 上清明鑑要經. Part. in YJQQ 48.
1208	1199	1198	<i>Sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu</i> 三五正一盟威錄. Full title: <i>Taishang sanwu zhengyi mengwei lu</i> 太上三五正一盟威錄.
1212	1202	1201	<i>Jiao sandong zhenwen wufa zhengyi mengwei lu licheng yi</i> 醮三洞真文五法正一盟威錄立成儀.
1220	1210	1209	* <i>Daofa huiyuan</i> 道法會元.
1221	1211	1210	* <i>Shangqing lingbao dafa</i> 上清靈寶大法.
1222	1212		<i>Shangqing lingbao dafa mulu</i> 上清靈寶大法目錄. See * <a href="#">Shangqing lingbao dafa</a> . [ <i>Daozang tiyao</i> considers this text to be part of the next one (CT 1223, TY 1211).]
1223	1213	1211	* <i>Shangqing lingbao dafa</i> 上清靈寶大法.
1224	1214	1212	<i>Daomen dingzhi</i> 道門定制.
1225	1215	1213	* <i>Daomen kefan da quanji</i> 道門科範大全集.
1227	1217	1215	<i>Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao</i> 太上助國救民總真祕要.
1229	1219	1217	<i>Quanzhen zuobo jiefa</i> 全真坐鉢捷法.
1232	1222	1220	* <i>Daomen shigui</i> 道門十規.
1233	1223	1221	* <i>Chongyang lijiao shiwu lun</i> 重陽立教十五論. DZJY 15: 6524–26.
1234	1224	1222	<i>Danyang zhenren zhiyan</i> 丹陽真人直言. DZJY 15: 6527.
1235	1225	1223	<i>Quanzhen qinggui</i> 全真清規. DZJY 23: 10299–10304.
1236	1226	1224	<i>Chujia chuandu yi</i> 出家傳度儀. Full title: <i>Taishang chujia chuandu yi</i> 太上出家傳度儀.
1240	1230	1228	<i>Daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zhairi li</i> 道士受三洞經誡法錄擇日曆. Full title: <i>Dongxuan Lingbao daoshi shou sandong jingjie falu zhairi li</i> 洞玄靈寶道士受三洞經誡法錄擇日曆.
1241	1231	1229	<i>Chuanshou sandong jingjie falu lüeshuo</i> 傳授三洞經誡法錄略說.
1248	1238	1236	* <i>Sandong qunxian lu</i> 三洞群仙錄. DZJY 24: 10675–10819.
1249	1239	1237	<i>Sanshi dai Tianshi Xujing zhenjun yulu</i> 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄. DZJY 25: 10913–36.
1250	1240	1238	<i>Chongxu tongmiao shichen Wang xiansheng jiahua</i> 冲虛通妙侍宸王先生家話.
1252	1242	1240	<i>Jingyu xuanwen</i> 靜餘玄問.
1253	1243	1241	<i>Daofa xinzhuan</i> 道法心傳. DZJY 16: 7152–67.
1254	1244	1242	<i>Leifa yixuan pian</i> 雷法議玄篇.
1256	1246	1244	<i>Zhenxian zhizhi yulu</i> 真仙直指語錄.
1264	1254	1252	<i>Lifeng laoren ji</i> 離峰老人集.
1271	1261	1259	<i>Yannian yisuan fa</i> 延年益算法. Full title: <i>Dongxuan Lingbao zhenren xiuxing yannian yisuan fa</i> 洞玄靈寶真人修行延年益算法.
1273	1263	1261	<i>Zhengyi Tianshi gao Zhao Sheng koujue</i> 正一天師告趙昇口訣.
1275	1265	1263	<i>Yuyang qihou qinji</i> 雨暘氣候親機.
1277	1267	1265	<i>Daofa zongzhi tu yanyi</i> 道法宗旨圖衍義.

1278	1268	1266	<i>Wugan wen</i> 五感文. Full title: <i>Dongxuan Lingbao wugan wen</i> 洞玄靈寶五感文.
1281	1271	1269	<i>Wuyue zhenxing xulun</i> 五嶽真形序論. Part. in YJQQ 79.
1282	1272	1270	* <i>Gaoshang Shenxiao zongshi shoujing shi</i> 高上神霄宗師受經式.
1285	1275	1273	* <i>Yisheng baode zhuan</i> 翊聖保德傳. YJQQ 103.
1286	1276	1274	<i>Lushan Taiping xingguo gong Caifang zhenjun shishi</i> 廬山太平興國宮採訪真君事實.
1294	1284	1282	* <i>Shangqing huangshu guodu yi</i> 上清黃書過度儀.
1306	1295	1294	<i>Zhouhou beiji fang</i> 肘後備急方. Full title: <i>Ge Xianweng zhouhou beiji fang</i> 葛仙翁肘後備急方. DZJY 11: 4907–5034.
1307	1296	1295	<i>Haiqiong Bai zhenren yulu</i> 海瓊白真人語錄. DZJY 14: 6367–89 (lacks the last <i>juan</i> of the <i>Daozang</i> text).
1308	1297	1296	<i>Haiqiong wendao ji</i> 海瓊問道集.
1309	1298	1297	<i>Haiqiong chuandao ji</i> 海瓊傳道集.
1310	1299	1298	<i>Qinghe zhenren beiyou yulu</i> 清和真人北遊語錄. DZJY 17: 7377–7402.
1311	1300	1299	<i>Xianquan ji</i> 峴泉集.
1313	1302	1301	<i>Ciyi yujian wulao baojing</i> 雌一玉檢五老寶經. Full title: <i>Dongzhen Gaoshang Yudi dadong ciyi yujian wulao baojing</i> 洞真高上玉帝大洞雌一玉檢五老寶經. Part. in YJQQ 41 and 77. See * <a href="#">Ciyi jing</a> .
1314	1303	1302	<i>Suling Dayou miaojing</i> 素靈大有妙經. Full title: <i>Dongzhen taishang Suling dongyuan Dayou miaojing</i> 洞真太上素靈洞元大有妙經. YJQQ 43, 47, and 50. See * <a href="#">Suling jing</a> .
1316	1305	1304	<i>Bu tiangang fei diji jing</i> 步天綱飛地紀經. Full title: <i>Dongzhen Shangqing Taiwei dijun bu tiangang fei diji jinjian yuzi shangjing</i> 洞真上清太微帝君步天綱飛地紀金簡玉字上經.
1319	1308	1307	<i>Baoshen qiju jing</i> 寶神起居經. Full title: <i>Dongzhen Xiwang mu baoshen qiju jing</i> 洞真西王母寶神起居經. Part. in YJQQ 54 and 83. DZJY 8: 3461–68. See * <a href="#">Suling jing</a> .
1323	1312	1311	<i>Basu zhenjing fushi riyue huanghua jue</i> 八素真經服食日月皇華訣. Full title: <i>Dongzhen taishang basu zhenjing fushi riyue huanghua jue</i> 洞真太上八素真經服食日月皇華訣. See * <a href="#">Basu jing</a> .
1328	1317	1316	<i>Badao mingji jing</i> 八道命籍經. Full title: <i>Dongzhen taishang badao mingji jing</i> 洞真太上八道命籍經. Part. in YJQQ 51 and 91.
1330	1319	1318	<i>Taiyi dijun Taidan yinshu xuanjing</i> 太一帝君太丹隱書玄經. Full title: <i>Dongzhen Taiyi dijun Taidan yinshu dongzhen xuanjing</i> 洞真太一帝君太丹隱書洞真玄經. YJQQ 23, 30, 43, and 44. See * <a href="#">Taidan yinshu</a> .
1331	1320	1319	<i>Shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing</i> 神州七轉七變舞天經. Full title: <i>Dongzhen Shangqing shenzhou qizhuan qibian wutian jing</i> 洞真上清神州七轉七變舞天經.
1343	1332	1331	<i>Dongzhen huangshu</i> 洞真黃書.
1344	1333	1332	<i>Xiaomo jing</i> 消魔經. Full title: <i>Dongzhen Taishang shuo zhihui xiaomo zhenjing</i> 洞真太上說智慧消魔真經.
1352	1341	1340	<i>Taishang taixiao langshu</i> 太上太霄琅書. Full title: <i>Dongzhen</i>

- taishang taixiao langshu* 洞真太上太霄琅書. DZJY 8: 3193–3252.  
See \*[Taixiao langshu](#).
- 1355 1344 1343 *Miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing* 滅魔神慧高玄真經. Full title: *Shangqing taishang Yuqing yinshu miemo shenhui gaoxuan zhenjing* 上清太上玉清隱書滅魔神慧高玄真經.
- 1359 1348 1347 *Yindi bashu jing* 隱地八術經. Full title: *Shangqing danjing daoqing yindi bashu jing* 上清丹景道精隱地八術經. YJQQ 53.
- 1360 1349 1348 *Shangqing jiutian Shangdi zhu baishen neiming jing* 上清九天上帝 祝百神內名經.
- 1364 1353 1352 *Shangqing dongzhen zhihui guanshen dajie wen* 上清洞真智慧觀身大戒文.
- 1366 1355 1354 *Tianguan santu jing* 天關三圖經. Full title: *Shangqing tianguan santu jing* 上清天關三圖經.
- 1373 1362 1361 *Waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen* 外國放品青童內文. Full title: *Shangqing waiguo fangpin Qingtong neiwen* 上清外國放品青童 內文. YJQQ 22.
- 1376 1365 1364 *Dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 帝君九真中經. Full title: *Shangqing Taishang dijun jiuzhen zhongjing* 上清太上帝君九真中經. YJQQ 23, 30, 51, 52, 68, 74, 77, and 101. See \*[Jiuzhen zhongjing](#).
- 1377 1366 1365 *Jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 九真中經降生神丹訣. Full title: *Shangqing taishang jiuzhen zhongjing jiangsheng shendan jue* 上清太上九真中經降生神丹訣. See \*[Jiuzhen zhongjing](#).
- 1382 1371 1370 *Taijing zhongji jing* 胎精中記經. Full title: *Shangqing jiudan shanghua taijing zhongji jing* 上清九丹上化胎精中記經. YJQQ 29.
- 1384 1373 1372 *Taidan yinshu jie bao shi'er jiejie tujue* 太丹隱書解胞十二結節圖 訣. Full title: *Shangqing Taiyi dijun Taidan yinshu jie bao shi'er jiejie tujue* 上清太一帝君太丹隱書解胞十二結節圖訣. See \*[Taidan yinshu](#).
- 1398 1387 1386 \**Dasheng miaolin jing* 大乘妙林經. YJQQ 92, 93, and 95. DZJY 4: 1273–94.
- 1405 1394 1393 *Changsheng taiyuan shenyong jing* 長生胎元神用經. DZJY 8: 3454–61.
- 1406 1395 1394 *Zhicao pin* 芝草品. Full title: *Taishang Lingbao zhicao pin* 太上靈寶芝草品.
- 1407 1396 1395 \**Ershisi sheng tu* 二十四生圖. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao ershisi sheng tu jing* 洞玄靈寶二十四生圖經. YJQQ 80.
- 1410 1399 1398 *Qianzhen ke* 千真科. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao qianzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶千真科.
- 1411 1400 1399 *Mingzhen ke* 明真科. Full title: *Dongxuan Lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yukui mingzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科.
- 1412 1401 1400 *Taishang Yuanshi tianzun shuo Beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing* 太上元始天尊說北帝伏魔神咒妙經.
- 1426 1415 1414 *Fushou lun* 福壽論. Full title: *Tang taigu miaoying Sun zhenren fushou lun* 唐太古妙應孫真人福壽論.
- 1427 1416 1415 *Daolin shesheng lun* 道林攝生論. Full title: *Taiqing Daolin shesheng*

			<i>lun</i> 太清道林攝生論.
1429	1418	1417	* <i>Changchun zhenren xiyou ji</i> 長春真人西遊記. DZJY 15: 6559–82.
1430	1419	1418	* <i>Daozang quejing mulu</i> 道藏闕經目錄. 1431 1420– 21 1419– 20 <i>Daozang jing mulu</i> 道藏經目錄. [The Harvard-Yenching catalogue and <i>Daozang tiyao</i> consider this text to be made of two texts: <i>Da Ming daozang jing mulu</i> 大明道藏經目錄 (HY 1420, TY 1419) and <i>Xu da Ming daozang jing mulu</i> 續大明道藏經目錄 (HY 1421, TY 1420).]
1437	1425	1424	* <i>Kaitian jing</i> 開天經. Full title: <i>Taishang Laojun kaitian jing</i> 太上老君開天經. YJQQ 2.
1439	1427	1426	<i>Yujing shan buxu jing</i> 玉京山步虛經. Full title: <i>Dongxuan Lingbao Yujing shan buxu jing</i> 洞玄靈寶玉京山步虛經.
1442	1430	1429	<i>Taishang sanyuan cifu shezui jie'e xiaozai yansheng baoming miaojing</i> 太上三元賜福赦罪解厄消災延生保命妙經.
1447	1435	1434	<i>Chenghuang ganying xiaozai jifu miaojing</i> 城隍感應消災集福妙經. Full title: <i>Taishang Laojun shuo Chenghuang ganying xiaozai jifu miaojing</i> 太上老君說城隍感應消災集福妙經.
1452	1440	1439	<i>Xiantian Doumu zougao xuanke</i> 先天斗母奏告玄科.
1463	1451	1450	* <i>Han Tianshi shijia</i> 漢天師世家. DZJY 25: 10873–10912.
1468	1456	1455	<i>Xuxian hanzao</i> 徐仙翰藻.
1472	1460	1459	<i>Daishi</i> 岱史.
1476	1466	1464	* <i>Soushen ji</i> 搜神記.
1477	1467	1464	<i>Taichu yuanqi jieyao baosheng zhi lun</i> 太初元氣接要保生之論.
1478	1468	1465	* <i>Huashu</i> 化書.
1480	1470	1467	<i>Xu zhenjun yuxia ji</i> 許真君玉匣記. [The Harvard-Yenching catalogue and <i>Daozang tiyao</i> consider this text to also include the <i>Fashi xuanzhai ji</i> 法師選擇記, separately listed in <i>Concordance du Tao-tsang</i> (CT 1481).]
1483	1472	1469	* <i>Tianhuang zhidao Taiqing yuce</i> 天皇至道太清玉冊.
1484	1473	1470	<i>Lüzu zhi</i> 呂祖志.
1487	1476	1473	<i>Zhuangzi yi</i> 莊子翼.

## ABBREVIATIONS OF SERIALS

<i>AM</i>	<i>Asia Major</i>
<i>ASEA</i>	<i>Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques</i>
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
<i>CEA</i>	<i>Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie</i>

<i>DT</i>	<i>Daojiaoxue tansuo</i> 道教學探索
<i>DWY</i>	<i>Daojia wenhua yanjiu</i> 道家文化研究
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early China</i>
<i>HJAS</i>	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HXYJ</i>	<i>Hanxue yanjiu</i> 漢學研究
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JCP</i>	<i>Journal of Chinese Philosophy</i>
<i>JCR</i>	<i>Journal of Chinese Religions</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
<i>KDKK</i>	<i>Kagawa daigaku kyōiku gakubu kenkyū hōkōku</i> 香川大學教育學部研究報告
<i>MQC</i>	<i>Minsu quyi congshu</i> 民俗曲藝叢書
<i>MS</i>	<i>Monumenta Serica</i>
<i>NCG</i>	<i>Nippon Chūgoku gakkaihō</i> 日本中國學會報
<i>SZY</i>	<i>Shijie zongjiao yanjiu</i> 世界宗教研究
<i>TBKK</i>	<i>Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō</i> 東洋文化研究所紀要
<i>TG</i>	<i>Tōhō gakuhō</i> 東方學報
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
<i>TR</i>	<i>Taoist Resources</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Tōhō shūkyō</i> 東方宗教
<i>ZGDJ</i>	<i>Zhongguo daojiao</i> 中國道教
<i>ZLJ</i>	<i>Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan</i> 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica)
<i>ZMJ</i>	<i>Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Minzuxue yanjiusuo jikan</i> 中央研究院民族學研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica)
<i>ZY</i>	<i>Zongjiaoxue yanjiu</i> 宗教学研究
<i>ZZJ</i>	<i>Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan</i> 中央研究院中國文哲研究集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica)

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# Periodization of Chinese History

DYNASTIES OR PERIODS	DATES
Shang 商	ca. 1600–1045
Zhou 周	1045–256
Western Zhou 西周	1045–771
Eastern Zhou 東周	770–256
Springs and Autumns 春秋	770–476
Warring States 戰國	403–221
Qin 秦	221–206
Han 漢	202 BCE–220 CE
Former Han (or Western Han) 前漢 (西漢)	202 BCE–23 CE
Xin 新 (Wang Mang 王莽)	9–23
Later Han (or Eastern Han) 後漢 (東漢)	25–220
Six Dynasties 六朝(*)	220–589
Three Kingdoms 三國	220–80
Wei 魏	220–65
Han 漢	221–63
Wu 吳	222–80
Jin 晉	265–420
Western Jin 西晉	265–316
Eastern Jin 東晉	317–420
Southern and Northern Dynasties 南北朝	420–589

(\*) The Six Dynasties proper are Wu (222–80), Eastern Jin (317–420), Liu Song (420–79), Qi (479–502), Liang (502–57), and Chen (557–89), but the term is sometimes applied to the whole period from 220 to 589.

DYNASTIES OR PERIODS	DATES
Six Dynasties 六朝 ( <i>cont.</i> )	
Southern Dynasties 南朝	420–589
Liu Song 劉宋	420–79
Southern Qi 南齊	479–502
Liang 梁	502–57
Chen 陳	557–89
Northern Dynasties 北朝	386–581
Northern Wei 北魏	386–534
Eastern Wei 東魏	534–50
Western Wei 西魏	535–56
Northern Qi 北齊	550–77
Northern Zhou 北周	557–81
Sui 隋	581–618
Tang 唐	618–907
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms	902–79
Five Dynasties 五代 (Northern China)	907–60
Later Liang 後梁	907–23
Later Tang (or Southern Tang) 後唐 (南唐)	923–36
Later Jin 後晉	936–46
Later Han 後漢	947–50
Later Zhou 後周	951–60
Ten Kingdoms 十國 (Southern China)	902–79
Song 宋	960–1279
Northern Song 北宋	960–1127
Southern Song 南宋	1127–1279
Liao 遼 (Qidan 契丹, Khitan)	916–1125
Jin 金 (Nüzhen 女真, Jurchen)	1115–1234
Yuan 元	1260–1368
Ming 明	1368–1644
Qing 清	1644–1911
Republic of China 中華民國	1911–
People's Republic of China 中華人民共和國	1949–

## RULERS AND REIGN PERIODS

This list includes only rulers and reign periods (*nianhao* 年號) mentioned in



the present book. For the pre-imperial period, the dates indicated are those given in the *Cambridge History of Ancient China* (Loewe and Shaughnessy 1999). Reign periods are shown under the name of the relevant emperor. Ming and Qing emperors are commonly referred to with the name of their reign period.

PRE-IMPERIAL PERIOD

Muwang 穆王 (King of Zhou, r. 956–918 BCE)

Lingwang 靈王 (King of Zhou, r. 571–545 BCE)

Helü 闔閭 (King of Wu, r. 514–496 BCE)

Weiwang 威王 (King of Qi, r. 334–320 BCE)

Xuanwang 宣王 (King of Qi, r. 319–301 BCE)

Nanwang 赧王 (King of Zhou, 314–256 BCE)

Zhaowang 昭王 (King of Yan, r. 311–279 BCE)

QIN (221–206)

Qin Shi huangdi (r. 221–210 BCE) (ascended to the throne in 246 Bce as King of Qin)

FORMER HAN (202 BCE–23 CE)

Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE)

Wendi 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE)

Jingdi 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE)

Wudi 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE)

Yuandi 元帝 (r. 49–33 BCE)

Chengdi 成帝 (r. 33–7 BCE)

LATER HAN (25–220)

Guangwu di 光武帝 (r. 25–57 CE)

Mingdi 明帝 (r. 57–75 CE)

LATER HAN (25–220, cont.)

Zhangdi 章帝 (r. 75–88 CE)

Hedi 和帝 (r. 88–106 CE)

Shundi 順帝 (r. 125–144 CE)

Huandi 桓帝 (r. 146–168 CE)

WU (222–80)

Dadi 大帝 (Sun Quan 孫權, r. 222–52)

Wucheng gong 烏程公 (Sun Hao 孫皓, r. 264–80)

WEI (220–65)

Qiwang 齊王 (r. 240–254)

Zhengshi 正始 (240–48)

WESTERN JIN (265–316)

Wudi 武帝 (r. 265–90)

EASTERN JIN (317–420)

Xiaowu di 孝武帝 (r. 372–96)

Andi 安帝 (r. 396–418)

LIU SONG (420–79)

Mingdi 明帝 (r. 465–72)

SOUTHERN QI (479–502)

Gaodi 高帝 (r. 479–82)

Wudi 武帝 (r. 482–93)

LIANG (502–57)

Wudi 武帝 (r. 502–49)

NORTHERN WEI (386–534)

Taiwu di 太武帝 (r. 424–52)

NORTHERN ZHOU (557–81)

Wudi 武帝 (r. 560–78)

SUI (581–618)

Wendi 文帝 (r. 581–604)

Kaiguang 開皇 (581–600)

Yangdi 煬帝 (r. 604–17)

TANG (618–907)

Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–26)

Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–49)

Zhenguan 貞觀 (627–49)

Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–83)

Yonghui 永徽(650–55)

Yongchun 永淳 (682–83)

Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684, 705–10)

Ruizong 睿宗 (r. 684–90, 710–12)

Empress Wu 武后 (r. 690–705)

Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–56)

    Xiantian 先天 (712–13)

    Kaiyuan 開元 (713–41)

    Tianbao 天寶 (742–56)

Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–62)

Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–79)

Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805)

Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–20)

Wendi 文帝 (r. 826–40)

    Kaicheng 開成 (836–40)

Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–46)

TANG (618–907, cont.)

    Xuanzong 宣帝 (r. 846–59)

    Xizong 僖宗 (r. 873–88)

    Zhaozong 昭宗 (r. 888–904)

LATER ZHOU (951–60)

    Shizong 世宗 (r. 954–59)

NORTHERN SONG (960–1127)

    Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–76)

    Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–97)

    Taiping xingguo 太平興國 (976–83)

Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022)

Tianxi 元禧 (1017–21)

Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–63)

Jiayou 嘉祐 (1056–63)

Yingzong 英宗 (r. 1064–67)

Zhiping 治平 (1064–67)

Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–85)

Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1085–1100)

Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1125)

Chongning 崇寧 (1102–06)

Zhenghe 政和 (1111–17)

Xuanhe 宣和 (1119–25)

Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1125–27)

SOUTHERN SONG (1127–1279)

Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–62)

Shaoxing 紹興 (1131–62)

Xiaozong 孝宗 (1162–1189)

Shunxi 淳熙 (1174–89)

Guangzong 光宗 (1190–1194)

Shaoxi 紹熙 (1190–94)

SOUTHERN SONG (1127–1279, cont.)

Ningzong 寧宗 (1195–1224)

Qingyuan 慶元 (1195–1200)

Jiatai 嘉泰 (1201–4)

Lizong 理宗 (r. 1224–64)  
Baoyou 寶祐 (1253–58)

JIN (1115–1234)

Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161–90)  
Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1190–1208)

YUAN (1279–1368)

Taizu 太祖 (Chinggis khan, r. 1206–27)  
Shizu 世祖 (Khubilai khan, r. 1260–1294)  
Chengzong 成宗 (r. 1295–1307)  
Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1312–20)  
Taiding 泰定 (r. 1324–28)

MING (1368–1644)

Hongwu 洪武 (Taizu 太祖, r. 1368–98)  
Jianwen 建文 (Huidi 惠帝, r. 1399–1402)  
Yongle 永樂 (Chengzu 成祖, r. 1403–24)  
Hongxi 洪熙 (Renzong 仁宗, r. 1425)  
Xuande 宣德 (Xuanzong 宣宗, r. 1426–35)  
Zhengtong 正統 (Yingzong 英宗, r. 1436–49)  
Chenghua 成化 (Xianzong 憲宗, r. 1465–87)  
Jiajing 嘉靖 (Shizong 世宗, r. 1522–66)  
Longqing 隆慶 (Muzong 穆宗, r. 1567–72)  
Wanli 萬曆 (Shenzong 神宗, r. 1573–1620)

QING (1644–1911)

Kangxi 康熙 (Shengzu 聖祖, r. 1662–1722)

Yongzheng 雍正 (Shizong 世宗, r. 1723–35)

Qianlong 乾隆 (Gaozong 高宗, r. 1735–95)

## *Pinyin* to Wade-Giles Conversion Table

<u>PY</u>	<u>W-G</u>
a	a
ai	ai
an	an
ang	ang
ao	ao
ba	pa
bai	pai
ban	pan
bang	pang
bao	pao
bei	pei
ben	pen
beng	peng
bi	pi
bian	pian
biao	piao
bie	pieh
bin	pin
bing	ping
bo	po
bu	pu
ca	ts'a
cai	ts'ai
can	ts'an
cang	ts'ang
cao	ts'ao
ce	ts'e
cen	ts'en
ceng	ts'eng
cha	ch'a



chai	ch'ai
chan	ch'an
chang	ch'ang
chao	ch'ao
che	ch'e
chen	ch'en
cheng	ch'eng
chi	ch'ih
chong	ch'ung
chou	ch'ou
chu	ch'u
chuai	ch'uai
chuan	ch'uan
chuang	ch'uang
chui	ch'ui
chun	ch'un
chuo	ch'o
ci	tz'u
cong	ts'ung
cou	ts'ou
cu	ts'u
cuan	ts'uan
cui	ts'ui
cun	ts'un
cuo	ts'o
da	ta
dai	tai
dan	tan
dang	tang
dao	tao
de	te
deng	teng
di	ti
dian	tien
diao	tiao
die	tieh
ding	ting
diu	tiu
dong	tung
dou	tou

du	tu
duan	tuan
dui	tui
dun	tun
duo	to
e	o
en	en
er	erh
fa	fà
fan	fan
fang	fang
fei	fei
fen	fen
feng	feng
fo	fo
fou	fou
fu	fu
ga	ka
gai	kai
gan	kan
gang	kang
gao	kao
ge	ko
gen	ken
geng	keng
gong	kung
gou	kou
gu	ku
gua	kua
guai	kuai
guan	kuan
guang	kuang
gui	kuei
gun	kun
guo	kuo
ha	ha
hai	hai
han	han
hang	hang
hao	hao
he	ho

hei	hei
hen	hen
heng	heng
hong	hung
hou	hou
hu	hu
hua	hua
huai	huai
huan	huan
huang	huang
hui	hui
hun	hun
huo	huo
ji	chi
jia	chia
jian	chien
jiang	chiang
jiao	chiao
jie	chieh
jin	chin
jing	ching
jiong	chiung
jiu	chiu
ju	chü
juan	chüan
jue	chüeh
jun	chün
ka	k'a
kai	k'ai
kan	k'an
kang	k'ang
kao	k'ao
ke	k'o
ken	k'en
keng	k'eng
kong	k'ung
kou	k'ou
ku	k'u
kua	k'ua
kuai	k'uai
kuan	k'uan

kuang	k'uang
kui	k'uei
kun	k'un
kuo	k'uo
la	la
lai	lai
lan	lan
lang	lang
lao	lao
le	le
lei	lei
leng	leng
li	li
lian	lien
liang	liang
liao	liao
lie	lieh
lin	lin
ling	ling
liu	liu
long	lung
lou	lou
lu	lu
luan	luan
luan	lŭan
l	üe lŭeh
lun	lun
luo	lo
l	ü lŭ
ma	ma
mai	mai
man	man
mang	mang
mao	mao
mei	mei
men	men
meng	meng
mi	mi
mian	mien
miao	miao
mie	mieh

min	min
ming	ming
miu	miu
mo	mo
mou	mou
mu	mu
na	na
nai	nai
nan	nan
nang	nang
nao	nao
nei	nei
nen	nen
neng	neng
ni	ni
nian	nien
niang	niang
niao	niao
nie	nieh
nin	nin
ning	ning
niu	niu
nong	nung
nou	nou
nu	nu
nuan	nuan
n	üe nüeh
nuo	no
n	ü nü
ou	ou
pa	p'a
pai	p'ai
pan	p'an
pang	p'ang
pao	p'ao
pei	p'ei
pen	p'en
peng	p'eng
pi	p'i
pian	p'ien

piao	p'iao
pie	p'ieh
pin	p'in
ping	p'ing
po	p'o
pou	p'ou
pu	p'u
qi	ch'i
qia	ch'ia
qian	ch'ien
qiang	ch'iang
qiao	ch'iao
qie	ch'ieh
qin	ch'in
qing	ch'ing
qiong	ch'iung
qiu	ch'iu
qu	ch'ü
quan	ch'üan
que	ch'üeh
qun	ch'ün
ran	jan
rang	jang
rao	jao
re	je
ren	jen
reng	jeng
ri	jih
rong	jung
rou	jou
ru	ju
ruan	juan
rui	juì
run	jun
ruo	jo
sa	sa
sai	sai
san	san
sang	sang
sao	sao

se	se
sen	sen
seng	seng
sha	sha
shai	shai
shan	shan
shang	shang
shao	shao
she	she
shen	shen
sheng	sheng
shi	shih
shou	shou
shu	shu
shua	shua
shuai	shuai
shuan	shuan
shuang	shuang
shui	shui
shun	shun
shuo	shuo
si	ssu
song	sung
sou	sou
su	su
suan	suan
sui	sui
sun	sun
suo	so
ta	t'a
tai	t'ai
tan	t'an
tang	t'ang
tao	t'ao
te	t'e
teng	t'eng
ti	t'i
tian	t'ien
tiao	t'iao
tie	t'ieh

ting	t'ing
tong	t'ung
tou	t'ou
tu	t'u
tuan	t'uan
tui	t'ui
tun	t'un
tuo	t'o
wa	wa
wai	wai
wan	wan
wang	wang
wei	wei
wen	wen
weng	weng
wo	wo
wu	wu
xi	hsi
xia	hsia
xian	hsien
xiang	hsiang
xiao	hsiao
xie	hsieh
xin	hsin
xing	hsing
xiong	hsiung
xiu	hsiu
xu	hsü
xuan	hsüan
xue	hsüeh
xun	hsün
ya	ya
yai	yai
yan	yen
yang	yang
yao	yao
ye	yeh
yi	i
yin	yin
ying	ying



yo	yo
you	yu
yu	yü
yuan	yüan
yue	yüeh
yun	yün
yung	yong
za	tsa
zai	tsai
zan	tsan
zang	tsang
zao	tsao
ze	tse
zei	tsei
zen	tsen
zeng	tseng
zha	cha
zhai	chai
zhan	chan
zhang	chang
zhao	chao
zhe	che
zhen	chen
zheng	cheng
zhi	chih
zhong	chung
zhou	chou
zhu	chu
zhua	chua
zhuai	chuai
zhuan	chuan
zhuang	chuang
zhui	chui
zhun	chun
zhuo	cho
zi	tzu
zong	tsung
zou	tsou
zu	tsu
zuan	tsuan

zui  
zun  
zuo

tsui  
tsun  
tso

## Wade-Giles to *Pinyin* Conversion Table

W-G	PY
a	a
ai	ai
an	an
ang	ang
ao	ao
cha	zha
ch'a	cha
chai	zhai
ch'ai	chai
chan	zhan
ch'an	chan
chang	zhang
ch'ang	chang
chao	zhao
ch'ao	chao
che	zhe
ch'e	che
chen	zhen
ch'en	chen
cheng	zheng
ch'eng	cheng
chi	ji
ch'i	qi
chia	jia
ch'ia	qia
chiang	jiang
ch'iang	qiang
chiao	jiao
ch'iao	qiao
chieh	jie

ch'ieh	qie
chien	jian
ch'ien	qian
chih	zhi
ch'ih	chi
chin	jin
ch'in	qin
ching	jing
ch'ing	qing
chiu	jiu
ch'iu	qiu
chiung	jiong
ch'iung	qiong
cho	zhuo
ch'o	chuo
choug	zhou
ch'ou	chou
chu	zhu
ch'u	chu
chü	ju
ch'ü	qu
chua	zhua
chuai	zhuai
ch'uai	chuai
chuan	zhuan
ch'uan	chuan
chüan	juan
ch'üan	quan
chuang	zhuang
ch'uang	chuang
chüeh	jue
ch'üeh	que
chui	zhui
ch'ui	chui
chun	zhun
ch'un	chun
chün	jun
ch'ün	qun
chung	zhong
ch'ung	chong

en	en
erh	er
fa	fa
fan	fan
fang	fang
fei	fei
fen	fen
feng	feng
fo	fo
fou	fou
fu	fu
ha	ha
hai	hai
han	han
hang	hang
hao	hao
hei	hei
hen	hen
heng	heng
ho	he
hou	hou
hsi	xi
hsia	xia
hsiang	xiang
hsiao	xiao
hsieh	xie
hsien	xian
hsin	xin
hsing	xing
hsiu	xiu
hsiung	xiong
hsü	xu
hsüan	xuan
hsüeh	xue
hsün	xun
hu	hu
hua	hua
huai	huai
huan	huan
huang	huang
hui	hui

hun	hun
hung	hong
huo	huo
i	yi
jan	ran
jang	rang
jao	rao
je	re
jen	ren
jeng	reng
jih	ri
jo	ruo
jou	rou
ju	ru
juan	ruan
jui	rui
jun	run
jung	rong
ka	ga
k'a	ka
kai	gai
k'ai	kai
kan	gan
k'an	kan
kang	gang
k'ang	kang
kao	gao
k'ao	kao
ken	gen
k'en	ken
keng	geng
k'eng	keng
ko	ge
k'o	ke
kou	gou
k'ou	kou
ku	gu
k'u	ku
kua	gua
k'ua	kua
kuai	guai

k'uai	kuai
kuan	guan
k'uan	kuan
kuang	guang
k'uang	kuang
kuai	gui
k'uei	kui
kun	gun
k'un	kun
kung	gong
k'ung	kong
kuo	guo
k'uo	kuo
la	la
lai	lai
lan	lan
lang	lang
lao	lao
le	le
lei	lei
leng	leng
li	li
liang	liang
liao	liao
lieh	lie
lien	lian
lin	lin
ling	ling
liu	liu
lo	luo
lou	lou
lu	lu
lū	lū
luan	luan
lūan	luan
lūeh	lūe
lun	lun
lung	long
ma	ma
mai	mai
man	man

mang	mang
mao	mao
mei	mei
men	men
meng	meng
mi	mi
miao	miao
mieh	mie
mien	mian
min	min
ming	ming
miu	miu
mo	mo
mou	mou
mu	mu
na	na
nai	nai
nan	nan
nang	nang
nao	nao
nei	nei
nen	nen
neng	neng
ni	ni
niang	niang
niao	niao
nieh	nie
nien	nian
nin	nin
ning	ning
niu	niu
no	nuo
nou	nou
nu	nu
nü	nü
nuan	nuan
nüeh	nüe
nung	nong
o	e
ou	ou



pa	ba
p'a	pa
pai	bai
p'ai	pai
pan	ban
p'an	pan
pang	bang
p'ang	pang
pao	bao
p'ao	pao
pei	bei
p'ei	pei
pen	ben
p'en	pen
peng	beng
p'eng	peng
pi	bi
p'i	pi
piao	biao
p'iao	piao
pieh	bie
p'ieh	pie
pien	bian
p'ien	pian
pin	bin
p'in	pin
ping	bing
p'ing	ping
po	bo
p'o	po
p'ou	pou
pu	bu
p'u	pu
sa	sa
sai	sai
san	san
sang	sang
sao	sao
se	se
sen	sen

seng	seng
sha	sha
shai	shai
shan	shan
shang	shang
shao	shao
she	she
shen	shen
sheng	sheng
shih	shi
shou	shou
shu	shu
shua	shua
shuai	shuai
shuan	shuan
shuang	shuang
shui	shui
shun	shun
shuo	shuo
so	suo
sou	sou
ssu	si
su	su
suan	suan
sui	sui
sun	sun
sung	song
ta	da
t'a	ta
tai	dai
t'ai	tai
tan	dan
t'an	tan
tang	dang
t'ang	tang
tao	dao
t'ao	tao
te	de
t'e	te
teng	deng

t'eng	teng
ti	di
t'i	ti
tiao	diao
t'iao	tiao
tieh	die
t'ieh	tie
tien	dian
t'ien	tian
ting	ding
t'ing	ting
tiu	diu
to	duo
t'o	tuo
tou	dou
t'ou	tou
tu	du
t'u	tu
tuan	duan
t'uan	tuan
tui	dui
t'ui	tui
tun	dun
t'un	tun
tung	dong
t'ung	tong
tsa	za
ts'a	ca
tsai	zai
ts'ai	cai
tsan	zan
ts'an	can
tsang	zang
ts'ang	cang
tsao	zao
ts'ao	cao
tse	ze
ts'e	ce
tsei	zei
tsen	zen

ts'en	cen
tseng	zeng
ts'eng	ceng
tso	zuo
ts'o	cuo
tsou	zou
ts'ou	cou
tsu	zu
ts'u	cu
tsuan	zuan
ts'uan	cuan
tsui	zui
ts'ui	cui
tsun	zun
ts'un	cun
tsung	zong
ts'ung	cong
tzu	zi
tz'u	ci
wa	wa
wai	wai
wan	wan
wang	wang
wei	wei
wen	wen
weng	weng
wo	wo
wu	wu
ya	ya
yai	yai
yang	yang
yao	yao
yeh	ye
yen	yan
yin	yin
ying	ying
yo	yo
yu	you
yü	yu
yüan	yuan

yüeh  
yün  
yung

yue  
yun  
yong

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